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1898 1898

THE

JOURNAL

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OF

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FOR

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JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. I.—*The King of Siam's Edition of the Pāli Tipiṭaka.* By ROBERT CHALMERS.

THOUGH four years have passed since the publication, at Bangkok, of thirty-nine volumes of the Pāli Canon, under the auspices of His Majesty the King of Siam,[1] it was not till a more recent date that, thanks to His Majesty's munificence, copies of this monumental work reached the Royal Asiatic Society, and other libraries in Europe, and so became available for study by Western scholars. The recent visit of the King to this country gave me an opportunity of discussing the genesis and circumstances of the edition with H.R.H. Prince Sommot; and I now desire to communicate to the Royal Asiatic Society the information which I owe to the Prince's scholarship and courtesy. The value of that information will be recognized when it is stated that Prince Sommot is Private Secretary to the King, served on the Editing Committee, and is brother to the Priest-Prince Vajirañāṇavarorasa, who has edited eleven out of the thirty-nine volumes already published.

[1] His Majesty has informed the Society that there will follow in due course an edition of the Aṭṭhakathās and Ṭikās.

The first matter which I sought to clear up was the purport of the Siamese preface prefixed to every volume. This preface, though written in Siamese, contains so considerable an admixture of Pāli words and idioms that it requires a sound knowledge of Pāli as well as Siamese for its comprehension. The following is a translation:—

"*Faustum Sit!* Dated Saturday, the first day of the fortnight of the waning moon in Māgha month of the Mouse year, 2,431 years since the Buddha died.

"King Culālaṅkaraṇa, son of King Mahā-Makuṭa, bethought him how all the teachings of the Buddha, which the followers of the Buddha have learned and fulfilled from earliest times till now, have all sprung from the Tipiṭaka. From the beginning it has ever been the wont of royal kings who were Buddhists and professed Buddhism, to maintain the faith, to support the Order, and to aid successive Councils, first to purify the Canon (such has been the royal custom uninterruptedly), and thereafter to compile a book of the scriptures as the authoritative exemplar and accepted standard for all Buddhist lands.

"In early times Buddhist kingdoms were still independent; the king of each was a Buddhist, and both endowed and supported Buddhism. This was the case in many countries, to wit, Siam, Ceylon, Burma, Laos, and Cambodia. When accident or injury befell the sacred books, so that portions of the Canon were lost, each kingdom was able and was wont to borrow from others, and so to restore its own copy to a complete state; and such exchange was mutual. But in the present time Ceylon and Burma have come under English dominion; the governors of those countries are not Buddhists; they take measures to foster the secular rather than the spiritual welfare of the people; and they do not maintain Buddhism as did the old Buddhist kings. Thus it has come to pass that Buddhist priests have from time to time set up different sects according to their own lights; and, as the bad naturally outnumbered the good, the faith has

been perverted, now in one direction, now in another, as seemed good to each one in turn. Cambodia came under French dominion, so that the people there could not maintain the faith in its full vigour. As regards the country of Laos, which is in the kingdom of Siam, the princes and people there professed a distorted form of the faith, which included such errors as the worship of angels and demons, and therefore cannot be regarded as having authority.

"Thus, if the text of the Tipiṭaka is in doubt, there is nowhere to be found that with which to compare and amend it as before. Hence it is only in Siam that Buddhism stands inviolate. It follows, then, that the present is a fitting time to look into the scriptures, to purge them, and to multiply copies of them for circulation, so as to form an immutable standard of true Buddhism for future times. Any word or precept which the Buddha taught is indeed precious and conducive to salvation from suffering; it is very truth and beyond price; this it is that the wise seek after in order that they may learn it, ponder it, follow it, and profit thereby, according to the measure in which they master it. Assuredly, too, learners will not be lacking in times to come. Wherefore the Buddha's teachings ought to be preserved for posterity.

"It has been the custom in Siam, in past times, to issue the sacred books as manuscripts written on palm-leaves to make them durable. But the task was laborious; even a single volume took a long time to complete; and it was difficult to multiply copies for distribution. Furthermore, it has always been the Siamese custom to employ the Cambodian character, which has thus come to be regarded as the essential vehicle for Buddhist writings, whereas, in fact, the character in which the texts are written is immaterial; any character can be used. Indeed, the various other Buddhist countries—Ceylon, Burma, Laos, Cambodia—have been accustomed to use each its own character.

"Such, then, were the considerations which led His Majesty the King of Siam to conceive the plan of examining

and purifying the text of the Tipiṭaka, with a view to printing it in Siamese character, some books in a single volume, some in two or more. For His Majesty failed not to see that such a plan must command greater advantages than the writing on palm-leaves. With a single setting-up of type, many hundreds of copies can be struck off; and such printed copies are more easy to carry and more convenient to consult, since many fasciculi[1] can be comprised in a single printed volume. While it is true that paper is less durable than palm-leaves, yet with a single setting-up of type the printing-press can strike off a great number of copies, and these with care can be preserved for centuries; multiplication of copies can, therefore, readily be ensured. By these means the scriptures can be diffused throughout Siam, and this was seen by His Majesty to be a great advantage. Consequently, His Majesty gave orders to print and circulate the Tipiṭaka, feeling that this was a great service to render to the Buddhist faith for the future.

"Moreover, it was in contemplation to complete the printing by the close of the twenty-fifth year of the King's reign, and so to mark that Jubilee by celebrating the happy consummation of so pious an undertaking. It was beyond human foresight to know whether His Majesty would survive until the date in view; but the plan of collating, printing, and distributing the Tipiṭaka seemed to His Majesty to be conducive to the good of mankind, and to be a meritorious work rightly conceived and calculated to ensure the fulfilment of his hope.

"So there came a Royal Order to Prince Bhāṇurangsi-svāṅgvaṁsa to be President of a Committee to arrange for the printing of the Tipiṭaka, and orders were given to issue invitations to the Princes who were in the priesthood, and to Abbots, and to the learned in each degree of the clergy, to assemble and hear the King's wishes, and then to divide among them the work of examining and settling the text for the press.

[1] i.e. twenty-four palm-leaves.

"That work has now been done, as the King desired, and may the merit which has been gained by the fulfilment of the work of issuing these scriptures be shared by all mankind! Long may the work endure!"

Such, then, is the purport of this interesting preface, prefixed to every volume. As above stated, there are thirty-nine of these volumes, and the contents, etc., of each, according to the Siamese arrangement, are as follows:—

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3	Mahāvagga	Prince Vajirañāṇavarorasa	372	
4	Mahāvagga	Prince Vajirañāṇavarorasa	321	
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6	Cullavagga	Kittisāra	387	
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				1,059
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				1,775
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33	Yamaka	Prince Vajirañāṇavarorasa	347	
34	Yamaka	Prince Vajirañāṇavarorasa	348	
35	Yamaka	Prince Vajirañāṇavarorasa	380	
36	Paṭṭhāna	Kittisāra	329	
37	Paṭṭhāna	Kittisāra	408	
38	Paṭṭhāna	Kittisāra	372	
39	Paṭṭāna	Ahiṁsaka	375	
		Total of Abhidhamma-Piṭaka		4,317

TOTAL (published) OF TIPIṬAKA, 15,749 Pages of Text.

It will have been noticed that eight texts in the Khuddaka Nikāya (about 1,300 more pages) remain to be edited in order to make the edition complete.[1] Their omission, I believe, was due solely to the inability of the small body of editors to cope with their task in its entirety before the King's Jubilee. It is to be hoped that these omissions may be made good forthwith, and that His Majesty will not leave his building without a coping-stone.

I pass now to indicate some of the main features of the edition. Chief of these is the fact that the King of Siam has abandoned the exotic Cambodian for the native Siamese character. To Europeans this may seem a small matter; to the average Siamese it is a revolution. Centuries ago, when the Siamese took their Buddhism from Cambodia, they took with it the Cambodian character; and the result has been to give to the latter a sacrosanct significance in the eyes not only of the unlettered but even of the cultured Siamese. Thus it was a bold step to adopt the Siamese character; and the disappearance of the old "sacred" character marked a triumph for rationalism. To a Siamese there is nothing sacred in the Siamese character, and accordingly he can view the new volumes printed in the Siamese character without any of the superstition which gathered round the old MSS. in the Cambodian character; he can tuck one of the new volumes under his arm without the sense of impiety which would assuredly have dogged him, had he so treated the same scripture in Cambodian MS. Partly because the edition is printed in the common character, and partly because of the prestige which the royal undertaking has given to Pāli scholarship, an impetus has been given to the study of Pāli and Buddhism in Siam which it would be difficult to overestimate. One early fruit of the enterprise, and a condition essential to its subsequent success, was the establishment of the Pāli

[1] It has been questioned whether the Paṭṭhāna as edited is complete, owing to the absence of manuscripts at one part. Whether this be so or not, I am unable to say, as there is no Pāli Text Society's edition wherewith to collate the Siamese.

College, from which already there has sprung so strong and universal a community of scholarship throughout Siam that important national results may follow in the direction of fixing the language and fostering a literature.

The second, and to Europeans more important, point is the nature of the materials used in settling the text of the King's edition. A cursory glance at almost any one of the volumes will show that the editor had before him not only a local text but also manuscripts in the Burmese and Siṇhalese character, together (it is gratifying to note) with the Pāli Text Society's edition. The editor not infrequently appends a footnote indicating the variants of "Sī" (= Sīhaḷa = Siṇhalese), "B" (= Bamā = Burmese), and "Yu" (= Yuropa = Europe, i.e. P.T.S.). But, so far as I have been able to ascertain, these variants, taken from non-Siamese sources, are merely noted, and have not been taken into serious consideration in the settlement of the text adopted. That text, with unimportant exceptions, has been settled from Siamese sources. Rather more than a century ago the king who in 1781 founded the royal city of Ratanakosindra (which we know by the less stately name of Bangkok), caused the learned priests of his day to purge the text of the canon, and produce an authoritative redaction. This was done, and some two or three exemplars were prepared. It is from these and copies made therefrom that the present Siamese edition has been prepared by the scholars whose names appear on the title-pages of the several volumes. It appears that the learned editors did not feel themselves at liberty to prepare what we should call a critical edition of the Tipiṭaka; they restricted themselves, very naturally and intelligibly, to restoring the national redaction, and to removing the errors which had marred the work of the last century. From the European point of view this self-imposed restriction is one of the most valuable features of this most valuable edition. In the present Siamese redaction we have no eclectic text pieced together from the divergent recensions of Siam, Burma, and Ceylon; on the contrary, we have

a purely Siamese text, embodying to a very high pitch of accuracy[1] the ancient traditions of Siamese scholarship.

Space prevents my discussing in the present article the characteristic features of the Siamese recension now first made public. My conclusions are, that the Siamese readings stand about midway between the Burmese and the Siṇhalese readings, the regular divergences of which are indicated in the preface to the Pāli Text Society's edition of the Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī. In the case of a difficult passage or a rare word, the authenticity of which is proved by Buddhaghosa's commentary, it will not be found that the Siamese text evades the difficulty, after the Burmese fashion, by conjecturing an easier reading. On the other hand, as Pāli scholarship in Siam has never been overshadowed by Sanskrit, the Siamese text does not fall into the Siṇhalese trick of introducing Sanskrit *sandhi*. After collating some hundreds of pages of the Majjhima Nikāya, I am disposed to regard the new Siamese text as being on the whole nearer to the original than any other text now available,[2] though the value of the best Siṇhalese MSS. (which the Siamese edition cites) will always be recognized by scholars in crucial questions of readings.

While these qualities in the King of Siam's edition appeal more directly to an editor than to the reader of an edited text, it has other features, which must evoke universal gratitude from Pāli scholars in Europe. To a Western eye it is a very great gain to find the text intelligently divided into punctuated sentences, with the component words of each sentence duly separated one from another. The difference in appearance is that between barbarism and civilization. Another point is the excellent scheme of

[1] A table of *errata* (sodhanapatta) is prefixed to each volume.

[2] As a rule the readings of Buddhaghosa represent the best standard for settling a Piṭaka text. In the following case we can go behind him to an authority seven hundred years older, viz., to the inscriptions sculptured on the temple of Bharhut. The 83rd Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya (like the 9th Jātaka) relates to the king called Makhādeva in Siṇhalese MSS. and Magghadeva in Burmese MSS. In the Siamese edition this king's name is spelled Maghadeva, as it is at plate xlviii (2) of the "Stūpa of Bharhut." (Apparently, Buddhaghosa follows the Siṇhalese spelling.)

transliteration which, with a paged table of contents (kittanapatta), precedes the text of each volume. With the aid of this very useful key to the Siamese character, the Pāli text can be read without difficulty by European scholars, who will be grateful for the consideration thus shown to their needs by Siam.

The "get-up" of the volumes is not what it might have been. Though the *format* is well chosen and the binding is suitable, the paper is bad, and quite unworthy of the great and lasting purpose of the undertaking. Perhaps a slightly larger margin should have been allowed, and it is a question whether the title-pages should not have been in Pāli.

But these shortcomings are too petty to mar the signal success with which this *editio princeps* of the Tipiṭaka has been produced in Siam. In Pāli scholarship the edition will always remain a great landmark on the path of progress, and an enduring monument—alike in Europe and in Siam—to the Buddhist King who conceived and executed so excellent an undertaking.

Art. II.—*The Archaeological Survey of Ceylon and its Work.*

By Professor W. Geiger.

Amongst the many objects that occupied the Eleventh International Congress of Orientalists held at Paris, it had the opportunity of noticing also the admirable work done by the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon. According to a proposal which I made in the afternoon meeting of the Indian Section on September 10, the Congress accepted a resolution to express its warmest thanks to the British Government in Colombo for the varied and efficient assistance afforded to the historical inquiry about the island by publishing the Archaeological Reports, as well as by editing the Mahavaṃsa and similar documents. The Congress hoped also that the work which has been undertaken so auspiciously, will be continued by the Government, and carried out in the same manner. Now I beg to add a few remarks to that resolution, which may explain its origin and its purpose. These remarks are only caused by the anxious desire to make the work of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon as useful as possible to the scientific world, and they are based upon the experiences which I myself had in making use of its publications for my own historical and linguistic studies.

First of all, I am sorry to observe that the Reports of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon are by no means so well known in Europe, and so much studied by European scholars, as we should expect and as they deserve. I beg to mention but one instance. In the year 1892 the Government published Mr. H. C. T. Bell's most interesting and comprehensive "Report on the Kégalla District of the Sabaragamuwa Province." But I am sorry I could not

even find this work quoted in the German Oriental Bibliography, though the editors of this journal always took the utmost trouble to make their list of books as complete as possible, and though they mention a good many papers of much less scientific importance. I know very well that in the winter 1895–6, when I was myself in Ceylon, the excavations at Sīgiriya, undertaken by the indefatigable Archaeological Commissioner, Mr. Bell, had led to very important results, and I suppose that in the meantime some detailed report has been printed on these operations. But I have not seen it up to the present day, though I am very anxious to hear more about the subject.[1]

All scholars, I think, will therefore agree with me that it is extremely desirable to give much more publicity to the printed reports of the Ceylon Government than they seem to have at present. This can be done by various means. But first of all it will be necessary that the Ceylon Government should give orders for the regular dispatch of the Archaeological Reports to this Society and to the British Museum, and it might also officially entrust a certain number of booksellers in the different countries of Europe with the sale of its publications. I suppose, of course, that an arrangement of that kind has already been made for England; but as regards Germany, Mr. Otto Harrassowitz, at Leipzic, no doubt would come first into consideration, because he already has in his hands nearly the whole book trade between our country and the Oriental publishers. Besides, if I am allowed to judge from the most amiable reception and liberal assistance which I ever found in Ceylon, I may, perhaps, add the suggestion that, as is done by the Indian Government with their publications, the publications might also be sent direct to such scholars as are especially engaged in Sinhalese studies.

I pass now to the form and the contents of the publications themselves, and I wish at first to draw particular attention

[1] I know only Mr. Bell's "Interim Report on the Operations of the Archaeological Survey at Sigiriya in 1895," printed in the J.R.A.S., Ceylon Branch, No. 46, S. 44–56.

to the epigraphical work done in Ceylon. Inscriptions which have been newly discovered, or which now can be explained in a more satisfactory manner than formerly, are at present generally published in the Reports of the Archaeological Survey, together with the other materials. The third part, for instance, of the Report on the Kégalla District, which I mentioned above, is merely an epigraphical one, and it contains, amongst other documents, the important inscription of Dewanagala, which alludes to some historical events in the reign of Parākrama Bāhu I, quite in accordance with the statement of the Mahāvaṃsa. Other new inscriptions used to be edited and translated in the J.R.A.S., Ceylon Branch; not to speak of Rhys Davids' papers on old Sinhalese Inscriptions, formerly published in the J.R.A.S. in England, and of Rhys Davids', G. Goldschmidt's, and Edw. Müller's articles printed in the *Indian Antiquary*. This arrangement, I think, is not a happy one. The materials are spread far and wide, and the continuity of inquiry is in danger of being lost. According to my opinion, it would be best *to separate the epigraphical part totally from the purely archaeological work, and to publish the inscriptions and whatever belongs to their study in particular reports*. Thus a kind of "Epigraphia Ceylonica" would be established, and I am sure that it would find the unanimous approval of all European students of Sinhalese and of Indian epigraphy. It is hardly necessary to add that not only the newly discovered inscriptions or those which will be discovered in future, should be published in these periodical reports for which I beg to suggest the title "Epigraphia Ceylonica." There are a good many inscriptions already printed and translated, as for instance in Edw. Müller's "Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon," which require a new study, and which can be edited now with many improvements both in the text and in the translation. I do not doubt that even those scholars who made the first steps in that rather dark field will fully agree with me on this point. The "Epigraphia Ceylonica" must, therefore, be accessible to everybody who might be able to contribute

to the elucidation of Sinhalese inscriptions in the West as well as in the East. For by common labour only, and particularly by the common labour of European and of Oriental scholars, can satisfactory results be attained.

But there is still one important point which cannot be passed over in silence. It is quite indispensable that *each inscription* to be published or newly explained in the "Epigraphia" should be *reproduced in a good facsimile.* Mere transliterations are of comparatively small value, and would be sufficient only in quite exceptional cases. We cannot accept statements without having the opportunity of controlling them, for even the most trustworthy and most careful scholar may make a mistake in reading Sinhalese inscriptions, and a misreading may lead him to conclusions which are totally wrong.

The edition of the "Epigraphia Ceylonica" must, of course, be entrusted to a man who combines practical knowledge with scientific method; and I am sure that the Ceylon Government has at its disposal more than one scholar who possesses those qualities. But I hope that nobody will find in this remark anything like a reproach against the present editor of the Archaeological Reports. We are all so much obliged to him for the invaluable service he has rendered to the science, even risking his health and his life, that any reproach would be equal to ingratitude. My suggestions touch only the form of the publications of the Archaeological Survey; and I should be glad if they would be approved by Mr. Bell himself. For the edition and translation of inscriptions discovered by him, Mr. Bell always made use of the assistance of some native scholars, and he has repeatedly mentioned this useful service with the warmest acknowledgment, although it unfortunately does not appear in each case who is responsible for the particular piece of work.

The epigraphical inquiry, however, must be supplemented, I think, by a systematic study of the literary sources of the Sinhalese history. The chief part has already been done in this respect by the edition and translation of the

Mahāvaṃsa, which we really may call a standard work. But I believe that it is now time to publish also the secondary sources in their original text, together with an English translation, as for instance the Pūjāvaliya, Attanagalavaṃsaya, Rājāratnākaraya, Rājāvaliya, etc. I am fully aware that some of these books have already been edited in Ceylon itself. But it is sometimes not very easy to get these editions; the Rājāvaliya is not yet printed at all. Besides, I think that a translation of these works is hardly superfluous, because many scholars will make use of them as historical sources, who are not able to read Sinhalese books in the original language. As to the form of these publications, I would propose to print them, just like the inscriptions, periodically in separate parts, but with one general title, as "Monumenta Historiae Ceylonicae": these "Monumenta" would include even interesting passages about Ceylon and its people, taken from Greek and Latin, Arabic and Chinese, and even from older Portuguese and Dutch authors, together with a historical and geographical commentary. Papers of that kind used to appear sometimes in the J.R.A.S., Ceylon Branch; but I think it better to reserve the Journal for what we call scientific inquiries. Even such a treatise as Appendix I (Constitution of the Kandyan Kingdom) in Bell's Report, already quoted, would be in the right place in the "Monumenta," and would be studied by many more scholars, no doubt, than can now be the case. In fact, I hope it will be possible, in the course of time, to collect in the "Monumenta" all the materials on which our knowledge of Sinhalese history is based.

I took the liberty to express a few wishes, felt, I suppose, by all the European scholars who are engaged in Sinhalese studies, regarding the publications of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon. My purpose was only to make its excellent works more fruitful and more accessible to the scientific world. Nobody will say, I hope, that my suggestions are merely utopian ideas which never can be realized, because the expenses required by them

would be extraordinary. They chiefly touch, as I have already said, the outer form of the publications. I wish to separate on one side those materials which are somewhat different, and on the other, I wish to concentrate the divergent labours of such scholars as are really working in the same field. The "Monumenta" would, of course, appear as sufficient material was collected and Government funds were available for the publication, and the same would be the case with the "Epigraphia." I admit that some more money would be required by the proposal to add good plates to each of the inscriptions published therein. But it would be sufficient to publish the work quite slowly, provided it is published in a perfect and entirely satisfactory manner. I believe also that it will be necessary to print a greater number of copies of each report than has been done till now. But I am sure that at least a part of the money spent thereon will be recouped by the greater publicity, and by the better sale of the publications in Europe, according to the arrangement which I propose above.

To summarize, finally, all I have said, I beg to suggest quite respectfully that the Government of Ceylon might resolve to separate the Reports of the Archaeological Survey into three different publications:

(1) *Archaeological Reports*, containing the architectural and sculptural results of the excavations;

(2) *Epigraphia Ceylonica*, containing the newly discovered inscriptions, or new interpretations of such inscriptions as are already known;

(3) *Monumenta Historiae Ceylonicae*, a kind of "Quellenkunde," containing Sinhalese historical books and other literary sources belonging to the history of Ceylon in the original text, with translation and commentary.

ART. III.—*The Jātakas and Sanskrit Grammarians.* By Professor F. KIELHORN, M.R.A.S, Göttingen.

THE charming volumes which we owe to the distinguished "guild of Jātaka translators" have allured me to peruse the stories of the Buddha's former births in the original. In the course of this reading, the Pāli text has reminded me of certain passages and phrases in the Mahābhāṣya. Occasionally, too, Pāṇini's own rules have suggested an interpretation which differs from that of the Pāli commentary. Not being a Pāli scholar, I should hardly venture to submit the following observations of mine to the Society, were I not encouraged to do so by my friend Professor Cowell.

I begin with some verses of the Mahābhāṣya.

According to a Vārttika on Pāṇ., i, 3, 25, the verb *upasthā*, in the sense of "to worship," takes the terminations of the Ātmanepada. In commenting on this Vārttika, Patañjali, to bring out more clearly the difference between the Parasmaipada and Ātmanepada, quotes the following dialogue:—

Bahūnām apy acittānām eko bhavati cittavān |
paśya vānara-sainye 'smin yad arkam upatiṣṭhate ||
Maivam manṣṭhāḥ sacitto 'yam eṣo 'pi hi yathā vayam |
etad apy asya kāpeyam yad arkam upatiṣṭhati ||

"Among the senseless creatures all, endowed with sense is one:
Amidst this monkey troop, behold! he's worshipping (*upatiṣṭhate*) the sun!"
"Don't think he is endowed with sense; he's like us, that is clear:
To warm himself is apish, so the sun he draweth near (*upatiṣṭhati*)."

These verses apparently presuppose a story like the one in the Ādiccupaṭṭhāna-Jātaka (No. 175), and the wording of the second line, in my opinion, can hardly leave it doubtful that the grammarian knew some such verse as we read in that Jātaka (vol. ii, p. 73, v. 47)—

Sabbesu kira bhūtesu santi sīlasamāhitā,
passa sākhāmigaṁ jammaṁ, ādiccam upatiṭṭhati.[1]

"There is no tribe of animals but has its virtuous one:
See how this wretched monkey here stands worshipping the sun!"[2]

Again, a Vārttika on Pāṇ., ii, 3, 36, teaches that the locative case may be used to denote that to obtain which an action is performed, provided the thing sought after is joined with, or is found in, the object of the action. And Patañjali illustrates this rule by four examples, grouped together in the verse—

Carmaṇi dvīpinaṁ hanti dantayor hanti kuñjaram |
keśeṣu camarīṁ hanti sīmni puṣkalako hataḥ ||

"The tiger for his skin he slays, the elephant for his tusk;
The camarī for her tail is slain, the musk-deer for its musk."[3]

Now, in the Mahājanaka-Jātaka (vol. vi, p. 61, v. 269) we read—

Ajinamhi haññate dīpī, nāgo dantehi haññati,
dhanamhi dhanino hanti aniketam asanthavaṁ,
phalī ambo aphalo ca te satthāro ubho mama;

and again, in the Sāma-Jātaka (ibid., p. 78, v. 300)—

Ajinamhi haññate dīpī, nāgo dantehi haññati,
atha kena nu vaṇṇena viddheyaṁ mam amaññatha?

[1] In the Rāmāyaṇa, Bo. Ed., vi, 27, 44, we have *ādityam upatiṣṭhati* in the sense of "he worships the sun." In the so-called epic Sanskrit there are not a few forms and constructions which seem to me to be Pāli rather than Sanskrit.

[2] From Mr. Rouse's translation.

[3] Haradatta would take the last Pāda to mean: "The post is driven into the ground in order that the boundary may be known thereby."

Here, then, the first line of either verse is identical in meaning with the first line of the verse of the Mahābhāṣya, and in *ajinamhi haññate dīpī* we have the very construction that is taught by Kātyāyana—a construction which in Sanskrit, to say the least, is most unusual. Moreover, as the text stands,[1] the words *dhanamhi dhanino hanti* of the first verse are the exact counterpart of Patañjali's *carmaṇi dvīpinaṁ hanti*, etc. This, surely, cannot be a mere accidental circumstance: either the authors of the Jātakas knew the verse of the Mahābhāṣya, or—and this seems to me rather more probable—Kātyāyana and Patañjali knew, and based their rule with its examples on, just such verses as we find in the Jātakas.

Turning to the prose, I should like to draw attention to a somewhat peculiar phrase of the Mahābhāṣya, which has often been misunderstood.

In the first Āhnika, after telling us what the course of study was in former days, Patañjali proceeds thus: *Tad adyatve na tathā; vedam adhītya tvaritā* **vaktāro bhavanti** *vedān no vaidikāḥ śabdāḥ siddhā lōkāc ca laukikā anarthakaṁ vyākaraṇam iti.* The phrase *vaktāro bhavanti* in this passage has been variously translated by "they become teachers," "they become speakers (of Sanskrit)," etc. But it really means "people are in the habit of saying," "they will (or would) say," or simply "they say," and the sense of the whole passage is: "This is not so nowadays. After learning their Veda, being in a hurry (to marry, etc.), people will say: 'We have got the Vedic words from the Veda, and the common ones from common usage; grammar is of no use to us.'" *Vaktāro bhavanti* occurs in the same sense in vol. i, p. 250, and vol. ii, pp. 272 and 417 of the Mahābhāṣya, and we have *sthātāro bhavanti*, "they are in the habit of staying," "they will stay," in vol. i, p. 391, lines 6 and 16.

[1] The learned editor of the Jātaka suggests the alteration of *dhanino* to *dhanī ko*.

Now, that among Sanskrit writers Kumārila also should have used *vaktāro bhavanti* and similar periphrastic expressions, cannot seem strange, considering that, deeply versed as he was in the Mahābhāṣya, this is not the only phrase which he has adopted from it. But I was not a little surprised when I came across the identical *vattāro honti* in the Jātaka, vol. i, p. 134, l. 21: *Tassa ādhāvitvā paridhāvitvā vicaraṇakāle kelimaṇḍale kīlantassa evaṁ* **vattāro honti** *nippitiken 'amhā pahaṭā ti*—"And when he could run about and was playing in the playground, (his playmates) would say,[1] 'This fatherless fellow has hit us.'" Here any doubt as to the meaning of *vattāro honti* would at once be removed by the fact that in vol. vi, p. 33, l. 16, in an analogous case, the writer, instead of *vattāro honti*, uses *vadanti*, just as in Sanskrit we might substitute *vadanti* for *vaktāro bhavanti*, wherever that phrase occurs.

I must leave it to Pāli scholars to say whether phrases like *vattāro honti* are common in Pāli.[2] They seem foreign to ordinary correct Sanskrit, and the question is whether Patañjali himself has followed here that common usage, to restrict and correct which is the object of grammar.

A priori, we may well suppose that Pāli has preserved certain idioms, lost in Sanskrit; and Pāli has been proved to yield instances for some of Pāṇini's rules which have not been verified yet from Sanskrit texts. On the other hand, an example may show that the interpretation of the more ancient Pāli texts may sometimes be benefited by the teachings of Sanskrit grammarians.

In the Jātaka, vol. v, p. 90, we have the verse—

Ahañ ca vanam uñchāya madhu maṁsaṁ migābilam
yadāharāmi taṁ bhakkho, tassa nūn' ajja nādhati.

So far as I can make out, the commentator assigns to this verse the following meaning: "The honey and meat, left by

[1] Mr. Chalmers translates, more freely, "a cry would arise."
[2] [Often in the Vinaya, and in such suttas as Majjhima, i, 469-472.—Ru.D.]

wild animals, which, gleaning in the forest, I bring, is (my husband's) food; surely now (when he does not obtain it) his (body) withers (*upatappati, milāyati*, like a lotus burnt by the sun's rays)."

Now *upatāpa* is indeed one of the meanings assigned to the root *nāth* or *nādh* in the Dhātupāṭha, but I feel sure that a Sanskrit grammarian, on seeing the last Pāda of this verse, would at once be put in mind of Pāṇini's rule, ii, 3, 55, *āśiṣi nāthaḥ* (which teaches the employment of the genitive case in construction with *nāth*, "to long for"), and that, in accordance with that rule, he would unhesitatingly translate the words *tassa nūn' ajja nādhati* by "for that (food) he surely is now longing."

I have other verses for the interpretation of which, in my opinion, some assistance may be got from Pāṇini, though, perhaps, not always in so direct a manner. But for the present I must content myself with recording my belief that a close study especially of the metrical portions of the Jātakas will amply repay the student of Sanskrit grammar, and expressing my regret at being unable myself to enter upon a field of labour which seems so full of promise.

Art. IV.—*Alphabet for Languages not yet reduced to Writing.* By Henry Morris, M.R.A.S.

The subject of Transliteration has lately occupied the attention of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society. After careful consideration they gave their approval to the system for transliterating the alphabets of Oriental languages into the Roman character, which had been recommended by the Oriental Congress at Geneva in 1895;[1] and after suggesting a few emendations, with the object of securing consistency and harmony in some comparatively unimportant details, commended it to the favourable attention of those Oriental scholars with whom they are connected, and over whom they have any influence.[2] This seems, therefore, a good opportunity to make an effort for the introduction of a similar system among those who are engaged in the very arduous labour of reducing hitherto unwritten languages to writing. The number of such languages is great, and work among them is annually increasing. It is, perhaps, more necessary that an attempt at unanimity should be made in this instance even than in the case of languages which, like those of Oriental nations, themselves possess old and venerable alphabets. The characters of these alphabets have come down to us from a remote antiquity, have borne the tests of time and use, and have satisfied several generations of men who have long employed them; and, as a general rule, it is far better that they should be learned and used by European students and scholars than that they should be transliterated into

[1] See J.R.A.S., Oct., 1895.
[2] See J.R.A.S., Oct., 1896.

the Roman or any other character. But the case of "illiterate" languages, if we may be allowed the term, is quite different. It is manifest that they must, when reduced to writing, be put into some character; and the Roman alphabet is decidedly preferable to syllabics, or shorthand, or even the character of the great language, whatever it may be, which may be the nearest either in affinity or in geographical area. It also seems clear that it is much better for a translator to proceed on a well-known scientific plan than for each individual to work on a system of his own, irrespective of other scholars and translators.

This appears, then, a fitting time respectfully to place before these translators the scheme now approved by the Royal Asiatic Society in a form adapted to the languages of which we are speaking. The form proposed for adoption is the complement to that system. In the latter the transliteration recommended is intended to represent intelligible and familiar characters which are to be converted into the Roman character. Here, the Roman character is to be used for sounds. The one system is not complete without the other. The great difficulty of the task is very apparent. Some of the sounds to be represented can scarcely be rendered into English, or cannot adequately be produced in English words; but it is considered that a beginning should be made in this matter because of its great importance, and in the hope that by using such suggestions as may hereafter be given by trained and skilled minds, something nearer uniformity than at present exists may be attained.

It is obvious that some distinct and intelligible sign should be used for every distinct sound in any given language. If the exact sound cannot be represented in Roman letters, or exemplified in an English word, the nearest approach to it must be taken. The intention is, therefore, to take, in any instance, notwithstanding any previous predilection or idea, the word or the sign which, on the best evidence attainable, is proved to be the most suitable. The one thing to be taken for granted is that the

scheme is not original, but that it is merely an adaptation of a system which has now been very generally approved.

No attempt whatever is here made to propose a universal language or a universal alphabet. All that is suggested is, that this system should be made the basis of the alphabet used in translations made into the hitherto unwritten languages of the world. An approximation to unanimity in this respect is essential in order to facilitate the comparison of different languages with each other. As the sounds common to most Oriental languages are taken as the framework of the plan, such sounds as are peculiar to other languages can be fitted into it in their appropriate places with distinctive signs of their own. It may be stated here that simplicity has been aimed at, and that one of the objects kept steadily in view has been to have as few diacritical marks as possible. It is suggested that, whatever may be the fate of this scheme, compilers of primers, vocabularies, and similar works, and translators of the Holy Scriptures and other books, should insert, in every instance, a prefatory note clearly showing the system they employ.

The sounds here represented, and the English equivalents for them, have been selected from several books, and an endeavour has been made by frequent repetition and trial to test them by the ear. Some may think the most suitable words have not been selected as examples, and it is hoped that they will be good enough to suggest others which they may consider more appropriate. Allusion has already been made to the impossibility of reproducing in English certain letters such as the different *t*'s and *d*'s, the *th*'s and *dh*'s, and *l*'s in Oriental languages. One instance may here be given by way of illustration of this difficulty. Some can see no difference between the *l* in 'lamp' and the *l* in 'clerk.' To us there seems to be a clear distinction. If the word 'lamp' is pronounced without premeditation or effort, the tongue does not naturally rise above the teeth, and a softened sound of *l* is the result; but, on the other hand, when the guttural sound of *c* or *k* is pronounced before the *l*, the tongue is raised to the palate of its own

accord, and the stronger and harder sound of *l*, which is here intended, is pronounced. If any word, however, can be suggested which better represents this sound, it should be selected instead of 'clerk.'

Sounds in English.	Representation.
Vowels.	
The sound of a as in Americ*a*	a
„ a „ f*a*r	ā
„ i „ p*i*n	i
„ i „ mach*i*ne	ī
„ u „ p*u*ll	u
„ u „ r*u*le	ū
„ e „ l*e*t	e
„ e „ th*e*y	ē
„ o „ p*o*lice	o
„ o „ st*o*ne	ō
„ ai „ *ai*sle	ai
„ ou „ p*ou*t	au
Any gentle breathing, as in the Hebrew Alif, by	’
Sheva in Hebrew, by	◦
Semi-vowels or half-tones, by	ă, ĭ, ŭ, ĕ, ŏ
Should there be any sound like the *a* in the English word p*a*t	
Consonants.	
The sound of k as in *k*ing	k
„ kh „ in*k*-*h*orn	kh
„ g „ *g*ive	g
„ gh „ stag-*h*orn	gh
„ ng „ Birmin*g*ham . . .	ṅ
„ ch „ *ch*ase	c
„ ts „ ma*ts*	ts
„ chh „ coa*ch*-*h*ouse . . .	ch
„ j „ *j*ar	j
„ jh „ he*dg*e-*h*og	jh

Sounds in English.			Representation.
The sound of	ny	as in *oni*on	ñ
„ cerebral	t	„ *T*artar	ṭ
„ „	th	as in car*t-h*orse	ṭh
„ „	d	„ *d*rum	ḍ
„ „	dh	„ bi*d h*im	ḍh
„ „	n	„ *n*o	ṇ
„ „	[1]t	„ *t*ube	t
„	th	„ no*t h*ere	th
„	d	„ *d*upe	d
„	dh	„ a*dh*ere	dh
„	n	„ *n*ag	n
„	p	„ *p*ar	p
„	ph	„ u*p h*ere	ph
„	f	„ *f*it	f
„	b	„ *b*ird	b
„	bh	„ clu*b-h*ouse	bh
„	m	„ *m*ap	m
„	y	„ *y*ard	y
„	r	„ *r*ug	r
„	l	„ *l*amp	l
„	v	„ *v*at	v
„	s	„ *s*alt	s
„	sh	„ *sh*arp[2]	ś
„	sh	„ a strong sibilant, as in pus*h*	ṣ
„	h	„ *h*it	h
„	l	„ c*l*erk	ḷ
„	z	„ *z*ebra	z
„	z	„ a*z*ure	ẓ
„	w	„ *w*ill	w
A sound like the Arabic		*ain*	ʿ
„		*ghain*	gh
„		*kaf*	q
„		*kha*	kh
„	German	ni*ch*t	ch

[1] As regards the following five signs, they represent sounds which are not used in English. The Italian use of *t* and *d* is the sound referred to—the true dental that must, no doubt, exist in many languages.

[2] We have not got this sound in English. It is between *s* and *sh*.

Compound consonants should have all the letters of which they are compounded reproduced: for instance, the sound of *ksh* in 'kic*k-sh*aw'—*kṣ*. Silent letters like the *c* in the above word should not be represented at all.

Double letters should not be uselessly employed; but they must invariably be used when there is a double sound in the language under consideration.

The foregoing alphabet is intended fairly to represent the sounds generally used in most languages; but there are in many languages peculiar sounds applicable to themselves alone, or used, perhaps, in some cognate tongue. Thus, in Tamil and Malayālam, Dravidian languages in South India, there is a very difficult letter, which is not used in their sister languages, Telugu and Kanarese. It is a compound of *r*, *l*, and *j*; and even some natives themselves cannot pronounce it, and often substitute for it *r* or *l*, or else omit it altogether. Dr. Pope considers that it somewhat resembles the Welsh *ll*. The Council would suggest for such a sound as this—*rr*.

Other languages, such as Hottentot and Zulu in South Africa, have clicks or even grunts. Each sound must be represented by some phonetic sign to show where the click occurs; but, if this is clearly stated and explained in a brief prefatory note to the translation, it need not interfere with the system above described, as each sign will naturally fall into its own appointed place. Professor Lepsius suggested certain dashes for the clicks, of which there seem to be four kinds, the breath being drawn in in four different ways.

In all such cases as these the translator should have special signs for the special sounds, taking care, however, to harmonize them, as far as possible, with those used in kindred languages. All that is now asked is that, for the sounds used above, the signs given may be universally adopted.

ART. V.—*A Contemporary Account of the Great Storm at Calcutta in* 1737. By C. R. WILSON, M.A., Indian Education Department.

THE great storm of 1737 is one of the few events still remembered in the early history of Calcutta. The traditional account of the matter is that given by "Asiaticus," which he professes to have derived from the *Gentleman's Magazine*. It is as follows:—"In the night of the 11th October, 1737, there happened a furious hurricane at the mouth of the Ganges, which reached sixty leagues up the river. There was at the same time a violent earthquake, which threw down a great many houses along the river side; in Golgota (i.e. Calcutta) alone, a port belonging to the English, two hundred houses were thrown down, and the high and magnificent steeple of the English Church sunk into the ground without breaking. It is computed that twenty thousand ships, barques, sloops, boats, canoes, etc., have been cast away; of nine English ships then in the Ganges, eight were lost, and most of the crews drowned. Barques of sixty tons were blown two leagues up into land over the tops of high trees; of four Dutch ships in the river, three were lost, with their men and cargoes; 300,000 souls are said to have perished. The water rose forty feet higher than usual in the Ganges." Then follows the story of the voracious crocodile in the hold of the stranded ship.

This account of the great storm was repeated contentedly, without acknowledgment, by historians of Calcutta till 1892, when Mr. H. B. Hyde, in one of his interesting articles[1] on the Bengal Chaplaincy, contributed to the

[1] "Gervase Bellamy, Chaplain of Bengal 1726 to 1756": I.C.Q.R. for July, 1892.

Indian Church Quarterly Review, showed that this version of the story only agreed in substance with what had appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, that many of the details were unauthorised additions, and, in particular, that there was nothing at all about the church steeple in the original account.

"On September 30th last,"[1] says the *Gentleman's Magazine*, "happened a furious hurricane in the Bay of Bengal, attended with a very heavy rain, which raised fifteen inches of water in five hours, and a violent earthquake, which threw down abundance of houses; and, as the storm reached 60 leagues up the river, it is computed that 20,000 ships, barks, sloops, boats, canoes, etc., have been cast away. A prodigious quantity of cattle of all sorts, a great many tygers, and several rhinoceroses, were drowned; even a great many caymans were stifled by the furious agitation of the waters, and an innumerable quantity of birds was beat down into the river by the storm. Two English ships of 500 tons were thrown into a village about 200 fathoms from the bed of the river Ganges, broke to pieces, and all the people downed pell mell amongst the inhabitants and cattle. Barks of 60 tons were blown 2 leagues up the land over the tops of high trees. The water rose in all 40 feet higher than usual. The English ships which drove ashore and broke to pieces were the *Decker*, *Devonshire*, and *Newcastle*, and the *Pelham* is missing."[2] Here, too, comes the story of the crocodile in the stranded ship.

On further looking into the official records of the Bengal Council, Mr. Hyde could only find the following meagre notice of the great storm:—"On the 30th September there was a great storm, which drove several ships ashore. The Mohanna flagg-staff at Ballasore was blown down."[3] Mr. Hyde was, therefore, led to the conclusion that the

[1] The difference in the dates is the difference between the old and the new style of reckoning.
[2] Gent. Mag., vol. viii, p. 321.
[3] Bengal Public Consultations, vol. xii, p. 323.

story of the cyclone of 1737 was "a curious example of rapid enrichment, by its narrators, of a popular legend"; and was provoked "to discredit even the 40-feet tide."

I am glad to be able to lay before the Royal Asiatic Society a contemporary account of the event which occurs in a letter from Francis Russell, a member of the Calcutta Council, afterwards Sir Francis Russell, Baronet, to his cousin Colonel Charles Russell, dated from "Calcutta the 31st Decem^{r} 1737." From this it will be seen that the damage done by the storm was really very considerable, and that the river must have certainly risen to an abnormal height, as there was no ebb tide for twenty-four hours. Nothing is said about any earthquake, and perhaps that part of the traditional account must be given up, though the argument from silence is never safe. The extract has been kindly copied for me by Mr. B. F. Astley and is taken from the papers in the Collection of Manuscripts at Chequers Court, Bucks, with the permission of Mrs. Frankland-Russell-Astley.

"Captain Prince, Crab, Gilbert, and Acton are worthy men of good sense and I believe to much honour to say or do abase thing: the two former lost their Ships in the Dreadful Hurricane we had here the 30th Septr at night, such a Schene of horror as that night was I never saw or heard off Such Terrible gust of wind like the loudest thunder and torrents of rain that I expected every moment the house I live in which is I believe the Strongest in the town wou'd have fallen on my head the noise was so violent above Stairs that myself and familly was obliged to go down and stay below till morning with poor Mrs. Wastell and her children who had fled to our house for Shelter the doors and winders of hers being burst from the walls, but good God what Sight was the town and river in the morning not a ship but the *Duke of Dorsett* to be seen in the river were the evening before was above twenty nine sails of vessells great and small many being drove ashore Some broke to pieces and others founder'd and this which is Scarse creditable in a river hardly a mile

wide, there was no ebb tide for near twenty four hours, our church steeple was blown down as also eight or ten English houses and numbers belonging to the black Merchants the whole town looked like a place that had been bombarded by an enemy, Such a havock did it make that tis impossible to find words to express it all our beautifull shady roads laid bare which will not be the like again this twenty years Inclosed is a list of the Shipping with the Damage each Sustained which I forgot to inclose to Captain Gough so you 'll taken an opportunity to show it him I thank God I have no greater Share in this calamity than what my proportion of reffitting the freight ships drove ashore will amount to which may be about five or six thousands rupees for my part of all additional charges and about half that in Damage done my houses in town and country, I saved all my fine trees in the country that were blown down by replacing them while the earth was soft as they might have done by those on the roads had the same care been taken all our boats and small craft being also distroyed rendered impossible for us to help for some days our distress'd ships who lay ashore by the Governours Garden three miles below the town except the *Newcastle* who lay high ashore and bilged over against the Fort no was the least assistance afforded our own ships till all possible assistance had been first sent the Compy ships and I believe they were the first afloat except the *Hallifax* who cou'd not be got off till her goods was out tho' I reckon this will hardly meet credit in England, and I am sure no men in the world wou'd in the distress we were in have got men and boats and necessarys sooner then we did tho' I believe many thought they were not served soon enough and yet wou'd give no grains of allowance for the Difficulties we labour'd under in being forced to get boat from remote places the Storm had not reached I will [leave] to others to tell you more of this malancholy affair which pray communicate to my Brother and others I have not wrote it too."

I may add that Francis Russell, the writer of the letter, was a great-grandson of Oliver Cromwell, his father being Sir William Russell, who was the eldest son of Sir John Russell and Frances, the youngest and favourite daughter of the great Lord Protector. The house in which Francis Russell lived in Calcutta is marked in the earliest plans of the city as Lady Russell's house. It is still standing in Mission Row, the Rope Walk of earlier times, and was at one time the residence of General Clavering.

ART. VI.—*Detailed Survey of the Languages and Dialects spoken in certain portions of British India.* By ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST, LL.D.

THIS is not an entirely new subject. Mr. Beames, of H.M. Indian Civil Service, in 1875, published a small yet valuable work, called "Comparative Grammar of Modern Aryan Languages of India." I myself, in 1878, published in greater detail, accompanied by Language Maps, a "Sketch of all the Languages of Nearer and Further India," and I still hope, that my valued friend Mr. Grierson, of H.M. Indian Civil Service, will, in 1903, after the expiration of a quarter of a century, complete and publish an enlarged and corrected edition of my Sketch; and I have arranged, that the accumulated additional information, entered in my interleaved copy, should after my death be made over to Mr. Grierson, to add to his own collections, for he is out and out the best informed scholar in this branch of Linguistic knowledge at the present epoch.

At the International Oriental Congress of Vienna, in 1886, at which Mr. Grierson and myself were present, a resolution was passed "urging on the Government of India the importance of preparing a detailed survey of the Languages and Dialects spoken in that country"; and the question was taken up by the Viceroy in Council, and it was determined to make a rough unscientific catalogue of every known form of speech spoken throughout British India, exclusive of the provinces of Madras and Burmah. The area to be investigated consisted of the Province of the Panjáb, the North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Bangál,

Assam, the Central Provinces, and Rajputána. Attempts were to be made to investigate, as far as possible, the Languages of the Kingdom of Kashmir, and the semi-independent States of the Himaláya. This large area included practically the whole Arian-speaking population of British India, and the aboriginal tribes, whose Languages belonged to the Kolarian and Tibeto-Burman Families.

With the cares of Empire on its shoulders, the Government of India is not very partial to scientific subjects, and, with the calls of War, Famine, and Pestilence on the Exchequer, is not inclined to any expenditure that can be avoided: still, recognizing, that something should be done to ascertain and record every form of speech used by the three hundred millions of the subjects of the Empress of India in her Jubilee-year, the Viceroy in Council sanctioned the following scheme:

The work was to be divided into two stages:

I. To compile a rough list of all the Languages and Dialects spoken in each District. Each District Officer to be supplied with a form to be filled up, detailing the different Vernaculars (Urdu, *Boli*) made use of in his District, and the number of the population speaking each variety of speech. The officers charged with the compilation would, from these returns, supplemented by Census Reports, Land Revenue Settlement Reports, and Special Memoirs (where such exist), prepare Lists of forms of living speech: (A) by Districts, (B) by Vernaculars, discriminating between (1) an indigenous Vernacular, (2) a Vernacular imported by immigrant strangers.

II. To obtain specimens of all the indigenous Vernaculars, carefully edit these specimens, and then compile an accurate Language-List, based on the information derived from the specimens. A careful examination of these specimens may divulge the fact, that two different Language-names represent one and the same Language. A notable instance of such a phenomenon appears in the List of Bible-Translations, where the selfsame Language is called Danish and Norse in Denmark and Norway respectively.

Another possibility is, that the identical name is carelessly given to two totally distinct forms of speech. The name of Gond is sometimes applied to the Dravidian form of speech indigenous to the tribe which bears that name, and sometimes to the local Dialect of the Arian Hindi, as spoken by the Gond tribe. In each case there will be two specimens of each form of speech: (A) A translation of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, specially prepared by competent persons; this facilitates intercomparison of one Language with another, and betrays any possible linguistic affinity which may exist in word-store, or construction of sentence. (B) An independent specimen compiled by each District Officer from the lips, or written records, of each tribe; this will be a powerful check on the Translator, who might, if unchecked, adopt a dialect of his own devising, or borrowed from some printed book.

Such is the scheme, and it deserves high commendation. The selected specimens should be supplemented by written records of local ballads, legends, and folklore; but this will be the work of time. A comparative alphabetical list of two hundred words for the ordinary requirements of the Human race, in each of the Languages of India, would greatly assist the inquiry.

Mr. Grierson has, at his own expenditure of time and money, compiled sixty-five versions of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, and they have been printed at the Calcutta Government Press, and I have a copy on my table, which I have presented to the Royal Asiatic Society. This compilation is admitted to be imperfect and confessedly preliminary, yet it represents a great step in advance as regards the second stage. As regards the first stage, Mr. Grierson has compiled, and is correcting the proofs of, a list of the forms of speech spoken in the vast Province of Bangál, with a population of Sixty Millions.

On the 10th September, 1897, Mr. Grierson had the opportunity of bringing this subject to the notice of the Indian Section of the Eleventh International Congress of Orientalists held at Paris: and after discussion, a resolution

was proposed by Herr Kuhn of Munich, and seconded by Hofrath G. Bühler of Vienna, and was carried in the following terms:

"La Section Indienne du XIe Congrès International des "Orientalistes exprime ses vifs remerciements au Gouverne- "ment de l'Inde pour avoir mis à exécution le vœu présenté "au Congrès de Vienne (1886) demandant une statistique "des langues de l'Inde. Elle tient à signaler les services, "qui pourra rendre à la linguistique cette entreprise, quand "elle aura été complètement menée à bien."

It is obvious, that when the statistics and the specimen-translations have been collected from the different districts, they will be found to have been prepared by persons with no Philological Knowledge in the strict sense, and the materials must therefore be laid before a Linguistic Expert, who will examine them critically, and classify the different forms of speech under their appropriate names, their Linguistic Family, and their position in that Family, whether as a mere Patois, or a recognized Dialect, or a *bonâ-fide* Language; then will follow the consideration of the proper form of Written Character, if any, which belongs to each form of Speech. Mr. Grierson, in his Introductory Notes, uses the words Perso-Hindustani as regards the well-known Alphabet, which should, however, be called the Arabic Alphabet and by no other name.

The plan of compiling a translation of the same story in different forms of speech is excellent, as it facilitates intercomparison of the structure and word-store of each. An additional feature is, that not only are the Vernacular words transliterated on scientific principles, but care is taken also to indicate the pronunciation. Then, again, the construction of the Language is in many cases distinctly shown by a word-by-word retranslation from the Vernacular into English.

It must not be forgotten, that Mr. Grierson is not dealing with a linguistic Field, like Central Africa, or Russia in Asia, where the population is, without exception, in a very

low state of Culture, and without an indigenous Literature. Such may have been the case in some parts of British India last century, but it is not so now. The modern Literature of British India is multiform, and prolific, and there is an active Native Press, and efficient Educational Establishments. One result will be that weak local Languages, Dialects, and Patois, will be crushed out and extinguished by the lordly Vernaculars, such as Hindi, Urdu, Bangáli, and Maráthi, each with a population counting by tens of Millions, and increasing annually. There is no attempt in British India, as in the French Colonies, to force an alien European Language upon an unwilling people in the Courts of Justice, or Primary Schools. If individuals wish to learn English, they can do so, but the business of Empire is conducted in each Province, or Region, in the recognized Vernacular of that Province or Region, and in my opinion this is not only the wisest policy, but the only practical one. The English Officials have to learn to speak and understand the form of speech used by those, whom they are sent to govern. There is no absolute necessity for the European Officer reading written documents, though many are able to do so, and no possible necessity for their writing a line, as the routine of business is carried on by *vivâ-voce* reading of Reports, and petitions, and other documents, and *vivâ-voce* dictation of orders, which are engrossed by the Native Official upon the Report or Document in the Vernacular, and signed by the presiding Officer in English. It is well to understand this, as it reduces the problem of the multiplicity of Languages to its proper proportions as regards the difficulty of administration, and the Government of British India may fairly look at the subject from this point of view only, and leave the spread of Literature to the people themselves.

A vast amount of Native Literature is in circulation, and the European Missions greatly promote this expansion. The Missionaries are, as a rule, excellent linguists, and distribute wholesome literature, and notably translations of the Christian Scriptures. My carefully prepared "List

of Bible-Translations, 1896," exhibits the following facts as regards British India:

I. Translations in Arian Languages in circulation in British India . . .	18	in addition to twelve well-recognized Dialects . . .	12
II. Translations in Dravidian Languages	8	in addition to one Dialect . . .	1
III. Translations in Kolarian Languages	2		
IV. Translations in Tibeto-Burman Languages .	6	in addition to two Dialects . .	2
V. Translations in the Khasi Language	1		
	35		15

(In all, 50.)

Many of these are circulated in annual thousands: every student of a State-College receives a copy as a present, not from the State, as that would be a departure from the Law of absolute Impartiality and Tolerance, which are the Jewels of Empire, but from well-wishers of the people of India.

My lamented friend Prince Lucien Bonaparte collected and printed Translations in the numerous imperfectly known Languages of the Ural-Altaic Family of Russia in Europe and Asia: the contribution to Linguistic science was most interesting, but there it ends. This noble work of Mr. Grierson has a much wider range, and can only be surpassed by that of the British and Foreign Bible-Society, which distributes translations of the same Book in every part of the World, amounting to three hundred and forty-three, one hundred and ninety-six of which have

been produced during the reign of Queen Victoria, 1837–1897. Such works as these place Linguistic Knowledge on a solid base, for the translations turned out on the spot, in the midst of the tribe speaking that particular form of speech, and no other, may not be elegant, and are certainly, as time goes on, susceptible of Revision, but they are truthful, and represent the sounds and words, and sentences uttered in the Mission-Schools, and Mission-Chapels, and have the merit (a small one, perhaps, in Churches which are fond of liturgies in stilted or even dead Languages) *of being understood by people of the lowest culture*, which was the primary, but often forgotten, object of the great gift of Speech to the Human race.

Art. VII.—*Marco Polo's Camadi.* By General A. Houtum Schindler.

In my "Notes on Marco Polo's Itinerary in Southern Persia" (Journal R.A.S. 1881, p. 495) I expressed the opinion that the city of Camadi, where Marco Polo rested on his march from Kermān to Hormuz, was a caravanserai or village close to the city of Jīruft, and that the name might be explained as "Kahn i Muḥammadī," or "Kanemadi," as it is pronounced in Jīruft, meaning Canal of Muḥammad. Lately, while collecting some historical notes on Kermān, I found that the first part of my supposition was correct, but that my explanation of the name was wrong.

Dr. Houtsma, of the University of Utrecht, in his "Zur Geschichte der Saljuqen von Kerman" (Z.D.M.G. 1881, 362–402), gives an epitome of a valuable history[1] of the Seljūqs of Kermān, which the Berlin library possesses (Petermann's Collection, i, 445), and in it I find the following:—

[1] This work, a history of Kermān from A.H. 443 (A.D. 1051–2) to the beginning of the seventh century of the Hijrah, is by Muḥammad B. Ibrahīm, and was written in the beginning of the seventeenth century. It frequently quotes the "Mir'āt ul Janain" of Jāf'ī, the "Tārīkh i Shāhī" of Shihāb al dīn Abū Sa'īd (also quoted by Khvājah Nāṣir al dīn Munshī Kermānī in his "Simṭ al 'ula lil ḥadrat al 'ulia": cf. British Museum Catalogue, 849*a*), the "Anvār al basātīn fī akhbār al salāṭīn," and the "Tārīkh i badāyi'al azmān fī vaqāyi'i Kermān," by Afḍal al dīn Aḥmad B. Ḥāmid, also known as Afḍal Kermānī. The last-mentioned author has also written the "'Iqd al 'ula lil muvaqqif ul a'la," which is commonly known as the "Tārīkh i Kūbenānī," and was lithographed in Teheran A.H. 1293 (1876) from a MS. dated A.H. 649 (1251–2). The editor of the lithographed edition makes the error of ascribing to the work the year 649 as the date of its compilation, but the author states twice in the text that he wrote it at Kūbenān A.H. 584 (1188–9) for Malik Dīnār, who "had then been ruler of Kermān for eight months."

P. 380 (A.D. 1170). Bahrām Shāh[1] entered the province of Kerman at the head of a number of Khurasānis given to him by Malik Muayyid.[2] Arslān Shāh, who had remained in Jīruft since his engagement with Tūrān Shāh nine months before, met his brother Bahrām Shāh in the plain of *Qumādīn*. Bahrām was victorious, and Arslān fled to 'Irāq. The Khurasānis then plundered Qumādīn, which was situated outside of the city of Jīruft, and contained at that time the bazars and storehouses, and was the residence of the foreign merchants, Greeks and Indians.

[1] Toghrul Shāh B. Muḥammad Shāh Seljūq, King of Kermān, died at Jīruft A.H. 565 (1169–70), and left four sons, Tūrān Shāh, Bahrām Shāh, Arslān Shāh, and Turkān Shāh, who immediately after their father's death fought with one another for the throne. Tūrān and Bahrām had the same mother, Khātūn Ruknī, a Seljūq princess, who died A.H. 577 (1181). Tūrān was killed in 579 (1183), in Kermān, by Ẓāfir Muḥammad, one of Atābeg Qutb al dīn Muḥammad's (d. 22nd November, 1186) officers; Bahrām died A.H. 570 (1174–5) of dropsy; and Arslān met his death A.H. 572 (1176–7) in an engagement against the Turkish Amīr Aibek. Turkān was killed by his brother Bahrām in 565 (1170). The last of the Kermān Seljūqs was Bahrām Shāh's son Muḥammad Shāh, who succeeded to the throne in 1183, and fled to the Ghūrīs in 1187 on the arrival of Malik Dīnār.

Atābeg Qutb al dīn Muḥammad, who is mentioned in connection with Tūrān Shāh's death, was one of those powerful Mamlūks who were always ready to fight for any pretender to the throne who paid them. He was the son of Atābeg 'Alā al dīn Bozgūsh, and on entering Bahrām's service was appointed Governor of Bardsīr, a district in Northern Kermān. He left Bahrām Shāh soon afterwards, and took service with Arslān Shāh, who appointed him his Atābeg. In 569 (1173–4) he again went over to Bahrām, and helped him to put Arslān to flight. He then served Atābeg Zangī of Fārs, and after that ruler's death in 571 remained some time with Tuqlah the son of Zangī, until he was forced to leave Fārs and went to Nishāpūr, where Tughān Shāh B. Muayyid protected him. In 578 (1182) he was called to Kermān by Tūrān Shāh, and restored order in the capital and provinces, but in the following year, during his absence from the capital, his lieutenant Ẓāfir Muḥammad having killed Tūrān Shāh, probably at his command, he placed Muḥammad Shāh, the son of Bahrām, on the throne, and remained in the service of that king until his death, which took place in Bardsīr on November 22, 1186 (8th Ramaḍan, 582).

[2] Malik Muayyid, also called Al Muayyid Aibek, was a Mamlūk in the service of the Seljūqs. In 1159 he drove the Ghozz out of Khurasān, and then settled at Nishāpūr, where he built the suburb Shahr i Muayyidī. For some years he was Governor-General of all Khurasān, nominally for the Seljūqs, but in reality he was serving Atābeg Ildegez, of Azarbāījān (d. A.H. 568 = 1172). In 1174 he was killed by Takash Khān Khvārazm Shāh, and was succeeded by his son Tughān Shāh.

P. 385 (A.D. 1176). The troops of the Turkish Amīrs Aibek and Sābiq al dīn 'Ali Sahl[1] plundered the peaceful traders of Qumādīn near Jīruft.

P. 394 (A.D. 1190). The Governor of Jīruft further represented that since the pillage of Qumādīn by the Turks under Aibek and 'Ali Sahl, or even since the death of Malik Toghrul Shāh (A.H. 565 = 1170), the Persian Gulf ports had not paid any taxes. . . . .

P. 402. Although the caravans of 'Irāq, which for some time had taken the road to بعرير, had again taken that to Hormūz, where great riches were now amassed.[2]

[1] Sābiq al dīn 'Ali Sahl was Governor of Bamm until 1190, when, on the approach of Malik Dīnār the Ghozz prince, he fled to Sīstān. Malik Dīnār, a chief of the Ghozz Turkomans, took part in the engagement against Sultān Sanjār (b. April 17, 1086; d. February 12, 1157) in the year 1153, which led to Sanjār's capture, and resided in the Marv district until 568 (1172–3), when he was driven out of it by Sultān Shāh Khvārazm Shāh. He reached Nishāpūr soon afterwards, and placed himself under the protection of Tughān Shāh, the son of Malik Muayyid, to whom he handed over Sarakhs, the last of his possessions. After Sultān Shāh had taken Sarakhs, Tughān Shāh was no longer able to protect Malik Dīnār, and advised him to leave. After some wanderings in the districts between Nishāpūr and Kermān, Malik Dīnār reached Kermān territory (17th December, 1185), was soon after joined by Sābiq al dīn 'Ali Sahl and others, put Muhammad Shāh, the last of the Seljūqs of Kermān, to flight, took possession of the capital (11th September, 1187), and ruled over all Kermān until his death (16th October, 1195). His son Ferrukh Shāh succeeded him, and died the following year. After that Kermān fell into the hands of the Khvārazm Shāhs.

[2] This means that since A.H. 565 (1170), in consequence of the disorders in Jīruft and the districts north of Hormūz, the great trading caravans from 'Irāq (i.e. Baghdād) and the West had ceased to proceed to Hormūz, and went to the port of Tīz, further east on the Makrān coast, probably taking the road Shīrāz-Kermān-Bamm-Bampūr; and that in 1190, when Malik Dīnār had restored order in the districts, the caravans again took the old road to Hormūz. The بعرير of the text, which Dr. Houtsma was unable to read, is ثغر تيز, "thaghar i tīz," the usual appellation of the city or port of Tīz, where thaghar stands for "frontier" or "narrow pass or gap" in hills; and as Tīz was situated in a narrow gap, I would prefer the reading "the gap of Tīz." (Cf. Colonel T. H. Holdich's "Notes on Ancient and Mediaeval Makrān," Journal R.G.S., April, 1896:—"Tīz, the great Arab port on the Makrān coast, now a well-known coast village . . . . a few miles from Charbar point . . . . coarse conglomerate hills, which conceal among them a narrow valley, containing all that is left of the ancient port of Tīz . . . . little Persian fort perched on the rocks and absolutely blocking the entrance to the valley . . . . the

From these statements we can safely identify Marco Polo's Camadi with the suburb Qumādīn,[1] or, as I would read it, Qamādīn, of the city of Jīruft.

valley is narrow and close, and the ruins of Tīz are packed close together . . . . . the rocky cliffs on either side of the valley . . . . . the rocky declivities which hedge in this remarkable site.") Tīz, also Tīs and Tiz̲h, is Ptolemy's Τεῖσα. The ruins of the ancient city are situated about 1½ mile inland from Tīz point and the modern village of Tīz, and from the ruins to Chāhbār point is a distance of 4½ miles. Chāhbār, which figures in older maps as Shāhbār and in modern Persian works as Chāh i bahār (Charbar is a rank cockneyism), has been identified as the Τάλμενα of Arrian (Ind., 29), where Nearchos "found a harbour with good anchorage," and Tomaschek ("Küstenfahrt Nearch's," p. 34; Wien, 1890) proposes the reading Τ[εῖσ]α λ[ι]μένα, "the port of Tīz," instead of Talmena. According to Tabari, Tīz was taken by the Arabs A.H. 23 (624). The Tārīkh i Kūbenānī describes Tīz as follows:—"Another notable place in the kingdom of Kermān is the Thaghar i Tīz, whence the King's treasury derives a great revenue from tenths on merchandize and tolls on shipping. It is the emporium of the merchants from India, Abyssinia, Southern Africa, Egypt, and the Arab country from 'Omān to Bahrain. All those merchants pay tolls there, and all the musk, ambergris, indigo, logwood, Indian aromatics, slaves from India and Africa, fine velvets, shawls, and sashes, and like rarities which the world produces, have their market at this port. Contiguous to Tīz is the country of Makrān, producing much sugar and sugar-candy, which is exported thence to all the lands of the unbelievers and Islām." The modern Persians took possession of Tīz in 1865, and some years afterwards built there the little fort which Colonel Holdich mentions as commanding the entrance of the valley or gap. (Cf. my "Persian Balūchistān": J.R.A.S. 1877, p. 153.)

[1] Of sixteen MSS. of Marco Polo's work in French, Latin, and Italian, fifteen have 'a' in the first syllable of the word; only one has 'o.' It is difficult to say what the meaning of Qumādīn or Qamādīn may be. Arabic lexica have qumud, qumudd, qamadd, "strong, hard, of a large body or weight." Yule asked, "May Camadi represent some vague appellation of ancient ruined cities?" Ferrier asked the name of some great mounds and ruins on the lower Hilmand, and was told that they were the remains of the old city of Homedin. H. D. Seymour, editor of Ferrier's work, refers to Firdūsi's Khamdan (J. P. Ferrier, "Caravan Journeys," p. 411; London, 1857).

Art. VIII.—*On the Will in Buddhism.*[1] By Mrs. Rhys Davids.

It is only to be expected, while the ancient literature of Buddhist philosophy is inaccessible to the general critic, and still to some extent also to the Indianist, that many hasty generalizations and one-sided conclusions concerning the nature of Buddhist ideals and discipline should continue to prevail. Enough, however, has already been accomplished in the editing of texts to render some revision of what may be called common errors not altogether premature. There is, for instance, much that is misleading, or downright false, in labelling Gotama's doctrine as Pessimism, Pantheism, Atheism, Nihilism, Quietism, or Apatheia. Nor is that recent criticism altogether discriminating which finds in it the closest coincidences with that of Schopenhauer,[2] or characterizes it bluntly as an ethic rooted in egoism, or as "the crassest eudaemonism,"[3] and aspiring to moral stultification.[4]

The critics who are unversed in the study of the Buddhist Canon in the original are precisely those who most freely discourse on these lines about it. In taking account at all of Eastern philosophy, they have followed, consciously or unconsciously, the direction of Schopenhauer's pointing finger, and the general tendency to widen range and method in historical study. In respect of the language through which they acquire their knowledge of Buddhist

[1] An abstract of this paper was read at the Paris Congress of Orientalists, 1897.

[2] e.g. Drs. Hecker ("Schopenhauer u. die indische Philosophie") and Neumann.

[3] Hecker, op. cit., p. 221. Cf. Oldenberg, *Buddha*, Abschn. ii, Kap. iii; and Nietzsche, *Der Antichrist*.

[4] Hecker, op. cit., p. 221, "Stumpfheit is das buddhistische Ideal."

philosophy, they are at the mercy of the translator. Herein (as I have pointed out elsewhere[1]) lies danger for the justice of their conclusions. They fail to realize that, in a great number of cases, the languages which have grown up with the traditions of Western philosophy do not afford equivalents for Oriental standpoints. The translator may have applied modern phrases with at least an implicit diffidence. The general critic handles them with easy confidence.

Language is not the only source whence the erroneous inferences to which allusion has been made have sprung, and are still springing. But on the present occasion I wish to confine myself to showing, by reference to certain texts and translations, how a somewhat loose procedure on the part of translators (when trying to find equivalents for some of the central concepts of ethics), has left room for the general student to get a false perspective of Buddhist ideals.

As only one of several important instances, I would draw attention to the Buddhist attitude in relation to the volitional side of the human mind. It is not possible to equate in Pali the word 'will,' either in psychological comprehensiveness, or for its trail of bad metaphysic. If, however, we lop off the metaphysic, and resolve 'will' into the classes of mental states or processes, of which it forms a factor more or less, and which, in its wider or its narrower meaning, it is used to designate, we shall find in Buddhist terminology an abundance of suitable words, and in the philosophical treatises an application of them as discriminative as we find among ourselves, and sometimes even more so.

There is so far no evidence of a reduction of complex volition into simple conation, such as may be found in our more scientific modern textbooks. There is no such developed psychology to be met with as is implied in the strictly psychological use of carefully distinct terms (such

[1] J.R.A.S., April, 1897.

as Appetite, Desire, Deliberate Choice), where a coefficient of bare conation is discerned as involved with feeling of a certain sort, or with intellectual activity of a certain sort, or with both intellect and emotion. But what we do find in the Pitakas is a pretty constant discrimination, in the employment of terms connoting volition, between *psychological* import only and *ethical* or moral implication.

In two parallel passages in the *Dhamma Saṅgaṇi*, for instance,[1] the term which best conveys the meaning of bare, simple conation or consciousness of energy, namely, *viriyaṃ*, as well as all its synonyms and complementary terms—trying and striving, effort and endeavour, zeal and ardour, vigour and resistance, persistent striving, sustained desiring and exertion, grasping of a weight—is used to describe, in part, both the state or quality of mind which is morally good and that which is morally bad. To all such terms, then, when used of psychological activity, Buddhism attaches no blame any more than we should. When, on the other hand, the sacred writings wish to convey *ethical values* in terms of volitional import, either distinct and special words are used, or else the term of volition is explicitly qualified as referring to an object of perverted desire or to a morbid state of will. Want or wish (ākaṇkhā) becomes *craving* or *thirst* (taṇhā); for desire (chando) we get *lust* (chandarāgo), *lusts of the flesh* (kāmarāgo), *sensual delight* (nandirāgo), or else some qualifying phrase, desire *for form* (rūpe chando), and so forth.

It should be noted, however, that where words implying effort of will occur without further qualification, it is oftener in connection with progress in self-training than with any idea of depreciating volitional energy.[2] *Thīnamiddhaṃ*, that is, sloth mental and bodily, is a cardinal fault. Quietude and calm are praised, but only as the occasion for sustained

[1] pp. 11, 77.

[2] The only quasi-exception known to me is the case of the so-called Four Agatis, where Chando, standing in company with three bad qualities, has a negative moral value, signifying partiality in a judge. This technical meaning, borrowed from jurisprudence, occurs in one or two passages in the Pitakas (see Cullavagga, iv, 9; Ang., ii, p. 18).

effort of concentration, or as indicating the peace following mental toil and struggle.

In fact, if there be one feature in Buddhist ethics eminent for the emphasis attached to it, it is not only that will as such, desire as such, are not to be repressed, but that the culture and development of them are absolutely indispensable to any advance towards the attainment of its ideals. This is, of course, well known by all who have any knowledge of the Sacred Books, yet it is not yet as generally appreciated as it deserves, either by experts, or by general critics.[1] Let us take a few typical passages on the need of diligent effort.

In one of the Dialogues in the Shorter Collection[2] Gotama describes the process of conversion as consisting in a connected sequence of, trust, drawing near, hearing the word, inquiry, sustained insight, *desire* (chando), *zeal* (ussāho), *pondering* (tulanā), and *struggle* (padhānaṃ). And the learner has to bear in mind this maxim: "Verily may skin, nerves, bones, flesh and blood dry up and wither, or ever I stay my energies (viriyaṃ), so long as I have not attained whatsoever by human endurance, energy, and effort (thāma, viriya, parakkama) is attainable."[3] This forcible adjuration recurs in other books,[4] and was vowed by Gotama to himself in his mental wrestling beneath the Bo-tree.[5] In fact, it seems to have been characteristic of the man to have rated nothing higher in conduct than a supreme effort of will in which "the whole energies of being consent." This was the one thing which he himself admitted, as he conversed with his leading disciples one moonlight evening in a sylvan scene, might lend an added splendour to the beauty of nature—the resolve, namely, of one meditating to free his heart then and there from

[1] Cf. the statement by one of the most recent of these, J. B. Crozier, in his "History of Intellectual Development," p. 118—"The object of Buddhism is the suppression of all desire"—and his distorted view of Buddhism resulting (partly) therefrom.

[2] Majjhima Nikāya, No. 70, p. 480.

[3] Majjh., i, 480.

[4] Ang., i, 50; S., ii, 276.

[5] Jāt., i, 71.

every trace of evil.[1] To a young prince, an intending disciple, who asks Gotama how long it would take to graduate in his doctrine, the reply is that, as with the art of riding, it all depended on whether the learner brought five conditions, these being conceived as so many forms of effort (padhāniyangāṇi) to bear—confidence, health, sincerity, energy, intelligence.[2]

Again (in M., 5th Sutta), the advantage of self-knowledge lies in this, that on it depends an uprising of desire (chando), a beginning of exertion (vāyāmo), an inception of energy, in the way leading to reform.[3] And the degeneration in the Order that would follow on decay of effort and energy is counted among the apprehensions of a bhikshu.[4]

In the Categories of progress toward the Ideal, energy is a constant factor[5]; and of two of the Categories themselves, one is conceived as the Four Great Struggles, and one as a course[6] of Desire, Energy, Thought, and Investigation, with a common factor of meditation and struggle[7] —Ardour being sometimes reckoned as a fifth essential.

In the 6th Sutta of the Majjhima seventeen *desires* for self-improvement are met by advice as to how they may be realized.

Hence it is strictly in accordance with the spirit of the older writings when the author of the "Milinda" declares that Nirvāna is to be realized, not by bare quiescent meditation, much less by mortification of impulse, but by rational discontent, strong anguish, longing, followed by a forward leap of the mind into peace and calm—*then* again by joyous strenuousness in which the aspirant "strives

[1] Majjh., 32nd Sutta.
[2] Majjhima, No. 65, now in the press, of which, by the courtesy of the editor, Mr. Robert Chalmers, I have seen the proofs.
[3] Cf. Ang., ii, 194–5: "Desire, effort, exertion, endeavour, persistence."
[4] Ang., iii, 108.
[5] i.e. in the Powers, the Principles, and the Eight-fold Path; omitting only the Meditations.
[6] Iddhipādā.
[7] Even in the list of the ten Highest States (Pāramiyo) insisted on in the later Buddhism as the condition requisite for a Bodhisatva's attaining Buddhahood, we find resolution (adhiṭṭhāna) included. Cf. also the term abhinīhāro.

with might and main along that path, searches it out . . . makes firm his self-possession . . . to that end holds fast in effort, remains steadfast in love, directs his mind again and again . . ."[1]

And still later Buddhaghosa is constantly insisting on the same doctrine; and, indeed, in one passage goes so far as to say (Attha Sālinī, 300) that the Buddha himself painted the delights of the higher meditation in such glowing colours precisely "in order to rouse ardour in his hearers, and for the sake of making them lust after it."

But Buddhist ethic does not simply enforce and encourage efforts of will and desire. We find some attempts (and may yet find more) to cultivate in detail that which "seems," to quote a modern psychologist, Professor Sully, "to mark off the highly developed will as such," namely, the capacity of Control. "Mature will implies the inhibition of certain nerve-centres by others . . . a repression of action when conflicting motives arise . . . the maintaining of a definitive purpose beyond the movement, and the persistent concentration of mind on this."[2] Thus, in the 20th Sutta of the Majjhima, Gotama recommends the student who is *obsédé* by some haunting idea of an undesirable character to try five methods in succession for expelling it—

(1) Attend to some good idea.
(2) Face the danger of the consequences of letting the bad idea emerge in action.
(3) Become inattentive to the bad idea.
(4) Analyze its antecedents, and so paralyze the sequent impulse.
(5) Coerce the mind with the aid of bodily tension.

[1] See the whole passage, "Milinda," 325–7.

[2] Sully, "Pessimism," p. 212. See also p. 290, where the author sketches a plan of will-culture by which, "in the economic management of all the existing material of pleasure," etc., all evitable suffering may be eliminated from life. The learned author of this interesting work declares at its outset that Buddhism is pure pessimism. Yet the meliorative discipline he describes is very like pure Buddhism.

Again (Majjh., 36th Sutta), Gotama gives a detailed account of his own exercises in the effort to control his sensations. These are illustrations of Control such as we might find quoted in modern psychological treatises.

Once more, the danger of what is now termed *aboulie*, or atrophy of will-power, is touched upon (Majjh., 19th Sutta) —that pathological state of mind of which, in literature, Hamlet is the classical instance.[1] Gotama, in narrating how, in his quest after enlightenment, he analyzed and classified the thoughts that arose in him, has a care lest by over-long pondering and deliberation he should weary his body and induce a swaying fluctuating mood (cittaṃ ūhaññeyya), and so pulls himself together—"earnest, zealous, and resolved."

Further evidence of insight into the nature and practice of control could be adduced from the Pitakas, and will, no doubt, be found in such portions as still remain to be edited. But in reply to all this, those who quote quietism, apathy, and egoistic self-concentration as the essence of Buddhism, may disclaim any reference to the higher will thus purged and chastened. They might say it is only (taṇhā) *tṛishṇā* and (kamma) *karma* that they identify with that primal, noumenal "will to live" and its consequences, in which, they think, the Buddha discerned the perennial source of sorrow, and to which Schopenhauer saw humanity bound, helpless and hopeless, as Tantalus and as Ixion. This was the "will," these the "desires," that constituted for both thinkers the Everlasting No, and induced them to place shrunken and spiritless ideals above a more courageous acceptance of life as a whole.

It is true that no ethical ideal insists more strongly, than that which Gotama placed before his Order, on the absolute necessity of renouncing, not only certain spheres of desire —sensuous passion, worldly ambitions, fevered cravings (*paritāhā*) of any kind—but also the longing for mere life

[1] Cf. Höffding, "Psychology," p. 338.

or being, as such, as well as for any after-life, as such. To prize mere *quantity* of living stood by him condemned as ignoble, as stupid, as a mortal bondage, as one of the three great Defilements (*Āsavas*). To a modern poet's cry—

"How can I have enough of life and love!"

he may fairly enough be represented as responding, "How can I have too little, if by life and love such and such things be understood!" But so indeed might any Christian, might any Hellenist, make reply. Even one of the most modern of all ethical writers says much the same thing when he asks, "Do you mean 'Let us eat and drink for to-morrow we die'? Nay, rather let us join hands and work, since to-day we are alive together!"[1] But we might fairly inquire of the ethical standpoint of the Buddhist Canon if there be *any* sort of "life and love," the which granted, it could sanction and endorse the verse just cited.

Now, in seeking to meet this inquiry one thing is ever impressing itself upon me. It is that the compilers of the Canon might fairly demand of translators that they should indicate, by a more discriminating use of terms than is frequently found, what *form* or *direction* of volitional activity is spoken of as hurtful and vicious. What we actually find, in many cases, is a curious readiness to use some one term, *in itself* of psychological import only, and not denoting ethical values, for a great variety of Buddhist words which in themselves convey, or are explicitly qualified as conveying, a meaning that is morally blameable.

For instance, a comparison of the translations made by such scholars as Burnouf, Foucaux, Max Müller, Fausböll, Oldenberg, and Warren with the originals, discloses the striking fact that the one English word 'desire' is made to do duty for no less than seventeen Pāli words, not one of which means desire taken in its ordinary general sense, but rather in that of perverted, morbid, excessive desire. It would be unnecessarily technical to set out here the proofs of this statement. I put them, therefore, in an appendix.

[1] W. K. Clifford.

Dr. Neumann also, who, translating into German and not into English, usually avoids this pitfall of 'desire,' applies nevertheless to precisely the same class of ethical terms the words, in themselves unmoral, *Wille, wollen, Wunsch.* Still more exception may be taken to his weighting at least two pairs of Buddhist ethical terms with words borrowed from the dialect of Schopenhauer's doctrine of will (*Bejahung, Verneinung*). An incitement is hereby afforded to followers of Schopenhauer to magnify the debt of inspiration owed by the latter to Buddhism in a forced parallelism which requires rather to be checked than encouraged. The unique extension given by Schopenhauer to the psychology of will, so as to cover both conation and feeling, renders all such parallelism at least hazardous.

We now come to what, in the present connection, is due to Buddhism at the hands of the general critic. The stony, stultified, self-centred apathy we often hear ascribed to the Buddhist ideal is supposed to be the result—in so far as the Indian climate is not held responsible[1]—of a Schopenhauerian pessimism as to the worth and promise of life and the springs of life. If, however, the critic would dwell more on the positive tendencies in Buddhist ethics, he might discern under the outward calm of mien of the Buddhist sage in literature and art, a passion of emotion and will not paralyzed or expurgated, but rendered subservient to and diffused around deep faith and high hope. For there is no doctrine, not even excepting Platonism, that sees in life, in the life that now is, greater possibilities of perfection. Nor is there any system, not excepting that of the Christian, which sees in the evolution of human love a more exalted transcendence of the lower forms of that emotion. It is noteworthy that in the passages containing outbursts of sublimated feeling—of lovingkindness, pity, sympathy, good-will—for all living creatures, the

[1] German writers have much to say on this connection between tropics and torpor. English writers, more intimate, directly or indirectly, with the valley of the Ganges, and the amount of strenuous work and play got through by their countrymen, as well as by Indians, say less.

attitude taken up is, so to speak, more dynamically conceived than in the great Pauline ode to Agapé. The emotion is depicted as an energy radiating from a glowing nucleus to fill the universe—as a living force, a "vie intensive et expansive," as the late Jean Marie Guyau might have said—as an overflow of superb effort, of abounding will. "Our mind shall not waver; no evil speech will we utter; we will abide tender and compassionate, loving in heart, void of secret malice; and we will be ever suffusing such an one with the rays of our loving thought, and from him forthgoing we will ever be suffusing the whole world with thought of love far-reaching, grown great, and beyond measure, void of ill-will and bitterness. Thus, brethren, and well, must ye exercise yourselves."[1] In passages like this, which, with its variants, runs like a refrain through much of the Sutta Pitaka—in those on the glory of insight attending the sense of emancipation wrestled for and won—we see a kind of "life and love" of which Gotama would have gladly said "How can we have enough!" The weary, heartrending tragedy immanent in the life of the world he recognized and accepted as honestly and fully as the deepest pessimist. The complexities, the distractions, the burdens, the dogging sorrow inevitable for life lived in participation of all that the human organism naturally calls for, and human society puts forward as desirable—all this he judged too heavy to be borne, not indeed by lay followers, but by those who should devote their lives to learn and practise his doctrine wholly and lift the world to higher standpoints and nobler issues. Life in its fulness *they* at least were not to cultivate. They could not afford to listen to the bidding—"Greift nur hinein ins volle Menschenleben!" The penalty incurred by Buddhism for this economy of energy is heavy enough. It is that of all aristocratic, by which I mean exclusive or partial, systems of thought and culture when tested by the evolving religious needs of humanity.

[1] Majjh., 21st Sutta.

But if we take life of a certain *quality* of refinement and sublimity—the life accessible to the earnest, single-minded, single-hearted, strenuous, self-possessed student-missionary, eased of all worldly and domestic cares—Buddhism, so far from "negating" the will to live that kind of life, pronounced it fair and lovely beyond all non-being, beyond all after-being. If final death followed inevitably on the fullest fruition of it, *this* was not what made such life desirable. Final death was a hypothesis, accepted as welcome, not for its own sake, but as a corollary, so to speak, to the solved problem of emancipation. It merely signified that unhealthy moral conditions had wholly passed away.

Hence, if fairly judged, neither will, nor aspiration, nor the preciousness of life, can be said to be repressed and contemned in Buddhist philosophy. It spurned both asceticism and luxury, and urged a healthy simplification in living—the open air, the bath, the regular hours, the taking of repose, the daily exercise—discerning that the emancipation, the ideal life, must be rooted in hygiene, not in hysteria. Of the mortification of all desire, of the stultification of will, it would have said: "That way madness lies."[1] It sought, often naïvely, often pedantically, but on the whole sanely, to *divert the current of desire* to aims intellectual and ethical rather than worldly or sensual, and then *to foster and strengthen* aspiration and resolve in the effort to persevere towards complete attainment of what it held to be the noblest kind of life.

Appendix.

Burnouf, in the Mahānidāna Sutta, rendered upādānaṃ (grasping) by *désir*.

Foucaux rendered tṛṣṇā (thirst, craving) by *désir*. Lalita Vistara *passim*, e.g. p. 347, Ann. Mus. Guimet, vi.

[1] The madness of the *diṭṭhummattako*, *mohummattako*.

Oldenberg translates kāmā (sensual desires) by *desires* simply; nekkhammaṃ (which he reads as the contradictory of kāmā), by abandonment of desire. "Vin. Texts," i, 81, 104.

Max Müller uses the one term *desires* a number of times for all the four terms āsavā, kāmā, vana, taṇhā. Dhp. *passim*. His translator, Von Schultze, whether *metri causâ* or on other grounds, renders the last term by "des Begehrens dürstendem Drang" (Dhp., 154).

Fausböll applies *desire* without qualification to at least *thirteen* different names for vicious or excessive desire: e.g. (Sutta Nipāta *passim*).

sitā (clinging bond).
nirāsaso, anāsaso } (free from hankering after).
sineho (cleaving, stickiness).
chātatā (hunger).
kaye chandaṃ (desire for the body).
chandarāgaviratto (not dyed with lustful desire).
ussadā (arrogance).
taṇhā (thirst, craving).
paṇidhi (here, aspiration, after becoming and not-becoming) (cf. Fausb. on v, 243).
ākāsaṃ (space; "puffed-up state").
visattikaṃ (lust, dart of).
anejo (greed).
jappitāni (mumblings, prayers).

In Neumann's translation of the Majjhima Nikāya, I—L, we find such renderings as—

Virāgo: Willensende.
Rāgānusayaṃ: Regung des Wollens.
Kāmachando: Wunscheswillen.
Kāmā:[1] Verlangen.
Kamehi vivicca: den Wünschen erstorben.

[1] At other times better rendered by him as *Begierden*. So in places rāgo is better rendered by *Gier*.

Warren, in the index to his work, *Buddhism in Translations*, goes so far to justify his usage as to state that *desire* and *seeking* are to be taken as equivalent to passion, lust, covetousness, and thirst (Index, s.v. Desire). But his object is rather economy of space than care in interpretation. In the translations themselves *desire* is made to take on the heavy burden of *taṇhā*,[1] often it is true *metri causâ*, but not always, and once at least through a misconception of the meaning of the phrase taṇhāya asesavirāganirodho,[2] which should be rendered "the entire cessation and fading out of craving."[3]

[1] Cf. §§ 33, 34; pp. 160, 370–2, etc., etc.
[2] S. iii. p. 26.
[3] Mr. Warren twice renders adhiṭṭhānaṃ (insistence, persistent resolve) by 'affirmation' (pp. 163, 165), but whether with implicit Schopenhauerism or not I cannot say.

ART. IX.—*Some Notes on the Literature and Doctrines of the Ḥurūfī Sect.* By EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.R.A.S.

I. THE LITERATURE.

IN my *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library* (pp. 69–86) I described, at what may have seemed rather inordinate length, a work called the *Jāvidān-i-Kabīr*, which aroused my interest in the highest degree. The interest of this work, as I there pointed out, is twofold: it embodies very remarkable doctrines, apparently akin to those of the Isma'īlīs or Shī'ites of the "Sect of the Seven"; and considerable portions of it are written in a peculiar dialect of Persian which certainly merits a fuller study. Concerning the author of this work, Faẓlu'llāh b. Abī Muḥammad of Tabrīz, called "al-Ḥurūfī," we know little (except what may be gleaned from his writings) beyond what is contained in the brief notice of Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (d. A.H. 852), cited by Flügel at pp. vii–viii of the preface to the second volume of his edition of Hājī Khalfa. "Faẓlu'llāh," says Ibn Ḥajar, "the son of Abū Muḥammad of Tabrīz, was one of those innovators who subject themselves to ascetic discipline. Imbued with heretical doctrine, he finally produced the sect known as the *Ḥurūfīs* [from حروف, '*Letters*'], pretending that the Letters [of the alphabet] were metamorphoses of men, together with many other idle and baseless fancies. He invited the Amīr Tīmūr the Lame [Tamerlane] to adopt his heresies, but he desired to slay him. And this came to the knowledge of his son (with whom he had sought refuge), and he struck off his head with his own hand. And when this was made known to Tīmūr, he demanded

his head and his body, and burned them both, in this year, viz. in the year [A.H.] 804" (=A.D. 1401–2). From the *Jāvidān-i-Kabīr* it seems clear enough that Faẓlu'llāh pretended that himself was a prophet and his book an inspired revelation; and from sundry records of visions with which the Cambridge MS. concludes (I have not had an opportunity of comparing the Leyden or the Constantinople codices), it would further appear that the period of his religious activity began not later than A.H. 786 (=A.D. 1384).

Some time after the publication of my *Catalogue*, my friend Mr. E. J. W. Gibb called my attention to the fact that the Turkish poet *Nesīmī* (who was put to death for heterodoxy in A.H. 820) is, in several *taẓkiras* of Turkish poets, called *al-Ḥurūfī*, a term of which he had not understood the precise significance until he read my notice of the *Jāvidān-i-Kabīr*. He showed me several of the notices consecrated to Nesīmī in these *taẓkiras*; and the allusion to Faẓlu'llāh contained in the following verse of his cited by one of them afforded yet more conclusive evidence that the "heresy" for which the Turkish poet suffered death was the heresy of "Faẓlu'llāh the Ḥurūfī":—

علم حکمتدن بلورسڭ گل برو گل ای حکیم ،
سن نسیمی منطقندن دکّله فضل اللّهی گور ،

"*If thou would'st know of the science of philosophy* [or *of the lore of wisdom*], *come, come hither, O philosopher;*
Hearken thou to the speech of Nesīmī, and behold Faẓlu'llāh! [or *the Excellence of God*]."

Already, therefore, it began to appear probable that this Ḥurūfī sect enjoyed a certain importance, duration, and diffusion; and this conjecture derived further support from my discovery in the Bibliothèque Nationale, during a fortnight spent at Paris in the Easter vacation of 1897, of two manuscripts (*Ancien Fonds Persan*, 24, and *Suppl. Pers.*, 107) containing several other Ḥurūfī treatises. These manuscripts, before going further, I will briefly describe.

" *Ancien Fonds Pers.*, 24.

This MS., a volume of eighty-six leaves, is divided into three parts as follows:—

(I) The *Istiwā-nāma* (ff. 1ᵇ–59ᵇ) of *Amīr Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥuseyn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥuseynī of Astarābād*,[1] of which another copy, dated A.H. 1043, is briefly described by Dr. Paul Horn, of Strassburg, amongst the Persian and Turkish MSS. of the Vatican (*Z.D.M.G.*, vol. li, p. 12). This copy ends (f. 59ᵇ)—

تمّت الكتاب بعون فضل فاتح الباب سنه ۹۷۰

"*The book was concluded by the help of Faẓl[u'llāh] the Opener of the Gate*, A.H. 970" (=A.D. 1562–3). This, of course, is the date of transcription, but a passage on f. 23ᵃ shows that the work must have been composed subsequently to A.H. 828. As regards its title, it refers, no doubt, to the verse of the Qur'ān, "*then He* [God] *ascended upon His Throne*" (ثمّ استوى على عرشه), constantly cited in the *Jāvidān-i-Kabīr* and other Ḥurūfī books.

(II) An allegorical Mathnavī poem (ff. 62ᵇ–80ᵇ), in the hexameter *ramal* metre, describing Alexander's search for the Water of Life, and the questions addressed by him to the *Pīr-i-murshid* (presumably Khiẓr), with their answers. It begins—

ابتدا كردم بنام ذو الجلال ' حيّ و قيّوم و قديم بى زوال '

That this poem also is the work of a Ḥurūfī, is evident from the concluding lines—

هادى و مهدى كلام اللّه شد ' ليك اندر نطق فضل اللّه شد '
گر بدانى عنده علم الكتاب ' اوست شاهد بر همه يوم الحساب '
جمله از جاويد نامه شد عيان ' آنچه پنهان بود در كون و مكان '
رو طلب كن اى شه عالى مقام ' مقصد كلّى ازين رو و السلام '

[1] His full name is thus given on f. 49ᵃ. Elsewhere he is spoken of simply as Amīr Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn.

"The Word of God is [our] Guide and Mahdī, but it is [so] through the speech of Faẓlu'llāh.
If thou understandest '*With Him is Knowledge of the Book*,' he is Witness against all in the Day of Reckoning.
All which was concealed in the Phenomenal Universe hath been made clear by the *Jāvīd-nāma*.
Go, seek, O King of lofty station, the Supreme Object in this way, and so Farewell!"

(III) A glossary of the dialect-words used in the *Jāvidān-nāma-i-Kabīr* (ff. 81ᵃ–86ᵃ). The words explained are written in red in alphabetical order, the explanations in Persian standing under each; and there are about eighty words to the page.

Suppl. Pers., 107.

This is a small volume of ff. 139, brown with age, described in a French note as "Traité de l'immortalité de l'âme en prose persienne appellé *Djavidan namé*, avec l'explication des lettres cabalistiques inconnues qui sont dans l'Alcoran, et le commentaire des passages qui sont à ce sujet, composé par Fadhlalla Houroufi de la secte des Sofis: il traite cette matière suivant la Théologie des Sofis, et la cabale des lettres et des noms divins." Much of it is written in an extremely enigmatical manner, and traditions which enjoyed a special currency and favour amongst the sect are so much abbreviated as to be unintelligible to those who are not already familiar with them. Thus, to cite one instance, the constantly-quoted رأيتُ ربّى ليلة المعراج فى صورة امْرد قطط appears as رايت زبّى فى صٓ مرٓ قطٓ. The book begins, after the *Bismi'llāh*:—

هو در تقسيم وٓدٓ ووٓ بشناس و بخوان اى خوانندهٔ طوٓطٓ وٓه كريم
دٓ عٓ كه حٓ لٓ فرموده است حمص و على صٓر الرحمن از تقسيم
طٓ وٓ وٓ كه يكى موى سر اوست و چهار مژه و دو ابرو و در آن حديث
كه قامت الرّحم فاخذت بحقوى الرحمن قال مه قالت هذا مقام
العائد بك الى آخره

For the full understanding of this text a careful preliminary study of the more intelligible Ḥurūfī works would be indispensable. Its title appears to be, from a marginal note rendered partially unintelligible to me by contractions, *Maḥabbat-nāma-i-Jāvīd*[1] ("The Eternal Book of Love"), and this title seems justified by the general tone of the book and by the constantly-cited tradition—

من ذکرنی احبّنی و من احبّنی عشقنی و من عشقنی عشقْتُهُ
و من عشقْتُهُ قتلْتُهُ و من قتلْتُهُ انا دیته ،

"*He who remembereth me, loveth me; and he who loveth me, passionately desireth me; and him who passionately desireth me I passionately desire; and whom I passionately desire I slay; and of him whom I slay, I am the Blood-wit.*" A *Maḥabbat-nāma-i-Ilāhī* ("Divine Book of Love") is mentioned in the *Istiwā-nāma*, and is, no doubt, the work contained in this MS., which is dated A.H. 895 (A.D. 1489–90), and was transcribed by a certain Darvīsh Aḥmad. I was unable to discover in my examination of the book any indications serving to fix more accurately the date of composition or the authorship, but the following expression occurring on f. 11ᵇ of the *Istiwā-nāma* (and similar ones elsewhere) would seem to show that it too was written by Faẓlu'llāh :—

در محبّت نامهٔ الهی جَ ةَ [? = جلّ ذکره] حضرت الهی
میفرمایند در باب یوسف و زلیخا . . .

Besides the *Jāvidān-nāma* and the *Maḥabbat-nāma*, mention is made in the *Istiwā-nāma* of another Ḥurūfī work, in verse, entitled the *'Arsh-nāma* ("Book of the Throne"). Citations from this show that it is a Persian *mathnavī* poem written in the same metre (*Ramal-i-musaddas-i-maḥdhūf*) as the *mathnavī*

[1] This identification is rendered certain by a passage on f. 13ᵇ of the *Istiwā-nāma*, where, in discussing why the *Maḥabbat-nāma* received this title rather than that of *Ta'ashshuq-nāma* or *Muwaddat-nāma* (which mean the same thing), Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn explicitly cites its opening words as follows:—

در اوّل کتاب محبّت نامهٔ الهی حضرت الهی بسم‌الله الرحمن الرحیم هو فرموده اند ،

already described as forming the second part of *Anc. Fonds Pers.* 24, and it seemed to me probable that this poem might prove to be the *'Arsh-nāma*, but, as I sought in vain to verify the citations, this identity must still be regarded as unestablished.

Mention must also be made of another Ḥurūfī poem in Turkish, by *Refī'ī*, a pupil of *Nesīmī*, contained in the British Museum MS. Add. 5,986. It is called the *Bashārat-nāma*, and contains translations of passages from the *'Arsh-nāma*, *Jāvidān-nāma*, and *Maḥabbat-nāma* already mentioned. As I have not yet had the opportunity of examining this MS., save in the most cursory manner, I can for the present merely refer the reader to Professor Rieu's description of it in his *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, pp. 164–5.

It will thus be seen that the authentic material for a full study of this Ḥurūfī sect, of which hitherto almost nothing has been known, is very considerable. Such a study this article has no pretension to be, but only a few notes on the subject, based on such hurried examination of the documents as I have been able to effect. Some there may be who will be inclined to regret that I did not postpone it until I had extended this examination; but, having learned by experience how often the ungarnered harvest rots instead of ripening, I have thought it better to place in the hands of other students these clues to a hitherto untrodden labyrinth which at present I have not leisure further to explore. Sources whence further information might be expected are, besides the Turkish *taẕkiras* of which I have already spoken (some of which I shall have occasion to cite), the various general and special histories of Tīmūr, where some account of the execution of Faẓlu'llāh is probably to be found. It is, of course, possible that Tīmūr attached little importance to the death of one mystic heresiarch amidst the thousands of victims whom he slew, but the Ḥurūfīs on their part were not disposed to forget "that accursed lame man" (آن لنگ ملعون), as the author of the *Istiwā-nāma* (f. 25ᵃ) calls him.

One other source—printed this time, not manuscript—remains to be mentioned, namely, the Turkish and Persian poems (*Dīvān*) of Nesīmī, published at Constantinople at the *Akhtar* printing-press in Jumāda II, A.H. 1298. Although almost every page of this *Dīvān* contains obvious allusions to Faẓlu'llāh and the Ḥurūfī doctrines, it would appear to be of only secondary value for an investigation of the tenets of the sect. That Nesīmī was a prominent disciple of Faẓlu'llāh is abundantly proved by evidence external to his own poems, and I have now no doubt that he is the "Seyyid 'Imād"[1] mentioned in the visions wherewith the Cambridge MS. of the *Jāvidān-i-Kabīr* concludes (p. 72 of my *Persian Catalogue*). Qinālī-zādé expressly says, in the notice which he consecrates to Nesīmī in his *taẓkira* (Add. 24,957 of Brit. Mus., f. 282), that, after he had been filled with Divine love, he "at length offered his devotion to Faẓlu'llāh al-Ḥurūfī," and, becoming bolder and bolder in his talk of Divine Mysteries as the Mystic Wine-cup which he drained proved too much for his discretion, uttered words mystically true but outwardly blasphemous, which caused the doctors of Aleppo to pronounce sentence of death against him.[2] The author of the *Istiwā-nāma* mentions him (f. 22a) as one of seven "most learned, most perfect, most excellent, most eminent darvīshes of that epoch" (the others being Darvīsh 'Alī, Darvīsh Bahā'u'd-Dīn, Mawlānā Muḥammad of Nā'in, Mawlānā Ḥasan of Burūjird, Darvīsh Aḥmad of Gīlān, and

[1] Qinālī-zādé (fl. A.H. 994) speaks of him as 'Imādu'd-Dīn, and says that he belonged to a family of Seyyids of Baghdad. Mr. Gibb, who has kindly read through the proofs of this article, says that Laṭīfī (A.H. 953) confirms the first piece of information.

[2] I am indebted to Mr. Gibb for the following note:—"Qinālī-zādé's words are—

گلستان جنان و بوستان دل و جانده نسیم فنا وزان اولمغله بوی عشق و محبّتی مشامنه یتورمیشدی
که خدمت مشایخ زمان ایدرک آخر نفس الله حروفی یه ارادت گتورمیشدی '

'As the Breeze of Annihilation blew upon the Garden of his Spirit, upon the Orchard of his Heart and Soul, it bore the Perfume of Love and Affection to his Nostrils, so that after having served the Sheykhs of the Time, he at last gave his allegiance to Faẓlu'llāh the Ḥurūfī,' in consequence of which, continues Qinālī-zādé, he lost all self-control, and began to rave after the fashion of the ecstatics."

Mawlānā Ḥasan-i-Ḥaydarī), and, in an anecdote concerning him (to be cited presently) which occurs on f. 58ᵇ, calls him

سیّد سعید شهید امیر سیّد عماد الدین نسیمی

"the beatified, martyred Seyyid, Amīr Seyyid 'Imādu'd-Dīn Nesīmī." In the *tazkira* of Laṭīfī (Add. 17,339 of Brit. Mus., f. 90ᵇ) he is called—

عشق میدانینڭ سرباز بی بیمی و محبّت کعبه‌سنڭ فدای

عظیمی قدوة السادات سیّد نسیمی قدّس اللّه سرّه '

"the fearless Soldier of the Field of Love, the precious Sacrifice of the Ka'ba of Affection, the Paragon of Seyyids, Seyyid Nesīmī, may God sanctify his secret!" Hence it would appear that even Musulmāns presumably orthodox were disposed to regard him as a kind of second Manṣūr-i-Ḥallāj, a part for which his own words (*Dīvān*, p. 52, l. 6, and many other passages) prove his predilection—

دائم انا الحق سویلرم حقدن چو منصور اولمشم '

کیمدر بنی بر دار ایدن بو شهره مشهور اولمشم '

"Since I have been helped [*manṣūr*][1] by the Truth [God] I ever say, 'I am the Truth!' Who will put me on the gibbet? I have become notorious in this city."

Had these gentle biographers enjoyed an opportunity of perusing even so much of the Ḥurūfī literature as the writer has done, it is very doubtful if they would have striven to surround with the halo of martyrdom an exponent of doctrines far more remarkable for their ingenuity than their orthodoxy. These doctrines I now propose briefly to examine, chiefly by the light of the *Istiwā-nāma*, of which I have the fullest notes, and which is the clearest and most intelligible of the Ḥurūfī books. Before proceeding to this second part of my article, however, I will summarize, for greater convenience of reference, the sources of our information on the subject.

[1] Or, "since I have become [like] Manṣūr." The equivoque cannot be preserved in English.

I. *Ḥurūfī writings.* (1) The *Jāvidān-nāma-i-Kabīr* of *Faẓlu'llāh al-Ḥurūfī*: MSS. of Cambridge, Leyden, and St. Sophia.

(2) The *Istiwā-nāma* of *Amīr Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn*: MSS. of Paris and the Vatican.

(3) The *Maḥabbat-nāma* of *Faẓlu'llāh*: MS. of Paris.

(4) A *mathnavī* poem which, under the guise of Alexander's quest for the Water of Life, treats allegorically of the Ḥurūfī doctrines, and *may be* the *'Arsh-nāma* of Faẓlu'llāh mentioned and cited in the *Istiwā-nāma*: Paris MS.

(5) The *Dīvān of Nesīmī*: Constantinople edition of A.H. 1298. This volume also includes (pp. 9–14) the *Ganj-nāmé* (Turkish) of Refī'ī.

(6) The *Bashārat-nāma* of Nesīmī's pupil Refī'ī: Brit. Mus. MS.

II. *External Sources of Information.* Biographies of Turkish poets (s.v. *Nesīmī* and perhaps *Refī'ī*), e.g. *Qināli-zādé* and *Laṭīfī*.[1] Probably some of the histories of Tīmūr; Ḥājī Khalfa, s.v. *Jāvidān-i-Kabīr*; the *Inbā* of Ibn Ḥajar.

II. The Doctrines.

Speaking generally, the following appear to be the most prominent features of the fanciful doctrines confusedly and unmethodically set forth in the Ḥurūfī books:—

(1) There exists a hidden science, to acquire which is at once the supreme duty and the supreme happiness of man, indicating and explaining the meaning and significance of all things in heaven above and in earth beneath, and the mystical correspondences which unite them.

[1] I am indebted to Mr. Gibb for the following note:—"Refī'ī is not mentioned in any of the *tezkirés* I have seen. There is further a notice on Nesīmī in 'Āshiq Chelebī's *tezkiré*, written about A.H. 976. Also in 'Ālī's History (كنه الاخبار), written A.H. 1007. 'Āshiq alone speaks in a disparaging tone about Nesīmī."

(2) This hidden science is contained in the Qur'ān; but the key which unlocks it was in the hands of Faẓlu'llāh, "the Master of Interpretation" (صاحب تاویل), also called "His Divine Holiness" (حضرت الهی), and, after him, passed to his Successor (حضرت خلیفه) or Vicar[1] (قائم مقام قـ رب العالمین علی عالی اعلی). By them it was disclosed to the believers.

(3) Man, created in the Image of God, "in the best of forms" (فِی اَحْسَنِ تَقْوِیمٍ), is the Microcosm (العالم الاصغر), the Book of God (الکتاب المبین الّذی ' باحرفه یظهر المضمر '), the Goal and Measure of all things, the Throne on which God ascended when He had finished the creation of all inferior and subordinate creatures (as it is said in the Qur'ān—ثمّ استوی علی عرشه), an Object of Worship to the Angels, "save Iblīs, who waxed proud and refused," saying:—

ذات پاکی‌را که من کردم سجود ' هست فارغ از قیام و از قعود '
جسم خاکی چون شود مسجود من ' سجده' من هم سوی معبود من '

"That pure Essence which I worship is free from standing or sitting:
How can an earthly body be the object of my adoration?
My adoration is towards my God."

('*Arsh-nāma* cited in *Istiwā-nāma*, f. 20ᵃ.)

(4) "*Science is a Point which fools have made manifold*" (العلم نقطة کثّرها الجاهلون). That science is the Science of the Letters, which, properly understood, explains all things. "That Point," says Amīr Nūru'llāh, called *Ḥaẓrat-i-Surūru'sh-Shuhadā* (His Holiness the Delight of the Martyrs), "is the head of man; for Beauty, Comeliness, Speech, Smell, Sight, and Hearing are all in the head; and, according to writing and script, the 32 lines of black and white [i.e. the 32 letters of the Arabic alphabet as enlarged by the Persians]

[1] Perhaps Amīr Nūru'llāh, "the Delight of the Martyrs." See p. 77, infra.

are in the face, and the manifestation of speech also, which is 32 and 28 [sounds in the Persian and Arabic languages respectively], is in the face; and the verse '*All things shall perish save His Face*' also alludes to this" (*Istiwā-nāma*, ff. 19ᵇ–20ᵃ). As all the letters are developed from the Point (نقطه), so are all men developed from seed (نطفه, which is, save for a slight difference in diacritical points, an anagram of نقطه). "*Which fools have made manifold*": "inasmuch as they seek the Essence of God, and the manifestation of that Essence, and the Vision thereof, elsewhere than in the Face of Man" (*Istiwā-nāma*, f. 20ᵃ). So Nesīmī says (*Dīvān*, p. 52):—

چون اون سکز بڭ عالمه اولدی وجودم آئینه ‘

اول صورت رحمن بنم کیم خلقه مستور اولمشم ‘

"Seeing that my body is the mirror for the 18,000 worlds, I am that very Form of God, so am I concealed to (i.e. not comprehended by) the multitude."

(5) The Ḥurūfīs, like the Bāṭinīs or Isma'īlīs, whom in many respects they so closely resemble, teach that, though there is a deep meaning of infinite significance both in the Qur'ān and in the religious observances (Prayer, Fasting, Pilgrimage, etc.) which it ordains, the merely literal meaning of the former and the merely formal fulfilment of the latter are entirely devoid of importance. The method of *ta'wīl*, or allegorical interpretation, first elaborated by the Isma'īlīs, finds an equally full and very similar application amongst the Ḥurūfīs, who, as it would appear, reject the material Resurrection, Paradise, and Hell of orthodox Islām; and incline to a belief in Transmigration, or rather, perhaps, like the Bābīs, in the "Return" (رجعت) or Re-manifestation of the same significant essences in new forms.[1] They appear to believe, however, in a state of subjective happiness or misery after death, since Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn gives in the *Istiwā-nāma* (f. 23ᵃ) an account of a conversation which he held

[1] Cf. pp. 77–8, infra.

during sleep with a departed co-religionist, Amīr Salāmu'llāh, and describes graphically the mansions and gardens of the Paradise wherein he visited him and other deceased co-religionists; while in another place (f. 27ª) the following couplet, ascribed to "the Master of Interpretation" (i.e. Faẓlu'llāh), is said to have been cited in the course of a discussion by Amīr Nūru'llāh:—

با او بماند دایم در عالم معانی
آن نقش و آن صفاتی کو با وی آشنا شد

"There remain ever with him in the Ideal World that form and those attributes which had become familiar to him."

Moreover, we find in the *Istiṣā-nāma*, chapters "on the consciousness of the Human Spirit after the plucking off of the Body, when and how Peace comes to the pure and great Spirit of the learned, enquiring, unitarian Gnostic who practises what he knows" (f. 212); "in explanation of Hell, and the Place of Abode of the Human Spirit" (f. 39ᵇ); and "in explanation of Hell, and determination thereof according to the word of interpretation of the *Jāvidān-nāma-i-Ilāhī*, the *Maḥabbat-nāma-i-Ilāhī* and the Word of the Vicar of God (*Khalīfatu'llāh*), and according to the explicit testimony (نصّ) of the Pentateuch and the Gospel."

Now the doctrine of *ta'wīl*, or allegorical interpretation, is very apt to lead to complete Antinomianism, and from several passages in the *Istiṣā-nāma*, it would appear that this actually was the case amongst many of the Ḥurūfīs: "Some of the darvīshes of Rūm" (i.e. the Turkish Ḥurūfīs), according to Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn (f. 24ª), used to argue thus:—

بهشت عبارت از علم است و دوزخ عبارت از جهل است چون ما عارف بسی و دو کلمه و وجود خود و اشیا شدیم همه اشیا از برای ما بهشت است نماز نیست و روزه نیست و طهارت نیست و حرام نیست همه حلال است که این همه تکلیفات است و در

بهشت تکلیف نیست و غرض از بهشت این عالم است با معرفت علم حروف و بیان صاحب بیان ج ه ' و درویشان بغداد نیز که درویش امیر علی کیوان و درویش صدر ضیا و درویش حسن ناطق اند ایشان نیز بریں اند و بریں بودند ' و درویش حاجی عیسی بدلیسی سلام الله علیه در آلاداغ از حضرت خلیفة الله سوال فرمود و مدّتی با درویشان مولانا حسن حیدری و درویش محمّد تیرگر و سیّد تاج الدین و سیّد مظفر بحث میکرد و مدّعای او این بود که در بهشت تکلیف نیست و ما میگوئیم که در بهشتیم پس بر ما میباید که تکلیف نباشد و این پنج وقت نماز بر ما تکلیف است پس گذاردنی نباشد و مدّت چند وقت درین باب مباحثه میکرد تا غایتی که این سخن بحضرت خلیفة الله رسید صلوات الله علیه جواب اورا چنین فرمودند که ترا بر علم من و یقین من اقرار هست یا نیست حال از دو بیرون نیست آن درویش عزیز فرمودند که این فقیررا بعلم و یقین شما [اقرار] هست [پس از] این فرمودند که اگر مرا دانا میدانی من میگویم که میباید گزارد (f. 24b) و در محبّت نامهٔ الهی ج ۃ حضرت صاحب بیان ج ۃ میفرمایند که نهایت خداپرستی حکما و علما و زاهدان و متّقیان سر بعالم عشق وا خواهد نهادن و عاشقی عبارت از آنست که از برای هر خط وجه و ابرو و مژه و غمزهٔ محبوب سجود تسلیم بجا آورد و در جنّت بقول نصّ کلام اذا قیل لهم سلاما سلاما مذکورست و سلاما سلاما در نماز است هم صورت نماز خواهد بود ' آن درویش سکوت کرد و تسلیم شد و قبول کرد '

"'Paradise consists in knowledge, and hell in ignorance. Since we are cognizant of the 32 words, and of our own being, and of all things, all things are paradise to us: there is no longer prayer, or fasting, or cleanness, or things unlawful: all is lawful. For all these things are obligations, and in paradise is no obligation. And by paradise is meant this world, with knowledge of the Science of the Letters and the Explanation of the Revealer (glorious be his mention!).' And the darvīshes of Baghdad also, who are Darvīsh Amīr 'Alī Keyvān and Darvīsh Ṣadr-i-Ẓiyā, and Darvīsh Ḥasan Nāṭiq, also hold and have held this. And Darvīsh Hājī 'Īsā of Bitlīs (upon whom be the Peace of God) enquired of His Holiness the Vicar of God in Āladāgh, and disputed for some while with the Darvīshes Mawlānā Ḥasan Ḥaydarī and Darvīsh Muḥammad Tīr-gar ['the Fletcher'] and Seyyid Tāju'd-Dīn and Seyyid Muẓaffar [about this point], his contention being, 'There is no obligation in Paradise; and we say that we are in Paradise, therefore there is no obligation upon us; and these five times of prayer are an obligation upon us, therefore they should not be performed,' and for some time he discoursed on this matter, until at length it came to the hearing of His Holiness the Vicar of God (on whom be the blessings of God), who answered him thus: 'Dost thou admit my knowledge and infallibility? There are but two alternatives.' That worthy darvīsh replied, 'This humble individual admits your knowledge and infallibility.' Then said the other, 'If thou regardest me as wise, I say that one *should* perform them.' And in the *Maḥabbat-nāma-i-Ilāhī* (glorious be its mention!) His Holiness the Revealer (glorious be his mention!) says: 'Worship of God will at length turn the heads of philosophers, doctors, the ascetic and the devout, again to the World of Love; and Love consists in this, that one should fulfil the prostration of submission to every hair of the face, and eyebrow, and eyelash, and glance of the Beloved: and in Paradise, as is mentioned in the explicit word of Scripture, "*then shall be said unto them, 'Peace! Peace!'*" and "*Peace!*

Peace!" is in the prayers; it [i.e. Paradise] is therefore conformable to prayer.' That darvīsh was silent and submitted and acquiesced."

Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn then goes on to speak of the views prevalent amongst his fellow-believers in Shīrwān, Gīlān ("some of whom believe in the World of Immortality as conformable to the World of Sleep"), Khurāsān (where Seyyid Amīr Isḥaq taught and gathered disciples), 'Irāq, Luristān, and Tabrīz, most of whom seem to have discarded the outer forms of religion :—

و اهل عراق و لرستان و درویشان آن دیار اکثر بلکه همه بالحاد و بی نمازی و بی تکلیفی مشغول گشته خودرا آزاد تصوّر کرده بدان عمل مشغول اند ' اهل تبریز درویشان اهل فضل بعضی بر آنند که بهشت شد و قلم تکلیف بر خاستت ' هرچه در کاینات است حقّ انسان عارفست آنچه میسّر گردد و تصرّف میباید (f. 25b) نمود و آنچه میسّر نگردد حق خود میباید دانست و درآن کوشیدن که از دست غیر بیرون آورده عارف تصرّف نماید ' نماز و طاعت و وضو و غسل و امثال این چیزها بر خاسته است ' نماز از برای آن بود که حقیقت آن معلوم گردد چون حقیقت معلوم گشت دیگر نماز نیست و امثال این تکالیف ..... بعضی برآنند که حضرت صاحب تاویل ج ۃ در عرش نامهٔ الهی میفرماید —

یعنی سی و دو مرا باشد کلام ' آنکه اشیارا بایشانست قیام '
در یکی گیرید اگر از حق قرار ' سی و یکرا زو بیابی آشکار '

(f. 26a) برادر عزیز جانی درویش محمّد تیرگر رضوان اللّه علیه از طرف مازندران بعد از استخلاص از حبس شیاطین که با حضرت سرور شهدا امیر نور اللّه صلوات اللّه علیه آمدیم بطرف بغداد چون

به محروسهٔ باغ قوبه رسیدیم رسید و چند مسئله آورد از آن جمله یکی این بود که البته میباید که همه زبانها برافتد الّا عربی و فارسی بدلیل لسان اهل الجنّة عربی و فارسی دری که سی و دو کلمه درین دو زبان جاریست دیگر زبانها مکررند می باید که برافتند ' و یکی دیگر آنکه ازین فقیر سؤال کرد که حضرت صاحب تاویل‌را چ ة و آن لنگ ملعون‌را کجا مشاهده میکنی ' این فقیر گفت حقیقت آن لنگ نجس‌را در لقوهٔ ملعون و حقیقت فضل رب العالمین چ ة در حضرت امیر نور اللّه ' او انکار کرد و گفت که حضرت صاحب بیان در مظهر بالقوّه است که پادشاهی میکند و آن لنگ در سگ است و در صورت سگ اورا مشاهده توان کرد '

"And most, nay, all of those of 'Irāq and Luristān, and the darvīshes of that district, having entangled themselves in heresy, and discarded prayer and other obligations, imagine that in thus acting they enjoy liberty. As for those of Tabrīz, the darvīshes who are followers of Faẓl,[1] some [of them too] hold that Paradise has come, and that the prescribed obligations are removed. 'Whatever is in creation,' [say they] 'is the due of the initiate: he should possess himself of whatever is obtainable, and as for what is beyond his reach, he ought to regard it as his by right, and strive to get it out of the hands of others, so that the initiate may take possession of it. Prayer, Worship, the greater and lesser ablutions, and the like of these things, are abrogated. Prayer existed so that the verity underlying it might become known: when that verity has become known, there is no more [need of] prayer, and the like obligations. . . . . Some assert that His Holiness the

[1] Of course درویشان اهل فضل may be taken as meaning "the excellent" or "accomplished darvīshes," but as Faẓlu'llāh, the founder of the sect, was a Tabrīzī, I think that the expression has a specific meaning, and denotes those Ḥurūfīs who derived their teaching directly from him.

Master of Interpretation (glorious be his mention!) says in the *'Arsh-nāma-i-Ilāhī*:—

'That is, I have two and thirty words whereby all things subsist:
If by the Truth you abide in one, you will find the other one and thirty made plain thereby.'

That dear brother of my heart Darvīsh Muḥammad Tīr-gar ['the Fletcher'] (upon whom be the approval of God), when we approached Baghdad and reached the protected garden of Qūba with His Holiness 'the Delight of the Martyrs' Amīr Nūru'llāh (upon whom be the blessings of God), after our release from the bondage of the devils, arrived from Māzandarān bringing several problems, of which one was this: 'All languages save Arabic and Persian must pass away, as is proved by [the tradition] *"the language of the people of Paradise is Arabic and Darī Persian,"* for the thirty-two words [rather *letters*] are current in these two languages, while other languages are merely repeated,[1] wherefore they must pass away.' And another [problem] was this which he enquired of this humble individual: 'Where dost thou behold His Holiness the Master of Interpretation (glorious be his mention!) and that accursed lame man [i.e. Tīmūr-i-lang, 'Tamerlane'] ?' This humble individual replied: '[I behold] the essence of that unclean lame one in the accursed distortion[2] [?], and the essence of the Grace [*Faẓl*] of the Lord of the Worlds (glorious be his mention!) in His Holiness Amīr Nūru'llāh.' He denied it, saying: 'His Holiness the Master of Interpretation is only potentially manifest, for he rules [by his influence and teachings which survive him], while that

[1] The Ḥurūfī system dealt primarily with the mystical virtues and significance of the 28 letters of the Arabic alphabet, and afterwards included (in the *Nuskha-i-Naw*, or Supplement to the *Jāvidān-i-Kabīr*) the four additional Persian letters پ, چ, ژ, and گ, thus raising the total number to 32. Other languages, according to the Ḥurūfī view, would only repeat more or less perfectly these letters.

[2] The proper meaning of لکنة is 'Paralysis, distortion of the mouth.' With the Ḥurūfīs it probably had some special signification.

lame man is in a dog, and in the form of a dog one may behold him.'"[1]

All this very clearly shows that, as might have been expected *primâ facie*, the doctrine of *ta'wîl*, or allegorical interpretation, had produced amongst the Ḥurūfīs that disregard of the external forms of devotion, and impatience of restriction, which it always has tended, and always must tend, to produce. Not only were many of them disposed to abandon the prayers, fasting, and pilgrimage prescribed by the Law of Islām, but they were inclined, like the Carmathians, like the Anabaptists, like some of the early Bābīs, to consider that to them, as a chosen people, it was given to "inherit the earth." Nor are there wanting in their books sundry indications of a tendency on their part to set aside the moral as well as the religious law; while it is clear that some of them, like Nesīmī, were given to indulging in those extravagant pretensions wherein to this day Persians of the class amongst which doctrines of this type find most favour are accustomed to revel.[2] An interesting passage in the *Istiwā-nāma* (f. 58^b) illustrates this:—

سلطان الموحدین و زبدة المجتهدین قائم مقام قـ ربّ العالمین
علی عالی اعلی عمّ در بـزم توحید ساکن بودند و بـتشرّب مَ الهی
مشغول بودند ، نظم سیّد سعید شهید امیر سیّد عماد الدین نسیمی -
رضوان اللّه علیه درمیان خوانده شد و ابیاتی چند که در آن نظم
دعوئ انانیّت راجح بود ، این فقیر از ح ایشان با رسم لطیفه سوال
کردم وگـفـتم که چونست که امیر سیّد نسیمی کـه [از] هـدایت
یافتگان شما بودند ایـن همه دعوئ انانیّت کرده‌اند و البته هـر
صاحب کمال از منازل اعـلای خـود دم زده‌انـد وسخنهای بلند

[1] For a curious parallel, cf. my translation of the *New History of Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad the Báb*, p. 338.

[2] See my *Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 475, 491–3.

فرموده‌اند مثل امیر المومنین علی علیه السلام در خطبهٔ شقشقیه و شیخ جنید و شیخ بایزید و امثال ایـن مشایخ کبار از شما امثال این صدا ظاهر نشد و نمی شود ' آن حضرت با رسم لطیفه باین فقیر سخن چند فرمودند در جواب فرمودند که حاجت نیست که من از منازل خود خبر دهم که از منازل عالی ایـن فـقیر نـصّ کتاب الهی تنزیل ناطق است و خبر میدهد ' و این فـقیر سؤال کردم که کدام است فرمودند کـه قولـه تعالی و هو العلی العظیم و علیٌّ کبیرٌ و امثال این آیات نعت من است که خدا در کلام تنزیل فرمودند ' و این قول را همین فقیر حاضر بود که استماع کرد و بر لوح ضمیر منقّش گردانید تا ایـن دم که از آن حال مقدار سی سال کـم و یـا بیش گذشته صورت تحریر یافت تا چون بسمع طالبان راه یقین و سالکان راه توحید قـ رب العالمین جـ ة برسد این مسئله‌را ازیـن فـقیر در عرصهٔ کائنات مانده دانند و این فقیر بدعای خیر یاد فرمایند '

"The King of Unitarians and Cream of Divines, the Vicar of the Grace of the Lord of the Worlds [i.e. of Faẓlu'llāh], the High, the Exalted, the Supreme (upon whom be Peace), was tarrying at the Banquet of Unification, and absorbed in quaffing the Divine Wine. The poetry of that blessed, martyred Seyyid, Amīr Seyyid 'Imādu'd-Dīn *Nesīmī* (upon whom be God's approval), was being read amongst us, and some verses in that poetry which appeared to imply a claim to [the Divine] Ipseity. This humble individual jestingly enquired of His Holiness saying: 'How is it that Seyyid Nesīmī, who was one of your converts, has put forward all these claims to Ipseity? Of course, every perfect man boasts of his highest levels, and utters great words, like 'Alī, the Prince of Believers, in the homily [known as] *Shaqshaqiyya*; and Sheykh Juneyd [of Baghdad]; and

Sheykh Bāyazīd [of Bisṭām]; and the like of these great Sheykhs. But from you the like of these utterances hath not appeared and appeareth not.' His Holiness made several subtle observations to this humble individual, and answered: 'There is no need for me to tell of my levels, inasmuch as the Divine Scripture explicitly speaks and discourses of the high levels of this humble individual.' I asked, 'Which [passage] is it?' He replied: 'Where God says, "*and He is the Exalted, the Mighty,*" and "*One High and Great,*" and the like of these verses, it is to me that God refers in the words of Scripture.' And this humble individual was present when he heard this saying: and he engraved it on the tablet of his memory, until now, when a period of thirty years, more or less, has elapsed since that time, it hath been recorded in writing, so that, when it reaches the hearing of those who seek the Path of Certainty and pursue the Road of Unification of the Grace of the Lord of the Worlds [i.e. Faẓlu'llāh] (glorious is his mention!), they may regard this question as somewhat left by this humble individual in the plain of phenomenal beings, and may remember him in their prayers."

A few quotations from Nesīmī's *Dīvān*, taken almost at random from the first few pages, will illustrate the character of the pretensions above referred to.

مائیم امیر هردو عالم ' مائیم عدوّ سور و ماتم '
یک قطره ز بحر ماست شبلی ' یک نقطه ز حرف ماست ادهم '
زد بحر محیط ما شبی موج ' حاصل شد از آن کفی شد آدم '
عیسیٔ دمنده دم بزاید ' گر زانکه دمیم دم بمریم '

"We are the Ruler of the two worlds: we are the enemy of rejoicing and mourning. Shiblī is a drop from our Ocean: [Ibrāhīm] Adham is a Point of our Letter. One night our all-encompassing Ocean dashed a wave whose foam became Adam. Jesus, the Breather of Healing Breath, will be born if we breathe our breath into Mary."

از ما طلب ای پسر خدارا ' مائیم چو مظهر الٰهی

"Seek God from us, O son, since we are the Divine Manifestation."

از سرّ پدر شدیم آگاه ' احمد چو نشان راه بنمود '

"We were acquainted with the Secret of the Father when Aḥmad [i.e. Muḥammad] showed a sign of the Path."

ای طالب صورت خدائی ' چون بگذری از دوئی خدائیم '

"O seeker of the Divine Countenance, when thou quittest duality we are God!"

ای طالب حق به بین خدارا ' در صورت خوب و حسن موزون '

"O seeker of the Real, behold God in the fair face and symmetrical beauty!"

ای صوفیٔ عمر داده بر باد ' می نوش و بیا که ما مضی فات '

"O Ṣūfī who hast wasted thy life, come and drink wine, for what is passed is lost."

نظارهٔ صورت خدا کن ' در شیوهٔ خط وجه زیبا '

هیهات که حق نبینی امروز ' ای غرّه بوعدهای فردا '

"Contemplate the Face of God in the disposal of the down on a comely countenance:
Alas, thou wilt not regard the Real to-day, O dupe of to-morrow's promises!"

صورت حق آنکه میگوید که روی خوب نیست

چشم حق بین نیست اورا دعوئ او باطلست '

"He who says that a fair face is not the Visage of God hath not the Truth-seeing eye and his pretension is vain."

چرخ معلّق بنم فاعل مطلق بنم ' حقّله یم و حق بنم آیتله بیّنات '

"I am the suspended Heaven, I am the Absolute Agent, I am with God, I am God, I am the Proofs and the Sign."

ای قیلن توحید ایمان کفر و شرکنگ آدینی ‘
گل بو زیبا صورته قیل سجده کیم ایمان بو در ‘

"O thou who makest one the names of the Faith, of Blasphemy and of Polytheism, come, worship this fair form, for this (i.e. doing this) is the Faith!"[1]

Surely here is sufficient proof to convict Nesīmī of unorthodoxy, quite apart from the essentially heretical doctrines of his sect, which certainly regarded Faẓlu'llāh and his *Jāvidān-nāma-i-Kabīr* as equal to Muḥammad and the Qur'ān, and probably as vastly superior, besides explaining away by their *ta'wīl* most of the essential doctrines and prescribed ordinances of Islām!

It is now time to give a sample of the fanciful "correspondences" or analogies so industriously sought out by the Ḥurūfīs. As the Qur'ān corresponds to man, each being the Book of God, so the *Fātiḥa*, the opening chapter of the Qur'ān, corresponds to the head of man. And just as this *sūra* comprises seven "signs" (*āyāt*) or verses, the *sab'u'l-mathānī*, so in the face of man we have "seven signs," to wit, the *hair*, two *eyebrows*, and four rows of *eyelashes*. These, says the *Istiwa-nāma* (f. 17b), are "the Seven Heavens," for in reality there is only one heaven:—

بدین دلیل معلوم میشود که این آسمان ظاهر یکی باشد همچو زمین ‘ آنکه هفت فرمودند مراد از سموات بدن آدم باشد که سر و خط سر است که از شکم حوا که اُمّ است واصل است این هفت خطرا با خود همراه می آورد ‘

"By this proof it is known that the external heaven is only one, like the earth. When they speak of 'seven,' the 'heavens' of Man's body are meant, these being the

[1] For this corrected rendering, and for the following note, I am indebted to Mr. Gibb's kindness:—"This verse is addressed to the Adept who sees the Unity in all things—'Syntheism' is perhaps better than 'Polytheism' for شرک."

head and the 'lines of the head' [as above enumerated] which seven lines he brings with him when he comes forth from the womb of Eve, who is the Mother" (i.e. امّ الكتاب, "the Mother of the Book," man, as we have seen, being "the Book").

In accordance with this idea, we find mention made by the author of the *Istiwā-nāma* (f. 23ᵃ) of two deceased ladies of his persuasion entitled "*Bībī Fātiḥa*" and "*Bībī Ummu'l-Kitāb.*"

Supported, I suppose, by a traditional saying ascribed to 'Alī, "*All that is in the Qur'ān is in the Sūratu'l-Fātiḥa,*" etc., and extending its application in a manner slightly different from that adopted by Sheykh Muḥyiyyu'd-Dīn b. al-'Arabī, and after him by the Bābīs (who take the nineteen letters of the *Bismi'llāh* as the basis of their numerical mysticism), the Ḥurūfīs next assume that the first verse of the *Fātiḥa* (الحمد لله ربّ العالمين), which contains eighteen letters, represents the "18,000 worlds" (cf. p. 71, supra) which constitute the Universe. Now the Sum of the Universe = God (الله) + "what is beside God" (ما سواء الله). Take away the 4 letters of الله from 18, and 14 is left, which number represents the Phenomenal or Material Creation. The same number 14 (to which the Ḥurūfīs appear to attach great importance, perhaps as a multiple of 7) is arrived at in another way, as follows:—The Arabic alphabet comprises 28 letters. This alphabet in the Ḥurūfī system represents the sum of the Universe, i.e. God + "what is beside God." Take away what the Ḥurūfīs call "the 14 letters of God" (چهارده حرف الله, by which they appear to mean the letters in the formula—الله لا اله الا هو, "*God, there is no God but He!*") and 14 letters remain to represent "what is beside God," i.e. the Material Worlds. The four letters in the 18—4 of the first reduction are represented in the alphabet by the four letters added by the Persians to the original 28 of the Arabs, which 28 is itself the double of 14.

Moreover, 14 joints make up the fingers (including, of course, the thumb) of the hand, or 28 the two hands. In pronouncing the declaration of the Divine Unity (تشهّد), the index-finger (hence called انگشت شهادت, "the Witness-finger") of one hand, and all the fingers of the other hand (making 14 + 3 = 17 joints in all), are extended, while the remaining fingers (11 joints) are flexed. The 17 stand for the 17 کلمهٔ محکمات, or primary forms of the Arabic letters, which are not dependent for their differentiation on the "point" or dot (*nuqṭa*), viz.: ا, ب, ح, د, ر, س, ص, ط, ع, ف, ک, ل, م, ن, و, ه, ی. The 11 stand for the 11 کلمهٔ متشابهات, which are differentiated by the "point," viz.: ت, ث, ج, خ, ذ, ز, ش, ض, ظ, غ, ق. Thus, the *nuqṭa* or "point" is the underlying basis, or primordial element, of the alphabet, which is its manifestation; while from another point of view it reveals, by differentiating, the letters. This appears to be the thought which underlies the assumption of the title "*Nuqṭa*" by the Báb, though it was no doubt immediately suggested to him by the final words of the traditional saying of 'Alí referred to above—

كلّ ما فى القرآن فى الفاتحة و كلّ ما فى الفاتحة فى البسملة و كلّ ما فى البسملة فى البآء و كلّ ما فى البآء فى النقطة الّتى تحت البآء و انا النقطة الّتى تحت البآء

"*All that is in the Qur'án is in the Fátiḥa, and all that is in the Fátiḥa is in the Bismi'lláh, and all that is in the Bismi'lláh is in the Bá, and all that is in the Bá is in the Point which is under the Bá* (ب), *and I am the Point which is under the Bá.*" The "Point" contains potentially all the "Letters," or, in the words of the *Istiwá-náma* (f. 5[a])—

ظهور کلمه از نقطه است

The mysteries of the number 14 are not yet exhausted. Every student of Islám knows how greatly the detached letters and groups of letters which stand at the heads of

certain *sūras* of the Qur'ān have exercised the ingenuity of Muslim doctors and mystics. The Ḥurūfīs have discovered that those letters are 14 in number (viz., كهيعص الرطس حم ق ن), and that they occur in 14 combinations (viz.: الم, حم, ص, يس, طس, طسم, طه, كهيعص, الر, الا, المص, حمعسق, ق, ن). To these letters they apply the title "Mother of the Book" (أم الكتاب). Those (other than themselves) who seek to explain their significance they fiercely denounce (*Istiwā-nāma*, f. 22[a]); for "*None knoweth its interpretation save God*" (وما يعلم تأويله الا الله).

This harping on the number 7 and its multiples, together with the prominence given to the doctrine and method of *ta'wīl*, or allegorical interpretation, disposed me to regard the Ḥurūfīs as a branch of the old Isma'īlīs, or "Sect of the Seven" (سبعی). But I am bound to say that a poem of Nesīmī's (*Dīvān*, pp. 45, 46) devoted to the praise of the *Twelve* Imāms recognized by Shi'ites of the "Sect of the Twelve" (اثنی عشریه), is a strong argument against this view. And, indeed, in studying Muḥammadan, and especially Persian, sects, I think we are far more likely to err in assuming an organic or historical connection between doctrines which present striking features of similarity (extending often to an identity of terminology) than in the other direction. The more we pursue this study, the more truth shall we discern in that acute observation of Gobineau, "the most formidable characteristic of the East is that it never forgets." Another profoundly true observation made by the same ingenious writer should constantly be borne in mind, viz., that as a rule the Persian is so much less fearful of contracting heretical notions than of losing some idea or illustration capable of being assimilated with his existing creed or system, that he will often cultivate the society of persons whom he regards as infidels and heretics, and whose creeds he holds in detestation, in the hope of being thereby enabled to enrich the fabric

of his belief with some new fragment of decorative architecture.[1] Thus the Ḥurūfīs, whom one would scarcely describe as a sect formed in any degree under Christian influences, had evidently ransacked the Gospels for further confirmation and illustration of their ideas; for not only does the author of the *Istiwā-nāma* (f. 23[b]) talk of "seeking consolation and understanding from the Books of Explanation [or Revelation, بیان] of His Divine Holiness (exalted be His mention!), and from the Pentateuch, and the Gospel, and the Glorious Qur'ān . . . . and the Three Books" (whatever is meant by this last expression), but the Gospels are actually cited in at least two passages. The first of these occurs on f. 12[a]:—

و حضرت در اوّل انجیل میفرماید که اوّل چیزی که از آسمان آمد سخن بود و خدا با آن سخن بود و من آن سخنم و من کلمه بودم که در رحم مریم در آمدم و آن کلمه گوشتمند شد'

"And the Lord [Jesus] says in the beginning of the Gospel [of St. John]: 'The first thing which came from heaven was the Word [or Speech, *sukhan*], and God was with that Word, and I am that Word. And I was the Word [*kalima*] which entered into the womb of Mary; and that Word became incarnate.'"

The second citation is equally unmistakable, and occurs on f. 51[b]:—

چشمی که بخیانت نظر کند آن چشم‌را بکن و بینداز که بیک چشم در زندگانی به که بدو چشم در دوزخ چون میدانی قهری هست که نمی نشیند و آتشی هست که نمی خسپد' دستی که خیانت کند ببر که بیک دست در زندگانی به که بدو دست در دوزخ چون میدانی که قهری هست که نمی نشیند و آتشی هست که نمی خسپد'

[1] *Religions et Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1866, p. 7.

"That eye which offends [or 'plays the traitor'], pluck it out and cast it away, for it is better [to be] in Life with one eye than in Hell with two eyes; since thou knowest that there is a Wrath which abateth not and there is a Fire that dieth not. That hand which offends, cut it off, for it is better [to be] in Life with one hand than in Hell with two hands; since thou knowest that there is a Wrath which abateth not and there is a Fire that dieth not."

So at the present day the Bābīs (particularly the Bahā'īs) have freely borrowed illustrations, expressions, and arguments from the Christian and Jewish Scriptures, adapting them, of course, in every case, to their own requirements, and understanding them in their own ways, which naturally differ very considerably from the interpretations with which the West is familiar.

To return, however, to another point on which I just now touched, viz. the existence of striking but apparently fortuitous resemblances in Persian sects between which it is very difficult to assume any actual contact or organic connection. Is it not a remarkable thing that, not to mention all this talk about the "POINT" and "LETTERS," we find Faẓlu'llāh called in a passage of the *Istiwā-nāma* (f. 23b) "*Ḥaẓrat-i-Ṣāḥib-i*-BAYĀN" and his books "*Kitāb-hā-yi* BAYĀN," while the colophon (see p. 63, supra) states that the transcription was concluded "*bi-'awni Faḍli* [*Faẓli*]-*Fātiḥi'l*-BĀB"? Is it not remarkable that the numbers 360 and 18 should appear in the Ḥurūfī books only less prominently than do 361 ("the Number of All Things") and 19 ("the Number of the Unity") in the books of the Bābīs? Even in the titles given to the saints and martyrs of the two sects there is an extraordinary similarity, for if the Bābīs have their "*Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā*," the Ḥurūfīs have their "*Ḥaẓrat-i-'Alīyy-i-'Āliy-i-A'lā*"; if the Bābīs have their "*Ismu'l-'Aẓīm*" (Mullā Sheykh 'Alī), the Ḥurūfīs have their "*Ismu 'Huwa'l-'Alīyyu'l-Kabīr*'"; if the Bābīs have their "Beloved of the Martyrs" ("*Maḥbūbu'sh-Shuhadā*"), the Ḥurūfīs have their "Delight of the Martyrs" ("*Surūru'sh-*

Shuhadā"); if a Bābī seer recognizes the soul of a dead unbeliever in a dog, a Ḥurūfī (pp. 77–8, supra) beholds Tamerlane, the oppressor of his faith, in the form of the same animal. And yet it is very improbable that the Bābīs had any knowledge whatever of the Ḥurūfīs, or had ever so much as heard of the sect or its founder!

The truth is, that there is a profound difference between the Persian idea of Religion and that which obtains in the West. Here it is the ideas of Faith and Righteousness (in different proportions, it is true) which are regarded as the essentials of Religion; there it is Knowledge and Mystery. Here Religion is regarded as a rule by which to live and a hope wherein to die; there, as a Key to unlock the Secrets of the Spiritual and Material Universe. Here it is associated with Work and Charity; there, with Rest and Wisdom. Here a creed is admired for its simplicity; there, for its complexity. To Europeans these speculations about "Names" and "Numbers" and "Letters"; this talk of Essences, Quiddities, and Theophanies; these far-fetched analogies and wondrous hair-splittings, appear, as a rule, not merely barren and unattractive, but absurd and incomprehensible; and consequently, when great self-devotion and fearlessness of death and torture are witnessed amongst the adherents of such a creed, attempts are instinctively made by Europeans to attribute to that creed some ethical or political aim. Such aim may or may not exist, but, even if it does, it is, I believe, as a rule, of quite secondary and subordinate importance in the eyes of those who have evolved and those who have accepted the doctrine. There are in the *Bayān*, for instance, amongst pages and pages of mystical rhapsody, a few passages which seem to show that the Báb desired to secure amongst his followers a greater happiness to children, a greater freedom to women, and a greater gentleness and kindliness in life; it is even possible by careful study of his writings to form some idea of the Utopia which, clearly or dimly, existed in his mind. Yet of all those Bābīs who died for their faith, it is very doubtful if one consciously laid down his life for

any such ethical, social, or political ideals. Even about so important a matter as the Future Life we perceive that amongst the Ḥurūfīs (pp. 71–8, supra), as amongst the Bābīs, the greatest difference of opinion and uncertainty of doctrine prevailed; yet of the mystical significations of the numbers 14 and 19 respectively, and of the doctrine concerning "the Point" and "the Letters," hardly one would be entirely ignorant.

The same difference of ideal exists as to the quality and nature of Scripture, the Revealed Word of God. Provided the ethical teaching be sublime, and there be peace for the troubled and comfort for the sorrowful, we care little, comparatively, for the outward form. But in the eyes of the Musulmāns (including, of course, the followers of all those sects, even the most heretical, which have arisen in the bosom of Islām) this outward form is a matter of the very first importance. Every letter and line of the Qur'ān (which always remains the model and prototype of a Revealed Book, even amongst those sects who claim that it has been abrogated by a newer Revelation) is supposed to be fraught with unutterable mystery and filled with unfathomable truth. Generations of acute minds expend their energies in attempts to fathom these depths and penetrate these mysteries. What wonder if the same discoveries are made quite independently by different minds in different ages, working with the same bent on the same material? In studying the religious history of the East, and especially of Persia, let us therefore be on our guard against attaching too much importance to resemblances which may be the natural outcome of similar minds working on similar lines, rather than the result of any historical filiation or connection.

Postscript.

For the following interesting extracts from two Turkish works I am indebted to Mr. Gibb:—

(I) *From the Kunhu'l-Akhbār of 'Ālī Efendi, composed* A.H. 1007. (*Constantinople printed edition, not dated, vol. iv, pp.* 182–3.)

حکایت اولنور که ابو الفتح سلطان محمد خان عصرنده تبریزده پیدا اولان فضل الله حروفیتك برمرید پلیدی مَرَدَهٔ بلیدهسی ایله ملك رومه گلدی ' برطریقله شهریار مزبوره تقرّب ایدوب حضورنده کلی التفاتنه مظهر دوشدی ' حتی دار السعاده کندو ایچون بر مسکن خاص دوشتدی ' وزیر محمود پاشا علمادن اولمغله بو خصوصه آزرده اولدی ' پادشاه زمانك عقیدهٔ طاهرهسی تکدّرنه باعث اولور دیو دفعی تدارکنه مجدّ اولوب مفتی مزبوری (مولانا فخر الدین عجمی) حرم سراینه گتورتدی ' وراء حجابده اجلاس ایدوب خلیفهٔ فضل اللهی دعوت قیلدی ' اثناء کلامده مذهب باطلنه میلان گوستروب وافر سویلتدی ' مولانا فخر الدین شول محلّهدك سکوت ایتدیکه ملحد مزبورك کلامی حلول قصّهسنه یتندی فلا جرم اظهار حقده قضای مبرم مقولهسی اولمغین صبر ایدهمیوب طشره چقدی و ملحد حروفی یه وافرسب و لعن ایلدی ' مزبور قاچرق دار السعادهیه گتدی ' مناسی مزبور کمال حدّت ایله آردنجه واروب تعقیب ایتدی ' خواه و نا خواه مزبورك یقاسن اله آلوب کشان کشان جامع کبیره ایلتدی ' بی وقت اذان اوقیدوب علما و سائر

ناسی بر یره گتوردی ' بعده منبره چیقوب ملاحدهٔ حروفیتك
مذهب باطللرینی بر بر بیان ایلدی ' آندنصکره حکمت بقتلهم
و نفاقهم حتی باشرت باحراقهم دیه‌رك منبردن ایندی ' مسلمانلره
وافر اوطون گتوردوب بالذات آتش اوفلمگه مقید اولدی ' لحیه‌سی
طویل اولمغین صقالینتك بر مقداری یاندی ' ملحد مزبوری و مَرَدَه
سینی احراق بالنار ایدوب ذهن پاك سلطانی تکدّر تهمتندن خلاص
قیلدی ' پادشاه مومی الیه ملای مسفورك ورع و تقواسندن حجاب
ایدوب منعنه متعلق بر سوز سویلمدی '

Translation.

"It is related that in the time of Abu'l-Feṭḥ Sulṭān Muḥammad Khān an unclean apostle of Faẓlu'llāh the Ḥurūfī, who appeared in Tabrīz, came with his benighted and froward disciples to the Turkish kingdom. He obtained in some manner access to the King, and received the highest marks of his favour; indeed, he had furnished a private lodging for him in the Imperial Palace. The Vizier Maḥmūd Pāshā, being one of the *'Ulamā*, was vexed at this incident, and, anticipating that he would corrupt the pure belief of the Prince of the Age, he determined to make strenuous efforts to get rid of him, and [to this end] caused the before-mentioned *Muftī* [i.e. Mevlānā Fakhru'd-Dīn 'Ajamī] to be brought into a private apartment in his mansion. There he seated him behind a curtain, and summoned in the Vicar of Faẓlu'llāh. In the course of conversation, he induced him to speak freely by feigning a predilection for his false doctrine. Mevlānā Fakhru'd-Dīn remained silent to that point when the discourse of that heretic reached the fable of Incarnation [*ḥulūl*]; [then] as through some inexorable compulsion to declare the truth, come what might, he could keep patience no longer, but

rushed out abundantly reviling and cursing that Ḥurūfī heretic. The latter fled and went to the Imperial Palace, but the before-mentioned *mullā* followed after and pursued him with the utmost fury, and, seizing him by the collar, dragged him *nolens volens* to the Great Mosque. There he raised an unseasonable call to prayer, so bringing the *'Ulamā* and other people into one place. Then he ascended into the pulpit and exposed one by one the false beliefs of the Ḥurūfī heretics, after which, crying out, 'I pronounce them worthy of slaughter for their sacrilege, yea, I set my hand to their burning,' he descended from the pulpit. Then he caused the Musulmāns to bring quantities of firewood, and was actually at the trouble to blow the fire himself, so that, his beard being long, a part of it was burned. So he burned the aforementioned heretic and his froward disciples with fire, and so saved the pure mind of the King from the suspicion of corruption. And the King was so shamed by the aforementioned Mullā's devoutness and piety that he did not utter a single word tending to hinder him."

(II) *The following notice of the obscure poet Temennā'ī is from Laṭīfī; he is not mentioned by 'Āshiq Chelebī or Qinālī-zādé.*

تمنّايي عليه ما يستحقّ:—قيصريه قربندن برقلندر ايدى علم حروفه و مذهب تناسخه متعلّق كتابلر جمع ايدوب يانده خيلى زنادقه و ملاحده لعن اللّه على حده مجتمع اولمشلر ايدى ' آدم عالم كبرى و مظهر حضرت خدادر ديوب (مطلع)

اى صنم سن مظهر الله سن ' نسخهء جمله كلام الله سن '

ديو گوردكلرى محبوبه سجده ايدرلردى و سجده لرنده سهو ايدوب طريق ابليسه گيدرلر ايدى ' سلطان بايزيد دورنده اول طائفهء

شقاقك كيمنى آب تيغله اغراق و كيمنى آتش ردّيله احراق
اتديلر ، بو مطلع آنك تُرّهاتندن و جمله كفرياتندن در (مطلع)

صوفى قلندر اول كل قازت صچى سقالى ،
ساكّه بو برطوزقدر كيدر بو قيل و قالى ،

(بيت) ابله اولمه صوفى ويرمه نقد عمرى نسنيه ،
گوزك آچ ديدار و جنّت حور و غلمان بوندەدر ،

و بو مطلع فارسى دخى تعريف اسرارده آنك گفتار نا هموارندندر ،

حبة الخضرا كه بر كف عارفان جا كردەاند ،
از خيال او هزاران نكته پيدا كردەاند ،

Translation.

"*Tamannā'i—may he receive his deserts!*—was a wandering darvīsh (*qalandar*) from the district of Caesarea. He had collected many books bearing on the Science of the Letters and the Doctrine of Metempsychosis, and there had gathered round him numbers of atheists and heretics (God's curse on each one of them!), who asserted that Man was the Macrocosm and the Manifestation of the Majesty of God, saying:—'*O Idol, thou art the Divine Theophany! Thou art the copy of the whole book of God!*' and worshipped every beauty whom they saw, erring in their worship, and walking in the way of Iblīs. In the time of Sulṭān Bāyazīd, they drowned some of this band of schismatics with the water of the sword, and burned others with the fire of repudiation. The following headline (*maṭla'*) is one of his foolish and blasphemous utterances:—

'*O Ṣūfī! be a Qalandar, come, get your hair and beard shaved off:*
This is a snare for thee: this talk and tattle passes away.'

(Couplet)—

'*Be not a fool, O Ṣūfī; spend not the cash of thy life on aught:*
Open thine eyes: Paradise and the Beatific Vision, the black-eyed maidens and fair attendants [*of Heaven*], *are* HERE!'

This Persian headline, too, declaring the mysteries, is from his ill-considered utterances:—

'*That Grain of Green*[1] *which the Gnostics hold in the palms of their hands,*
By the phantasies which it inspires they have discovered thousands of subtle mysteries.'"

[1] *Ḥabbatu'l-Khaḍrā* is explained by Redhouse as "the fruit of the *Pistachia terebinthus*," and in Schlimmer's *Terminologie Médico-Pharmaceutique* (Tihrān, 1874), p. 464, as the seeds of the *Pistacia acuminata*, or "Persian turpentine-seeds." Here one is tempted to think of *ḥashīsh* (*Cannabis Indica*), to which the epithet "green" is so constantly applied by the Persians (e.g. "the Green Parrot," "Master Seyyid," etc.), but it is not unlikely that turpentine-seeds, in consequence of their aphrodisiac properties, may enter into the composition of some of the various preparations used by dervishes.

ART. X.—*The Language of Somáli-land.* By ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST, LL.D.

IN the Eastern corner of North Africa is a country very little explored, the extreme Eastern Headland of which is called Cape Guardafui, known to the ancients as Aromáta Promontorum. The Region has a frontage to the Red Sea, and to the Indian Ocean, and its geographical position is in its favour. There is no Protestant Missionary Station within its boundaries: there is no portion of the Scriptures translated into the Language of the people.

The Rev. Frère Evangeliste de Larajasse, a Missionary of the Church of Rome, who had been since 1892 in that country, called upon me during the Summer, and offered for my acceptance two volumes, which represented the result of his labours:

(1) Practical Grammar of the Somáli Language, with a Manual of Sentences.
(2) Somáli-English, and English-Somáli, Dictionary.

Both were published by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, and Co., London, and their appearance was most creditable. I have presented them to the Society's Library.

I had a long and interesting conversation with the compiler. It appears, that he had a colleague, also a Missionary of the Church of Rome, who shared his labours, the Venerable Frère Cyprien de Sampoint.

As the author was returning to his station, I offered to pay him, on behalf of the British and Foreign Bible Society, a certain sum of money, if he would translate the Gospel of Mark, and send it to me; and he agreed to do so. It is right to record, that the learned world is indebted to Lord Delamere for the publication of these costly works, which

was far beyond the resources of the humble Missionary of the Church of Rome.

It is true, that Colonel Hunter some years ago published a Grammar and Vocabulary of this Language, and the German Scholar Schleicher also laboured in the same direction, but their opportunities were slight compared to those of the present author. There are undoubtedly Dialects of this great Vernacular, and we shall know about them in future years. The standard of pronunciation of words, and the words themselves, are adopted from the market-place of Bérbera, the chief place of business in Somáli-land, and visited by individual members of all the tribes; but experience teaches, that those, who stay at home, are the best representatives of the Dialects spoken in each sub-Region.

The Roman Alphabet has been wisely adopted, but that does not dispose of the problem, as there are many varieties of the Roman Alphabet; notably, the French mode of transliterating certain letters differs greatly from the English. It will be interesting to compare the mode of rendering the same or similar sounds adopted by those, who have dealt with the three Dialects of the neighbouring Galla Language, and the company of great Scholars, who have placed the Coast-Language of East Equatorial Africa on a sound and scientific base. I allude to the Swahíli.

The Manual of Sentences attached to the Grammar is specially valuable: they have been compiled on a system adopted from an English-Hindustani Manual of Conversation: of course, as to the success in the idiomatic rendering, no opinion can be given. Arabic may have been used in times past, and may still be used, for purposes of correspondence, just as Persian was used fifty years ago in British India, but the Author has wisely kept clear of the Arabic Written Character, though the use of some Arabic loan-words is a necessity.

I now quote a portion of a learned Review of this Grammar and Dictionary, which appeared in the London *Times* a few weeks ago:

"The origin of the Language, like the origin of the "race, is wrapped in mystery. There are those, who con- "sider the Somáli to be of North African Berber origin, "and point to the name of Bérbera as an indication of "this. It would appear, however, more natural that the "name of Bérbera, if indeed it is derived from any "settlement of strangers, is more likely to be due to an "occupation from Berber in the North-Eastern Sudán. "Perhaps the old theory of Sir R. Burton is the most "correct one: that they are of Negro-Hamitic descent, and "'nothing but a slice of the great Galla nation Islamised "and Semiticised by repeated immigrations from Arabia.' "Such a theory is in the main in harmony with the Somáli "traditions of their Arabian descent, and geographical and "historical conditions do not conflict with it; moreover, "the physical type of the people agrees with it. The "origin of the Galla is another question altogether. "Whether they are part of the same race, which pushed "into South Africa from the North and are now represented "by the Káfir, or whether they are a half-caste Abyssinian "race, need not here be discussed.

"Somál, or Somáli, is a name, that has only been in use "to describe the dominant race in the Horn of Africa "since the beginning of this century. Sir R. Burton "(1856) says that the Somáli call their country Bar-al- "Ajam. The old maps name the country Asha and "Hawiya. The derivation of the word Somál has puzzled "people. Major Abud, whose authority must carry great "weight, leans to that, which has been suggested by the "Language itself. He says: 'The Somál are a hospitable "race, and, as milk is their staple food-supply, the first "word a stranger would hear in visiting their kraals would "be *So-mal*, i.e., go and bring milk. I have heard it "suggested that the word for milk, *liss*, may account for "the termination of the word *lis* in *Somalis*.' As a matter "of fact, *So-liss* is not used in a command to go and "bring milk or to go and milk a camel for a visitor, but "only in ordinary conversation, and *So-mal* is the usual

" command in bidding anyone to go and bring milk for the " refreshment of a stranger. In any case, there is nothing " indicative of the origin of their Language or race in the " name Somáli or Somál. Sir R. Burton has a note on " the name Somál, where he alludes to a traveller who " asserted that Somáli was derived from the Abyssinian " *Soumahe* (heathen)."

Our author adopts the idea, that the Somáli race comes from India; other writers base their arguments on the similarity of architectural fragments to temples in the Dekkan, and to the use of certain Indian words, which really does not prove much: but our author, in a letter to me, as well as in conversation, lays stress on the existence of some Portuguese book, in which the story is told of the emigration from India to the Horn of Africa. As the name of the book, and the name of the author, were unknown, I suggested, that he should go to the British Museum Library and search the Catalogues; he did so, but failed to come on any clue. His theory is, that the expedition took place in the eleventh century of our era, but up to this time there is no shadow of proof. For fear of not having stated his theory fully, I subjoin an extract in the French original from one of his communications. His two excellent Philological works will enable Dravidian Scholars to give a distinct opinion, whether there exists the alleged linguistic affinity.

The Somáli are Mahometan in Religion, and the amount of the population, which is in a very low state of culture, has never been ascertained.

It is not actually included in any Protectorate, or Sphere of Influence; possibly the Italians may have had a dream about annexation, but they have been roused from that dream. The Abyssinians may in past centuries have deemed it to be their hunting-ground. The coast is occupied by English and French settlements, who would have something to say, if Germany or Russia were to attempt to annex it.

Extract from Notes on the Somáli-land, prepared by the Rev. Frère Evangeliste de Larajasse, at my request, and with a view to publication in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society:

"De l'étude de la langue Somáli, en ne considérant que " le seul point de vue philologique, il nous apparait que " ce langage n'a aucune parenté avec celui des peuples " environnents.

"Le génie de la langue Somáli n'a rien, qui ressemble " au génie de la langue Arabe. Le Somáli a fait de très " larges emprunts à la langue Arabe, mais en prenant les " mots Arabes, il les a arrangés à sa façon, et suivant le " génie de sa langue. Donc, malgré leur généalogies, " transmises par la tradition généalogies, qui les font tous " remonter à un ancêtre Arabe, il me semble impossible " d'admettre uniquement cette descendance Arabe; une telle " descendance aurait certainement laissé sa trace dans la " langue parlée. Je suis porté à croire, que le Musulman, " qui a conquis le pays vers la fin du 13e siècle, a détruit, " ou emporté, tous les anciens monuments de la première " occupation, à fin de mieux fixer ce peuple conquis dans la " croyance à l'Islamisme. Cette politique, suivie dans " toutes les conquêtes faites par les Musulmans, a dû être " la même sur la terre Somáli. Pourtant, si le conquérant " a pu imposer sa religion, il n'a pas eu la puissance de " changer de langage du peuple conquis.

"Le Somáli, et l'Abyssin, n'ont aucune ressemblance; " il existe bien quelques mots empruntés à cette dernière " langue, mais ce serait totalement insuffisans pour attribuer " une origine Abyssine au peuple Somáli. Il y a plus " d'affinité entre le Somáli et le Galla; quelques centaines " de mots paraissent dériver d'une racine Galla; néanmoins, " le génie des deux langues reste si différent, qu'il est bien " difficile d'attribuer une descendance Galla au peuple " Somáli.

"Je ne connais pas le *Swahili*, mais à en juger par les " différents extraits que j'ai pu lire, je ne vois rien, qui " ressemble au langage Somáli.

" J'en suis par conséquence arrivé à conclure qu'il faudrait " aller chercher l'origine de ce peuple étrange jusque dans " les Indes, non point sur la côte de Malabar, mais de l'autre " côté des Indes sur le versant des montagnes, qui séparent " la côte de Coromandel de la partie des Indes faisant face " à l'Océan Indien.

" Le langage des peuples Indiens qui parlent le *Concanim*, " ou le *Tamil* ou *Tamul*, semble avoir quelque affinité avec " la langue Somáli. Les mœurs des peuples nomades, qui " habitent les montagnes du *Dekkan*, sont les mœurs du " peuple Somáli ; et le langage Somáli a de si grandes " affinités avec le *Tamil*, qu'un Madrassien après quelques " semaines est capable de comprendre un Somáli. Si on " pouvait trouver l'historien portugais, qui parle de la con- " quête des côtes Africaines au 11e siècle, on aurait la " solution de ce problème, qui jusqu'à cette heure est resté " un mystère pour tous les Savants."

ART. XI.—*On a Jain Statue in the Horniman Museum.* By Professor F. KIELHORN, M.R.A.S.

[HAVING noticed, on a visit to the Museum, a Jain statue with a clearly written inscription on its base, I asked the curator of the Museum, Mr. Quick, about it. He expressed himself very glad to give me a photograph of it in order that the inscription might be deciphered. And Professor Kielhorn, to whom the photograph was sent, has been good enough to send us the following note. The reproduction of the figure is from a block kindly lent to the Society by F. J. Horniman, Esq., M.P.

Mr. R. Quick informs me that Mr. Horniman purchased the statue in London in the year 1895.—RH. D.]

The photograph represents a black stone (probably basalt) statue of the 22nd Jaina Tīrthaṅkara, Neminātha, whose cognizance, a conch-shell (*śaṅkha*),[1] is carved on the breast of the image and engraved on the pedestal of it. The total height of the sculpture is stated to be thirty-three inches, and the width at the base twenty-eight inches. On the pedestal there is a well-preserved inscription in three lines, in Nāgarī characters and ungrammatical Sanskrit, the text and translation of which are as follows:—

TEXT.

Line 1. Oṁ[2] Samvat 1208 Vaisākha-vadi 5 Gurau ||
M[aṁ]ḍilapurāt Grahapaty-anve[3] sreṣṭhi-
Māhula tasya suta sreṣṭhi-srī-Mahipati bhrātu
Jālhe Mahipati-suta Pāpe Kūke Sālhū Dedū
[Ālhū?]

„ 2. Vivīke Savapate sarvve nityaṁ

„ 3. praṇamati[4] sa[ha] |||

[1] Compare, e.g., Archaeol. Survey of India, vol. xxi, pl. xxiii.
[2] Expressed by a symbol. I consider it superfluous to correct all the mistakes of the text.
[3] Read *-anvaye.*
[4] Read *praṇamanti.*

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TRANSLATION.

"Om! The year 1208, on Thursday, the 5th of the dark half of Vaiśākha. From M[aṇ]ḍilapura,[1] in the Grahapati lineage, the Śreṣṭhin Māhula; his son, the Śreṣṭhin, the illustrious Mahīpati; (his) brother Jālhe; (and) Mahīpati's sons Pāpe, Kūke, Sālhū, Dedū, [Ālhū?], Vivīke, (and) Savapate—all (these) together constantly bow down to (this image)."

The date of this inscription correctly corresponds, for the *Kārttikādi* Vikrama year 1208 expired and the *pūrṇimānta* Vaiśākha, to *Thursday, the 27th March*, A.D. 1152, when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended about 5 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise. The place *M[aṇ]ḍilapura* I am unable to identify; but as the *Grahapati* family is mentioned in some Jaina inscriptions at Khajurāho[2] of about the same time, and as most of the names of individuals in this inscription also occur in the Semra plates of the Candella Paramardideva,[3] I have little doubt that M[aṇ]ḍilapura was situated in Bundelkhand, and that the statue itself comes from the same part of India.

[1] The sense is that Māhula and the rest, who belong to the Grahapati family and come from M[aṇ]ḍilapura, (have caused to be made and) bow down to (this image of Nemināṭha).

[2] See Ep. Ind., vol. i, p. 153.

[3] See ibid., vol. iv, p. 171 ff.

ART. XII.—*Tathāgata.* By ROBERT CHALMERS.

THE precise meaning of this familiar title of the Buddha is still unsettled. As the word tathāgata is not used either in the Upanishads or (so far as I am aware) in older Sanskrit writings, there exists no available evidence earlier than the Pāli Piṭakas; and there its use is so common as to merit special investigation. Before submitting my own interpretation to the judgment of scholars, I propose to state the views already advanced by others, including the great scholar Buddhaghosa, and next to examine Piṭaka passages in which the title tathāgata occurs.

I.

The following are the chief interpretations which have been advanced:—

(i) Professor Fausböll, *doyen* of Pāli scholars, has the following note at p. 377 of his edition (1855) of the Dhammapada:—

"Meo judicio primum intelligenda est vox hoc sensu: in tali conditione versans (cfr. supra p. 295 sugata) talis, deinde: praestans, consummatus, beatus."

(ii) Childers, in his Pāli Dictionary (1875), says (following the Abhidhānappadipikā):—

"It is quite evident that the term tathāgata was first applied to a sentient being generally and afterwards transferred to a Buddha. As a name for a Buddha it means the Being *par excellence*, the Great Being (comp. dipaduttamo narasīho). Gautama Buddha frequently in the Suttas speaks of himself as the Tathāgata, and the

epithet is analogous to that of Son of Man applied to Himself by Jesus Christ. As a name for a sentient being it means 'one who goes in like manner,' i.e., one who goes the way of all flesh, one who is subject to death, a mortal. The native explanations of the term are purely fanciful."

This follows Buddhaghosa's interpretation at Sum. Vil., i, 118: "Hoti tathāgato ti ādisu satto tathāgato ti adhippeto." In dealing with the phrase Hoti tathāgato param maraṇā in Part II of this paper, I will endeavour to show that Buddhaghosa's note is not to be construed baldly as a general definition.

(iii) Rhys Davids[1] and Oldenberg have the following note at p. 82 of Part I of their translation of the Vinaya (vol. xiii of the Sacred Books of the East, "translated by various Oriental scholars and edited by F. Max Müller"):—

"The term Tathāgata is, in the Buddhistical literature, exclusively applied to Sammāsambuddhas, and it is more especially used in the Piṭakas when the Buddha is represented as speaking of himself in the third person as 'the Tathāgata.' The meaning 'sentient being,' which is given to the word in the Abhidhānappadīpikā and in Childers's Dictionary, is not confirmed, as far as we know, by any passage of the Piṭakas. This translation of the word is very possibly based merely on a misunderstanding of the phrase often repeated in the Sutta Piṭaka, Hoti tathāgato param maraṇā, which means, of course,[2] 'does a Buddha exist after death?'

"In the Jaina books we sometimes find the term tatthagaya (tatragata), 'he who has attained that world, i.e. emancipation,' applied to Jinas as opposed to other beings who are called ihagaya (idhagata), 'living in this world.' See for example the Jinacaritra, § 16.

[1] In a note to p. 147 of his "Buddhist Suttas" Rhys Davids does not appear to adopt for himself the view advanced in the Vinaya translation.

[2] But see infra, pp. 108–9, where this passage is discussed.

"Considering the close relationship in which most of the dogmatical terms of the Jainas stand to those of the Bauddhas, it is difficult to believe that tathāgata and tatthagaya should not originally have conveyed very similar ideas. We think that on the long way from the original Magadhi to the Pāli and Sanskrit, the term tathāgata or tatthāgata (tatra and āgata), 'he who has arrived there, i.e. at emancipation,' may very easily have undergone the change into tathāgata, which would have made it unintelligible, were we not able to compare its unaltered form as preserved by the Jainas."

(It is an obvious comment on the foregoing, even if we ignore the shortness of the antepenultimate *a* in the Jaina term, that the latter, so far from preserving the unaltered original, may itself be a corruption of the Pāli tathāgata, or again may be wholly distinct in origin. Before the above interpretation can be adopted, evidence would require to be forthcoming to support the use of tattha in Pāli as meaning the emancipated state.)

(iv) Buddhaghosa has a long discussion of tathāgata at pp. 59–68 of Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī, vol. i, a discussion which he repeats verbatim in commenting on the first Majjhima Sutta in his Papañca Sūdanī.

According to Buddhaghosa the title tathāgata is susceptible of eight interpretations:—

1. Tathā āgato, he who has arrived in such fashion, i.e. who has worked his way upwards to perfection for the world's good in the same fashion as all previous Buddhas.

2. Tathā gato, he who walked in such fashion, i.e. (*a*) he who at birth took the seven equal steps in the same fashion as all previous Buddhas (cf. Majjhima Nikāya, Sutta No. 123, in J.R.A.S. for October, 1895; and Rhys Davids, "Buddhist Birth Stories," p. 65); or (*b*) he who in the same way as all previous Buddhas went his way to Buddhahood through the four Jhānas and the Paths.

3. Tatha and āgato (tatha-lakkhaṇaṁ āgato), he who by the path of knowledge has come at the real essentials of things.

4. Tatha and āgato (tathadhamme yāthāvāto abhisambuddho), he who has won Truth.

Buddhaghosa explains this rendering as follows: — "Tathadhammā nāma cattāri ariyasaccāni. Yath' āha:[1] Cattār' imāni, bhikkhave, tathāni avitathāni anaññathāni. Katamāni cattāri? Idaṁ dukkhan ti, bhikkhave, tatham etaṁ avitathaṁ etam anaññatham etan ti. Vitthāro. Tāni ca Bhagavā abhisambuddho. Tasmā tathānam abhisambuddhattā [by his discovery of the Four Truths] Tathāgato ti vuccati. Abhisambodhaṭṭho hi ettha gata-saddo."

5. Tatha and āgato (where the paraphrase is tathadassitāya tathāgato), he who has discerned Truth. Buddhaghosa cites Aṅg., ii, 23, in support of this rendering.

6. Tatha and āgato (where āgato = āgado and the paraphrase is tathavāditāya tathāgato), he who declares Truth. Buddhaghosa also suggests here that gata = gada (the compound being tathāgado, 'one who speaks even as things are'), and cites Aṅg., ii, 24.

7. Tatha gato (tathākāritaya tathāgato), he whose words and deeds accord (gato = pavatto).

Buddhaghosa supports this derivation by a quotation from Aṅguttara, ii, 24:—"Ten' āha: Yathāvādī, bhikkhave, tathāgato tathākārī yathākārī tathāvādī, ... tasmā tathāgato ti vuccatīti."

8. Tatha and agata [where agata=agada 'physic'], the great physician whose physic is all-potent.

Buddhaghosa paraphrases this by 'abhibhavanatthena tathāgato,' and quotes in support the following from Aṅguttara, ii, 24:—"Ten' āha: Sadevake, bhikkhave, loke . . pe . . manussāya tathāgato abhibhū anabhibhūto aññadatthudaso vasavattī, tasmā tathāgato ti vuccatīti."

[1] So far as I know, these words are never used by Buddhaghosa except in quoting from a Piṭaka utterance attributed to the Buddha; but I cannot trace the reference.

Trenckner, in commenting on Majjhima, i, 140, cites as follows Buddhaghosa's note thereon in the Papañca Sūdanī: Ettha satto ti pi tathāgato ti adhippeto uttamapuggalo khīṇāsavo ti pi (here tathāgata means both creature and arahat). Trenckner goes on to express his own view in the following words: "It here rather retains the original sense of 'such a one,' cf. Suttanip., 30, vv. 13–24; and the other significations of tathāgata may have proceeded from texts like these." (In my opinion the passage in the Sutta Nipāta above referred to, in no wise bears out Trenckner's interpretation. The meaning there is not 'such a one,' but an Arahat, not necessarily a Buddha, and it will be seen that this meaning is supported by other passages, as well as by Buddhaghosa's paraphrase khīṇāsavo here. I may add that, on looking out the above passage in the Royal Asiatic Society's manuscript of the Papañca Sūdanī, I find that the reading there given is not satto 'creature,' as cited by Trenckner, but satthā 'master.' I shall recur to this point on page 110 in discussing Majjhima, i, 140.)

It may be convenient here to summarize the etymologies recorded above.

(i) As regards the latter part of the word tathāgata, Buddhaghosa's fanciful *gada*, *agada*, and *āgada* suggestions may safely be dismissed, so that the choice is limited to *āgata* (which will suit all cases) and *gata* (which can only follow tathā).

(ii) As regards the first part of the word, the rival theories are:—

(*a*) Tathā (adverb).
Fausböll, Childers, Trenckner, and Buddhaghosa in three out of his eight interpretations.

(*b*) Tattha.
(Rhys Davids and) Oldenberg.

(*c*) Tatha (adjective).

Buddhaghosa in five out of his eight interpretations.

Leaving commentators and translators for the present, I now proceed to investigate Piṭaka passages where the word tathāgata occurs.

II.

In the present state of our knowledge concerning the Pāli Piṭakas, it is difficult to say which of these are original and which are merely derivative compilations. We know that some of the Piṭaka texts are of the latter character, e.g., the Theragātha, the Itivuttaka, and the Dhammapada. It is probable, too, that, apart from the Abhidhamma, the Saṁyutta and Aṅguttara Nikāyas (and possibly also the Sutta Nipāta, several Suttas of which occur in the Majjhima Nikāya) are little better than rearrangements of the Dīgha and Majjhima Nikāyas. But, though certain Suttas occur word for word in both of the latter, it has not been suggested, nor is it in any way probable, that these two great Nikāyas are other than original in their general character. It is, therefore, chiefly to the Dīgha and Majjhima that I have gone for the evidence of the Piṭakas as to the use and meaning of tathāgata. While availing myself of the assistance of the Vinaya, etc., I have been careful to eschew later Pāli works like the Jātaka Commentary all Buddhist texts in Sanskrit.

1. For beginning the study of the Piṭaka use of tathāgata, the best passage is that stock passage to which Rhys Davids and Oldenberg refer in the note previously quoted as having probably misled Childers. Let us take the passage as it occurs at Majjhima, i, p. 486. Here, as at Dīgha, i, p. 188, it is a non-Buddhist, a paribbājaka, who asks the Buddha the following question (among others): "Hoti tathāgato param maraṇā? Does a (or the) tathāgata exist after

death?"[1] The Buddha having declined to discuss the question, as being matter of useless speculation, the non-Buddhist questioner asks: "Atthi pana bhoto Gotamassa kiñci diṭṭhigatan ti? Well, has the reverend Gotama any speculation of his own, then?" To this the Buddha replies: "Diṭṭhigatan ti kho apanītam etaṁ tathāgatassa. The tathāgata has put from him what you call speculation." And he proceeds, by way of contrast, to say what the tathāgata has discerned (diṭṭham h' etaṁ tathāgatena), viz., the Five Khandhas or elements of being, with their respective origins and ends; and he concludes with the words: "Tasmā tathāgato vimutto ti vadamīti. Therefore is the tathāgata emancipated, I say."

Very instructive is the next question of the non-Buddhist: "Evaṁ vimuttacitto pana, bho Gotama, bhikkhu kuhiṁ uppajjatīti? But whither, Gotama, does such a mentally emancipated bhikkhu go for his future state?" This question shows beyond dispute that, on his side at any rate, the non-Buddhist questioner interpreted tathāgata as a saintly religieux, with no special reference to Gotama in the sense of the Buddha. And it is important to observe that the Buddha does not controvert his questioner's interpretation.

2. The foregoing instance of vimuttacitto bhikkhu may serve to introduce the use of the same term (at Majjh., i, 140) by the Buddha himself. After describing the Arahat, he goes on to say:—"Evaṁ vimuttacittaṁ kho, bhikkhave, bhikkhuṁ sa-Indā devā sa-Brahmakā sa-Pajāpatikā anvesaṁ nādhigacchanti: Idaṁ nissitaṁ tathāgatassa viññāṇan ti. Taṁ kissa hetu? Diṭṭhe vāham, bhikkhave, dhamme tathāgataṁ ananuvejjo ti vadāmi. Evaṁvadiṁ kho maṁ, bhikkhave, evamakkhayiṁ eke

[1] As noted above in Part I (ii), Buddhaghosa at Sum. Vil., i, 118, says: "Satto tathāgato ti adhippeto." If this be read in the light of lines 3–9 of Majjh., i, 140, the meaning is clear. It is not affirmed that *all* creatures are tathāgatas. Rather the position is that the tathāgata is regarded, for the time being, from the general point of view of a creature, which every tathāgata of course is—though he is also much more. Thus it is as though a Christian commentator, dealing with the words "Christ died upon the Cross," were to say "Christ, i.e. the man (in Christ)." Cf. Part I, v, et infra.

samaṇabrāhmaṇā asatā tucchā musā abhūtena abbhācikkhanti: Venayiko samaṇo Gotamo, sato sattassa ucchedaṁ vināsaṁ vibhavaṁ paññāpetīti. Yathā vāhaṁ, bhikkhave, na, yathā cāhaṁ na vadāmi, tathā maṁ te bhonto samaṇabrāhmaṇā . . . . abbhācikkhanti: Venayiko . . . . vibhavaṁ paññāpetīti. Pubbe cāhaṁ, bhikkhave, etarahi ca dukkhañ c' eva paññāpemi dukkhassa ca nirodhaṁ. Concerning such a mentally emancipated bhikkhu, Brethren, not even the highest of Angels can ascertain where resides the tathāgata's mind. And why? Because even in this present life, here and now, the tathāgata, as I affirm, is one who cannot be traced out. When I say this, and when I affirm this, certain persons falsely assert that I am a nihilist, and preach the extirpation, the destruction, and the annihilation of an existent creature. I am no nihilist; I do not preach such extirpation and annihilation. As in the past, so now too, all that I expound is Suffering and the Cessation of Suffering."

In this, as in the foregoing passage, I submit that at first tathāgata is equivalent simply to vimuttacitto bhikkhu; while it seems equally clear that towards the end of the passage tathāgata is equivalent to ahaṁ, i.e. to the Buddha. And this appears to have been Buddhaghosa's interpretation of the passage. For, in the R.A.S. manuscript of the Papañca Sūdanī, his note is:—"Tathāgatassāti. Ettha satthā ti pi [not satto ti pi, as read by Trenckner at Majjh., i, 542] tathāgato ti adhippeto, uttamapuggalo khīṇāsavo ti pi.—Here tathāgata denotes both the Master and an Arahat." If satto be read (to the detriment of the sense), the explanation will be that given in the note on p. 109 to Hoti tathāgato param maraṇā.

3. In the former of the two passages discussed above, the term tathāgata is used by a non-Buddhist, the question being the familiar non-Buddhist question "Hoti tathāgato param maraṇā?" Even more noteworthy—as showing non-Buddhist familiarity with the term—is the emphatic use of the title by Gotama himself, at the very outset of his career as a Buddha, in his very first words to his

first converts, the five bhikkhus with whom (Majjh., i, 170) he had practised vain austerities. When Gotama comes back to his old companions, and when they addressed him in the old familiar style (Majjh., i, 171)—"Hereupon (says the Buddha in relating the incident) I said to those five Bhikkhus: 'Mā bhikkhave tathāgataṁ nāmena ca āvusovadena ca samudācarittha.' O bhikkhus, do not address a (or the) tathāgata by his ordinary name or as reverend sir." To me it seems impossible to mistake the deliberate challenge involved in this initial sentence addressed by the new Buddha to his old companions and intended converts. He claims at the very outset a title which he knew to be so well known to them, and so tremendous in its accepted connotation, that they were constrained either to expose him as a charlatan or to follow him as their spiritual lord.

At first the Buddha, as he states, "was unable to convince the five bhikkhus." It was only when he went on to deliver the discourse which is given at Vinaya, i, 10, and in the Saṁyutta Nikāya, that they were converted to Buddhism. By comparing Majjh., i, 167 and 173, it will be seen that the intellectual process was the same, and is described in the same words by the Buddha, alike for the attainment of Arahatship by the Five Bhikkhus and for the attainment of Buddhahood by himself.

4. In contrast with the two passages discussed in paragraphs 1 and 2 above, is Sutta I of the Majjhima Nikāya, where the tathāgata is expressly differentiated from the Arahat or khīṇāsavo bhikkhu. Here the title occurs in its familiar setting and amplificatory definition—tathāgato arahaṁ sammāsambuddho, "the tathāgata, the Arahat, the Very Buddha"—which recurs so often in the Buddha's stock passage (e.g. Dīgha, i, 62):—"Idha tathāgato loke uppajjati arahaṁ sammāsambuddho. So imaṁ lokaṁ . . . . sayaṁ abhiññā sacchikatvā pavedeti ādikalyāṇaṁ . . . , kevalaparipuṇṇaṁ parisuddhaṁ brahmacariyaṁ pakāseti.—A tathāgata arises in the world: he explains the world,

having of himself grasped and realized it. He preaches the Doctrine . . . . and proclaims the perfect way of holiness."

5. At Dīgha, i, 229, Aṅguttara, ii, 117, Vinaya, v, 121, and elsewhere, the Buddha speaks of tathāgatappaveditaṁ dhammavinayaṁ, "the Doctrine and the Rule preached by the tathāgata"; and at Majjhima, i, 111, and Vinaya, iii, 42, the Buddha calls himself dhammasāmī tathāgato, "the tathāgata, lord of truth." In this connection I point out the frequent close connection between tathāgata and dhamma (e.g., Majjh., i, 83, 85, 136, 331), or between tathāgata and sāvakā (e.g. Aṅg., ii, 34; Majjh., i, 85, 136, 332, 371). This connection is shown clearly at Vinaya, i, 43: "Nayanti ve mahāvīrā saddhammena tathāgatā.—It is by means of true doctrine that the great conquerors, the tathāgatas, lead men."

6. The passages just quoted are passages in which the Buddha uses the title of himself; and this is the general usage of the term. Unless—like Ānanda at Dīgha, i, 206, or Assaji at Vinaya, i, 40—they are expounding Buddhism *ex cathedra* to non-believers, Buddhists rarely use the title tathāgata in speaking of the Buddha; and even when so expounding, Buddhists use the title with a special significance: e.g., at Majjhima, i, 356, Ānanda, in preaching to Mahānāma the Sakyan, says (like the Buddha himself at Majjhima, ii, 128):—"Idha ariyasāvako saddho hoti saddahati tathāgatassa bodhiṁ: Iti pi so *bhagavā* arahaṁ sammāsambuddho . . . . buddho bhagavā ti. Here a disciple of the Noble One gets faith, and has faith in the tathāgata's illumination, so that he believes: This Worshipful One is the Arahat, the Very Buddha . . . ." Here the disciple, as opposed to the expositor, uses the title "Bhagavā." Similarly (e.g.) the Brahmin Pokkharasādi (Dīgha, i, 87) and the Licchavis (Dīgha, i, 151), in using the stock passage cited above, are careful to begin with the words "Iti pi so *bhagavā* arahaṁ sammāsambuddho," and not with the Buddha's own formula: Idha tathāgato, etc. Another example occurs at Dīgha, i, 95, where the Buddha threatens

a recalcitrant young Brahmin in the words: "Yo kho tathāgatena yāva tatiyakaṁ sahadhammikaṁ pañhaṁ puṭṭho na vyākaroti, etth' eva assa sattadhā muddhā phalissatīti." But the demon who appeared to split the young Brahmin's head accordingly, in repeating the words of the threat, is careful to substitute another title for tathāgata, and says: "Sacāyaṁ Ambaṭṭho māṇavo *bhagavatā* yāva tatiyakaṁ sahadhammikaṁ pañhaṁ puṭṭho na vyākarissati, etth' eva sattadhā muddhaṁ phālessāmīti." Cf. Vinaya, iii, 2.

7. The most remarkable exceptions to the rule that in the Piṭakas Buddhists avoid using the title tathāgata, are two, viz.:—

(i) Ānanda, "the beloved disciple," uses the term in speaking to the Buddha at (e.g.) Majjhima, ii, 45, and frequently in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta; and

(ii) The second exception occurs also in the last-named Sutta, in the following passage: "Atha kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi: Handa dāni, bhikkhave, āmantayāmi vo: Vayadhammā saṁkhārā, appamādena sampadethāti. Ayaṁ tathāgatassa pacchimā vācā. — Then the Blessed One said to the Brethren: Behold now, Brethren, I exhort you, saying: 'Decay is inherent in all component things. Work out your salvation with diligence.' This was the last word of the tathāgata."

III.

I am not aware of any passage in any Piṭaka text which, in any material point, conflicts with the series of passages above quoted, in the light of which I now proceed to submit my own interpretation of the word.

Tathāgata, in my opinion, is derived from the adjective tatha and āgata, and means "one who has come at the real truth." Hence, in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, Ajātasattu argues from the etymology when he says: "Na hi

tathāgatā vitathaṁ bhāṇantīti.—For no untrue word is spoken by (those who, as their name imports, are) truth-winners." In this sense tathāgata was a title already familiar to Indian thinkers before Gotama's day, denoting one who had reached the goal of intellectual emancipation. In this sense, too, it was adopted by Gotama, who, while not denying the title to those who had won the supreme goal of Arahatship, specially appropriated it to himself as the Arahat *par excellence*, and so came to use the title (as his disciples used it of him) as a solemn claim to recognition as the pioneer of truth, the founder of true religion in theory and practice. The truth Gotama claimed to have won, and to have been the first to win, is formulated in the Four Truths relating to Suffering and the Cessation of Suffering: cattār' imāni, bhikkhave, tathāni avitathāni anaññathāni.—"Four in number, Brethren, are these truths that can never be untrue, can never be other than they are." In the Buddha's mouth, therefore, the title tathāgata assumes usually the specialized meaning of discoverer of the Four Truths, i.e. founder of Buddhism.

I have said above that even the Buddha himself did not deny the title of tathāgata to an Arahat. For this, I think, a good reason can be given, apart from pre-Buddhist use of the term to denote a saint who had won emancipation of mind. That reason is that Arahatship was the supreme goal of Gotama's Buddhism—tad anuttaraṁ brahmacariya-pariyosānaṁ. This supreme goal every Arahat had to win by his own thought and effort (sayaṁ abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja) in precisely the same manner as the Buddha. In the Ariyapariyesana Sutta, therefore, the Buddha describes the process of the conversion of the Five Bhikkhus in precisely the same words as those in which he describes the process of his own attainment of Buddhahood, the hour of triumph being marked in each case, alike by Buddha and by Arahat bhikkhu, with the jubilant words: "Akuppā me vimutti, ayam antimā jāti, na 'tthi dāni punabbhavo. Sure is my emancipation; this is my last birth; I shall never be born again."

Consequently, it is not without significance that the very first title assumed by the new Buddha was not sammā-sambuddha, but tathāgata; nor is it, perhaps, a mere coincidence that in the Sutta of the Great Decease the now aged Buddha assumes the same title with markedly greater frequency than elsewhere, while the writer or editor of the Sutta, in recording the Buddha's dying word says: "Ayaṁ tathāgatassa pacchimā vācā.—This was the last word (not of the Buddha but) of the tathāgata, the truth-winner." It would almost seem as though, alike at the dawn and at the close of his Buddhahood, the Buddha, with a shrewd foreboding of Mahāyāna heresies to be, was sedulous to select a title which should exalt, not Buddhahood, but Arahatship. "Tumhehi kiccaṁ ātappaṁ, akkhātaro tathāgatā.—The struggle must be your own; those who have won the truth can but point the way."[1]

[1] Dhammapada, p. 49.

Art. XIII.—*The Origin and Early History of Chess.* By A. A. Macdonell, M.A., M.R.A.S.

No game occupies so important a position in the history of the world as that of chess. It is not only at the present day, but has been for many centuries, the most cosmopolitan of pastimes; and though one of the oldest known to civilization, it is yet undoubtedly the most intellectual. Long familiar to all the countries of the East, it has also been played for hundreds of years throughout Europe, whence it has spread to the New World, and wherever else European culture has found a footing. A map indicating the diffusion of chess over the habitable globe would therefore show hardly any blanks. Probably no other pastime of any kind can claim so many periodicals devoted exclusively to its discussion; certainly no other has given rise to so extensive a literature.[1] The influence of chess may be traced in the poetry of the Middle Ages, in the idioms of most modern European languages, in the science of arithmetic, and even in the art of heraldry. An investigation as to its origin, development, and early diffusion therefore forms a not unimportant chapter in the history of civilization.

The oldest name of chess is the Sanskrit word *caturaṅga*. The meaning of this term is transparent, and indicates with sufficient clearness the source from which the game is derived. The word frequently appears in the two great Indian epics, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa. It is there very often used as an adjective qualifying *bala* 'force'

[1] Heydebrand's Bibliography of Chess (Wiesbaden, 1896) contains no fewer than 3,358 entries, including about a hundred journals dealing with this game alone.

or 'army,' in the sense of 'having four (*catur*) limbs (*aṅga*),' 'four-membered.'[1] It also occurs as a noun, meaning 'four-membered army,' and may in fact be regarded as the technical name for 'army' in the epic poetry. What the four members are, is evident from the repeated connection of the term with elephants, chariots, horses, and infantry.[2] These were the four regularly recognized constituent parts of a complete Indian army as early as the fourth century B.C.; for the Greek accounts of Alexander's invasion in 326 B.C. state that in the Panjab King Porus (Sanskrit Pauras) fought against the invader with an army of 30,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry, 200 elephants, and 300 chariots.[3]

The Greek writer Megasthenes, who, about 300 B.C., spent several years at the court of Pāṭaliputra (the modern Patna) as ambassador of Seleucus, ruler of Syria, remarks that the military administration of the Indian State was divided into six departments responsible for the management of elephants, cavalry, chariots, infantry, as well as baggage and boats. We may, therefore, with certainty conclude, even irrespectively of the evidence of the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata,[4] that the fourfold constitution of the Indian army was a recognized thing at least as early as the fourth century B.C. A Sanskrit work on Policy, Kāmandaki's Nītisāra,[5] dating probably from the early centuries of our era, contains a passage of considerable length specially treating of elephants, chariots, horses, and foot-soldiers as

[1] It already occurs in the Rigveda (X, 92, 11) in the sense of 'four-limbed,' with reference to the human figure; also in the Śatapatha Brahmaṇa, XII, iii, 2, 2.

[2] The four-membered army is also expressly called *hasty-aśva-ratha-padātam*, 'the aggregate of elephants, horses, chariots, and foot-soldiers,' in the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, and Amarakośa: cf. Weber, Monatsberichte d. Berliner Akademie, 1872, p. 68, note.

[3] See McCrindle, "The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great" (London, 1893), p. 102.

[4] According to the results of Professor Jacobi's researches, "Rāmāyaṇa" (Bonn, 1893), p. 105, the Rāmāyaṇa in its oldest form goes back to the fifth century B.C.; while Dr. Bühler has shown ("Indian Studies," ii, p. 26) that the Mahābhārata existed more or less in its present form certainly as early as 500 A.D., and probably much earlier. The word *caturaṅga* in the sense of 'army' occurs also in the Atharva Veda Pariśiṣṭas; but Professor Weber ("History of Indian Literature," English Transl., p. 323) points out that this class of writings must be later than 250 A.D.

[5] Published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1884.

the divisions of an army, and describing the best strategical methods of employing them.[1]

Now nothing could be more natural than the attempt to represent, in the form of a game with figures, the operations of hostile armies thus constituted and commanded by opposing kings, victory depending on the death or capture of the leader of the foe. That this is in fact the genesis of chess, the oldest form of *Kriegspiel* known to history, is sufficiently proved by its having received its name of *caturaṅga* from that of the four-membered Indian army. Such is also acknowledged to be its character by Persian, Arabic, and Chinese writers.[2]

The board on which chess, from the time of its first mention, has been played in India, is named *aṣṭāpada*, 'eight-square.' This word already occurs in Patañjali's great Commentary on Pāṇini's Grammar, the Mahābhāṣya, which was written at any rate not later than the first century A.D.,[3] and is there explained as a board "in which each line has eight squares,"[4] that is altogether sixty-four squares. The *aṣṭāpada* must have been a familiar object in early times, for it is used as an illustration by old Sanskrit poets. Thus, in the Rāmāyaṇa (i, v, 12), the city of Ayodhyā (the modern Oudh) is described as "charming by reason of pictures consisting of *aṣṭāpada* squares, as it were painted."[5] A northern Buddhist writer also speaks of the earth "on which *aṣṭāpadas* were fastened with cords of gold,"[6] meaning, doubtless, that its surface was divided into squares like a chessboard.[7] The word *aṭṭhapada* (= Sanskrit *aṣṭāpada*) also occurs in Pāli sūtras

[1] Chapter xix, which contains 62 ślokas: cf. Linde, "Geschichte und Litteratur des Schachspiels" (Berlin, 1874), vol. i, p. 76.

[2] See below, pp. 126–9, 131, note 1.

[3] See Kielhorn, "Göttinger Nachrichten," 1885, p. 185 ff.; and Bühler, "Die indischen Inschriften und das Alter der indischen Kunstpoesie," p. 72.

[4] Kielhorn's edition of the Mahābhāṣya, vol. iii, pp. 362–3; Weber, "Indische Studien," vol. xiii, p. 473.

[5] Cf. Weber, Monatsberichte, 1873, p. 710, note 1. According to Professor Jacobi, books i and vii are later additions to the older portion, books ii to vi: see his "Rāmāyaṇa," p. 65.

[6] *suvarṇa-sūtrāṣṭāpadanibaddhā*: cf. Burnouf, "Lotus de la bonne loi," p. 363.

[7] Weber, loc. cit.

as the name of a game.[1] Whatever may be the precise date of these passages, it is practically certain, from the statement in the Mahābhāṣya, that a board consisting of sixty-four squares existed in India as early as the beginning of our era. It was probably known considerably earlier, as the Pāli sūtras in which the word *aṭṭhapada* occurs, are, in the opinion of Professor Rhys Davids, among the very oldest of Buddhist documents, and must date from the fifth century B.C.[2]

But what kind of game was played on this board? It might very well have been used for some game played with dice. For dice are of immemorial antiquity in India. A very interesting Rigvedic hymn (X, 34), which can hardly be dated much later than 1000 B.C., contains the lament of a gambler, who, unable to resist the fascination of the dice, plays from morning to night, though fully aware that he is ruining his happiness and his home. In Rigvedic times the dice, called *akṣa*, were made of the nut of the Vibhīdaka-tree (*Terminalia bellerica*), which is still used for this purpose in India.[3] The number of the dice referred to in the Rigveda is four,[4] while in a text of the Yajurveda (VS. 30, 18) mention is made of a game with five dice (called *aya*), to each of which a name is assigned.[5] We know that in post-Vedic times the passion for dice had become general among princes. Thus, two of the heroes of the Mahābhārata, King Yudhiṣṭhira and King Nala, are both described as having been so far carried away by the frenzy of the game as to stake and lose their very kingdoms.

[1] See p. 121: cf. Burnouf, op. cit., p. 466; Weber, op. cit., p. 710; "Indische Studien," iii, 148, 154.

[2] Dr. H. Lüders, of the Indian Institute, has pointed out to me that on the Bharhut stūpa (Cunningham, "The Stūpa of Bharhut," London, 1879, plate xlv: cf. Introduction, p. 94; Indian Antiquary, vol. x, p. 119; vol. xvi, p. 229) a board of thirty-six squares, along with what appear to be seven dice or coins, is depicted.

[3] Roth in Gurupūjākaumudī, pp. 1–4.

[4] Zimmer, "Altindisches Leben," p. 283.

[5] *Akṣarājan, kṛta, tretā, dvāpara, āskanda*; in the TS., III, iii, 1, 2, the five dice are called *kṛta, tretā, dvāpara, āskandi, abhibhū*: cf. Zimmer, op. cit., p. 284.

It is incredible that the ordinary and primitive game of dice should have required a board of sixty-four squares.[1] Such a supposition is sufficiently disproved by passages in Pāli sūtras[2] of the Dīghanikāya[3] which in all probability date from the fifth century before the Christian era,[4] and in which the word *aṭṭhapada* (= Skt. *aṣṭāpada*) already occurs. These two passages contain the statement that "some sages and Brahmans occupy their time with games injurious to progress in virtue, such as the *aṭṭhapada*, the *dasapada*[5] . . . . with dicing (*akkha* = Skt. *akṣa*)," and various other pastimes which are enumerated. The separate mention here of the *aṣṭāpada* game and of dicing clearly implies that the two games were different.

There is, however, evidence showing that, at least as early as the beginning of the Christian era, dice were employed in a game in which certain pieces (named *śāra*) were moved according to the throws made. This game, called *ayānaya*, "luck and unluck," is thus described in the Mahābhāṣya[6] by Patañjali: "Two opposed parties move with their pieces (*śāra*) to the right, and then, after traversing the places or squares (*pada*) on their own side, turn to the left and try to move into the position of the adversary." The commentator Kaiyaṭa adds that a piece standing by itself is liable to be taken by the adversary's pieces. There can be no doubt that this represents the game of backgammon, played practically in the same way as at the present day. This game is evidently referred to by the well-known Sanskrit poet Bhartṛhari, who lived in the first half of the seventh century A.D.[7] He alludes to it thus: "In one house, in which many were, there later remains but one, and where there was but one and then many, there is in

[1] A diceboard, called *adhidevana*, is already mentioned in the Atharva Veda (V, 31, 6; VI, 70, 1).
[2] Brahmajālasutta and Sāmaññaphalasutta.
[3] Ed. Rhys Davids, vol. i, pp. 6 and 65: cf. Cullavagga, ed. Oldenberg, p. 10.
[4] Cf. p. 120.
[5] A board with 10 × 10 squares.
[6] Ed. Kielhorn, vol. ii, p. 373 (with reference to the formation of *ayānayīna* in Pāṇini, V, ii, 9): cf. Weber, "Indische Studien," xiii, p. 472.
[7] Cf. Max Müller, "India, what can it teach us?" p. 310.

the end not even one. Thus casting night and day like two dice, Kāla[1] plays with Kālī[2] on the board (*phalaka*) of the earth with human figures."[3] This game was, as we shall see, under the name of *Nard*, known in the ninth century to the Arabs, who attributed its invention to the Indians.[4] It cannot have been played on the *aṣṭāpada*, but must have required a board arranged much in the same way as that employed in later times by the Indians, Persians, Arabs, and Europeans, as well as the Chinese and Japanese.[5] Two forms of backgammon are still popular in India. The one, Pachīsī or "the twenty-five game" (so called from the highest throw possible), is played in accordance with the throws of five cowries; the other, Chaupur, is played in the same way, but with dice instead of shells.[6] They are both played on a cross-shaped chequered board or cloth.[7]

Thus, it is highly improbable that the *aṣṭāpada* was used for anything but some primitive form of chess, played with or without the aid of dice, some time before the beginning of our era.

But let us now turn from the less certain ground of inference to that of historical evidence. Till lately the earliest reference to chess in Indian literature was regarded to be a passage in the Sanskrit commentator Halāyudha, whom Professor Weber has with probability assigned to the end of the tenth century A.D.[8] Halāyudha requests the reader to "draw a table of sixty-four squares (*koṣṭhā-*

[1] Fate as a male.
[2] Fate as a female.
[3] Vairāgya-śataka, 43.
[4] There seems to be no reason to suppose that this had any connection with the draught game of the Romans, much less with the game said by Plutarch to have been played by Artaxerxes Longimanus (cf. Hyde, "Historia Nerdiludii," pp. 62–3), or the still more ancient game of the Egyptians (cf. Falkener, "Games Ancient and Oriental," 1892, p. 30 ff.).
[5] Who call this pastime the "twice-six game": Himly, Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. xxxiii, p. 679.
[6] See Hyde, op. cit., p 68 (*de Indorum ludo Tchāpur*); Falkener, op. cit., p. 257; E. B. Tylor, "On American Lot-Games," in Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie, suppl. to vol. ix, 1896, pp. 3–7.
[7] Illustrated in Hyde, Falkener, and Tylor.
[8] "Indische Studien," vol. viii, p. 193.

gārāṇi),' as in the game of chess (*caturaṅga-kriḍāyām*),"[1] in order to exemplify the number of syllables contained in certain metres. Recently Professor Jacobi stated, in volume xlv of the "Sacred Books of the East,"[2] that the earliest mention of chess known to him in Indian literature is found in the work of a Kashmirian poet named Ratnākara, who has been shown to have flourished about 850 A.D.[3] The stanza in which this reference occurs is fully discussed by Professor Jacobi in volume L (p. 227) of the Journal of the German Oriental Society. It is worded with the double meaning which is such a favourite device of the later Sanskrit poets. Here, if the words are taken in their ordinary sense, an attendant of the god Śiva is described as one "who continually turned the enemy, in spite of the latter's foursquare force, of his abundance of foot-soldiers, horses, chariots, and elephants, and of his skilled operations with peace (*sandhi*) and war (*vigraha*), into one whom defeat never left (*anaṣṭa-āpadam*)." The second sense of these words, as referring to chess, may be rendered thus: "Who turned not into a chessboard (*an-aṣṭāpadam*) the enemy who had a foursquare form, who abounded in foot-soldiers, horses, chariots, and elephants, and who had the form (*vigraha*) of combination (*sandhi*)"—that is, probably, of two halves folding together. The mention of the four members and of the foursquare (*caturaśra*) array (though the term *caturaṅga* itself is not used), along with the word *aṣṭāpada*, shows clearly that the chessboard is intended. This is also the explanation of the native commentator. Professor Jacobi adds[4] a somewhat later stanza, dating from the second half of the ninth century, which occurs in the work of Rudraṭa, another Kashmirian author. This passage, which enumerates stanzas composed so as to imitate the form of various objects, speaks of such as have the shape of "wheel, sword, club, bow, spear, trident, and plough,

[1] Op. cit., p. 230.
[2] Jaina Sūtras, 1895, p. 303, note.
[3] Jacobi, Journal of the German Oriental Society, 1896, p. 227.
[4] Op. cit., pp. 228–32.

which are to be read according to the chessboard (*caturaṅga-pīṭha*) squares of chariot (*ratha*), horse (*turaga*), elephant (*gaja*), etc." Then follow examples of these metrical puzzles. A stanza consisting of thirty-two syllables is supposed to be written on the thirty-two squares of half a chessboard. The puzzles consist in reading the syllables according to the moves of various chessmen, so as to produce exactly the same verse as by reading the syllables in the ordinary way in horizontal lines from left to right. From the data here supplied results the highly interesting fact that the Indian horse a thousand years ago moved in exactly the same way as our knight does at the present day. It further appears that the chariot (*ratha*), which corresponds to our castle, was able to reach every square in a straight line, while the elephant moved one square forward or one diagonally. This practically agrees with the statement of the famous Arabic author Albērūnī, who was familiar with the Panjab, and wrote his account of India in 1030 A.D. In that work he observes that the Indians, "in playing chess, move the elephant straight on, not to the other sides, one square at a time, like the pawn, and to the four corners also one square at a time, like the queen[1] (*fîrzān*). They say that these five squares (i.e., the one straight forward and the others at the corners) are the places occupied by the trunk and the four feet of the elephant."[2]

From the statements of Ratnākara and Rudraṭa, it is clear that in the ninth century A.D. the game of chess was not only known in Kashmir, but was so familiar that its moves were utilized for the construction of metrical puzzles. It is also clear that the moves of three of the most important pieces were then already the same as those in ordinary chess at the beginning of the eleventh century (though differing in two cases from the corresponding moves in another form of the game played in India).[3]

[1] The European successor of the Oriental 'councillor.'

[2] Sachau's Translation (Trübner's Oriental series), vol. i, p. 183. The opinion of Falkener (op. cit., p. 139) that Albērūnī did not know the game, is due to his not understanding Albērūnī.

[3] See below, p. 137.

We are now able to adduce evidence for the existence of chess in India much earlier than that quoted above. The present writer recently pointed out[1] that there is in Sanskrit literature a direct mention of chess at least two centuries older than Professor Jacobi's earlier quotation. It is to be found in a passage of the Harṣacarita, the first attempt at historical romance in India. In this work its author, Bāṇa, who is known with certainty to have lived in the early part of the seventh century A.D., gives an account of the doings of Śrīharṣa, the famous king of Kānyakubja and supreme ruler of Northern India (610–650 A.D.).[2] At the court of this monarch some time was spent by Bāṇa,[3] as well as by the well-known Chinese Buddhist traveller Hiouen Thsang,[4] who has left a record of his visit to India between the years 630 and 645 A.D. In the passage in question, which contains a series of puns, Bāṇa observes of Śrīharṣa that "under this monarch . . . . only bees quarrel in collecting dews (dues); the only feet cut off are those in metre; only chessboards (*aṣṭāpada*)[5] teach the positions of the four members (*caturaṅga*)."[6] This reference is particularly clear, as both the game and the board are named together. Occurring in the middle of an enumeration of notions familiar to the Indian reader, it justifies the conclusion that chess was well known in the beginning of the seventh century. The game must therefore have undoubtedly at least existed in India by the middle of the sixth century A.D.

The earliest foreign writer of certain date mentioning chess is the Arabic author Yaq'ūbī, who, writing about

[1] Athenæum, July 24, 1897, p. 130.

[2] Cf. Beal, "Buddhist Records of the Western World," vol. i, p. 210, note 13.

[3] See "Harṣacarita," chapter ii: cf. Beal, op. cit., p. 210, note 18.

[4] Beal, op. cit., i, p. 215 ff.

[5] Bāṇa mentions the *aṣṭāpada* in another passage of the Harṣacarita (see Cowell and Thomas' Translation, pp. 6 and 266) as well as in his "Kādambarī" (Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, 1890, pp. 180, 376). It is natural to suppose that in both these passages he meant the same thing as in the present passage, and not 'diceboard,' as the smaller St. Petersburg Dictionary interprets it in the Kādambarī.

[6] Cowell and Thomas, p. 65.

880 A.D., states that chess (as well as *Nard* or backgammon) was invented by an Indian for the amusement of an Indian king.[1] The next Arabic authority is Mas'ūdī, who flourished in the first half of the tenth century. In his encyclopaedic work entitled "Meadows of Gold,"[2] written in 947 A.D., he has a good deal to say about chess. He speaks of ancient players down to the two greatest experts (whom he mentions by name) of his own day. Such remarks imply that the game was widely known among the Arabs, and was regarded by them as of ancient date. Though Mas'ūdī's account of the early history of India is quite mythical, his assertion that *shatranj*, or chess, was an Indian invention, and was sent to King Kisrā (= Chosrau) at the same time as the book of *Kalīla wa Dimna*,[3] undoubtedly rests on a historical foundation.[4] The game of *shatranj*, he says, was invented under an Indian king, who expressed his preference for this game over backgammon. This monarch gave the form of men and animals to the pieces, and assigned different ranks to them, one of them being the *shāh* or king, another the chief minister. This pastime, he observes, was a kind of war-game, and remained popular in India. The Indians, he adds, also calculated an arithmetical progression with the squares of the chessboard.

The latter statement has undoubtedly also a historical basis. For it is an established fact that the Arabs derived their knowledge not only of the numerals,[5] but also of

[1] See the references in Nöldeke's "Persische Studien": Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akad. d. Wissenschaften, 1892, pp. 23–4.

[2] English Translation by Sprenger, 1841, pp. 171–5; Text and French Transl. by Barbier de Meynard, Paris, 1861, pp. 55–61: cf. Linde, op. cit., vol. i, pp. 1–3.

[3] The title of the Arabic translation of the Pañcatantra: cf. Nöldeke, op. cit., p. 22.

[4] Mas'ūdī also attributes the invention of *Nard* to an ancient Indian king, but adds that according to others it was invented under the Persian king Ardashīr Bābakān: cf. Linde, i, pp. 2–3. The twelve squares of the board on which it was played he explains as the twelve months, and the thirty pieces as the thirty days of the month. The decision of the dice he explains as the dependence of man on fate. This interpretation of the game is practically the same as that of Yaq'ūbī: see Nöldeke, op. cit., pp. 22–3.

[5] Corroborated by Arabic scholars at the Oriental Congress held at Paris last September: see Athenæum, Sept. 18, p. 387.

arithmetic[1]' (which they later introduced into Europe), from the Indians. The early fondness of the Indians for enormous calculations[2] is well known to students of their mathematics, and is exemplified in the writings of the great astronomer Āryabhaṭa (born 476 A.D.).[3] The legend about the chessboard progression is told by a later Arabic writer, Ibn Khallikān,[4] who lived in the thirteenth century. The game of chess, he says, was invented by an Indian—though a Persian invented *Nard*—for the entertainment of a king, who regarded it as a training in the art of war. This king was so delighted with the game that he offered the inventor any reward he chose to name. The latter said he only wished to have the amount of corn resulting from placing one grain on the first square (called 'house'), two on the second, and so on, doubling the number for each successive square of the sixty-four. This sum, when calculated, showed a total number of grains expressed by no less than twenty figures, and it became apparent that all the corn in the world would not equal the amount desired. The king thereupon told the inventor that his acuteness in devising such a wish was even more admirable than his talent in inventing *shatranj*. An additional argument for the Indian origin of this calculation is supplied by the Arabic name for the square of a chessboard, *beit* (Hebrew *beth*), 'house,' to which the Spanish, Italian, and French terms (*casa*, *case*), are due. For this has doubtless a historical connection with its Indian designation *koṣṭhāgāra*, 'store-house,' 'granary,' which, as we have seen, was used by the Sanskrit commentator Halāyudha. Arithmetical progressions, based on the doublings of the squares of the chessboard, later became a favourite form of calculation in Europe. Thus, Leonardo Pisano, who introduced Arabic mathematics into Italy, wrote in 1202 a treatise, *De dupli-*

[1] Cf. L. v. Schroeder, "Indiens Litteratur und Kultur," pp. 718, 723.
[2] L. v. Schroeder, op. cit., pp. 723-4.
[3] Cf. the arithmetical progression attributed to Āryabhaṭa by Ṣaḍgurusiṣya, ed. Macdonell, p. 180.
[4] Biographical Dictionary, translated by MacGuckin de Slane (Oriental Translation Fund), Paris, 1845, pp. 70–5.

catione scacherii. Even the poets of the Middle Ages introduced the expression into their compositions. One, for instance, exclaims that he could double the squares of the chessboard with his sorrows; while another sings that he could double the squares of the chessboard a thousand times with the charms of his lady-love.[1]

The earliest Persian — and indeed foreign — authority mentioning the game of chess is a short Pahlavi treatise about the origin of chess (*catrang*).[2] This little work, according to Nöldeke,[3] seems to be older than Yaq'ūbī, dating probably from after the Muhammadan conquest of Persia and considerably later than the time—the middle of the sixth century—which it describes. It relates how an Indian king Dewasārm (doubtless the Sanskrit *Devaśarman*) sent an embassy to the Persian king Chosrau Anosharvān (A.D. 531–579) with the game of chess invented by him, asking for an explanation of its significance. The sixteen pieces on the one side are described as being made of emerald, the sixteen on the other being of red ruby. The king (*shāh*), the minister (*frazīn*), and the horse (*asp*), are mentioned, as well as the foot-soldiers, who form the front line, but the elephant and chariot are passed over.[4] At the end of the treatise it is stated to be the characteristic feature of chess that in it victory is gained by the understanding.[5] The Persian king's minister explains chess as a game of war. He invents and sends to the Indian king

[1] References in Linde, i, p. 7.

[2] Edited with Gujaratī and English translations by Dastūr Peshotan, Bombay, 1885; text and German translation by Salemann, "Mittelpersische Studien," Mélanges Asiatiques tirés du Bulletin de l'Acad. des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg (St. Petersburg, 1887), pp. 222–30; discussed by Nöldeke, "Persische Studien," Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie, 1892, pp. 20-6: cf. "Grundriss d. iranischen Philologie," vol. ii, p. 145; West, ibid., p. 119, § 103.

[3] "Persische Studien," p. 26.

[4] This omission must be accidental, for the elephant and chariot must have been included in the total of sixteen, the regular number of pieces on each side. The passage is important as containing the earliest mention of the number of pieces in the game.

[5] Yaq'ūbī and Mas'ūdī both speak of chess as dependent on skill in contrast with *Nard*: cf. Nöldeke, "Persische Studien," p. 24. In Nīlakaṇṭha's "Nītimayūkha" (seventeenth century) chess is described as a game dependent on force of intellect (*kriḍā buddhibalāśritā*): see Weber, Monatsberichte, 1873, p. 711.

the game of *Nēwardashēr* (*Nard*), which was intended to represent human life as dependent on the planets and the signs of the Zodiac, the board being the earth and the thirty pieces the days of the month (the fifteen white pieces = days, the fifteen black = nights).[1]

This Pahlavi work is important, as being the direct or indirect source of the story about the introduction of chess into Persia told by Firdausī, who completed his great historical poem, the *Shahnamah*, or Book of Kings,[2] about 1000 A.D. The poet relates how, under King Kisrā (= Chosrau I) a special embassy came from the king of Kanūj[3] to present the Persian monarch with the game of chess (*shatranj*).[4] The game, which he says represents war, was invented in India to console a queen for the loss of her son.[5] The game of *Nard*, on the other hand, was a Persian invention sent to the Indian king by Kisrā as a present in return for that of chess.[6]

Thus, the oldest Arabic and Persian authorities agree in ascribing an Indian origin to chess. Their testimony is unmistakably corroborated by the names of the game in the two languages. It is evident that both the Pahlavi *catrang* and the Arabic *shatranj*, which have no etymological meaning, are only phonetic adaptations of the Indian *caturaṅga*. The very form of the two words shows that the Persian form is borrowed from the Indian, and the Arabic from the Persian.[7] There are also other considerations, from which it results that the Arabs obtained their knowledge of the Indian game through the Persians. For the Persian name of the principal piece in this war-game, *shāh*, 'king,' is exclusively used in Arabic chess also. Had the Arabs received the game directly from

[1] Cf. West, "Grundriss," ii, p. 119; Nöldeke, op. cit., pp. 20–1.
[2] Cf. Nöldeke, "Grundriss," ii, pp. 145, 169 ff.
[3] The modern Kanauj, Sanskrit Kānyakubja.
[4] See Mohl's Translation, vol. vi, pp. 306–12.
[5] Ibid., pp. 353–6. These are two different stories: cf. Mohl, preface to vol. vi, p. 5.
[6] Ibid., pp. 312–6.
[7] *Shatranj* being as close an adaptation of *catrang* as Arabic phonetics will admit.

India, they would undoubtedly, like the Persians, have translated the Indian word for king, *rājā*, into their own language, with some such term as sultan, caliph, or emir. Similarly, they would have translated the Indian word *ratha*, 'chariot,' instead of adopting the Persian term *rukh*.

The question as to when the Persians borrowed the game from the Indians, can now be answered with a much higher degree of probability than was formerly possible. The story told in the Pahlavi chess-book about Chosrau I receives corroboration from the historical fact that the subjugation of the Persian empire by the Arabs was completed by the year 652 A.D. Had chess come into Persia from India after that date, it is likely the Arabs would have obtained a first-hand knowledge of the game. It is, moreover, a known fact that, by command of King Chosrau I, a collection of Indian fables, the Pañcatantra, was translated by a physician named Barzōī into Pahlavi,[1] the literary language of Persia. This in itself shows that the intercourse between India and Persia must have been considerable in his days. The Arabic writer Mas'ūdī actually states, as we have seen, that the game of chess was introduced into Persia at the same time as the book *Kalīla wa Dimna* (the Arabic title of the Pañcatantra) under Chosrau I.[2] Moreover, as we now know, the game actually existed in India fifty years after Chosrau's death at the very court of Kānyakubja, whence, according to Fīrdausī, it was brought to that monarch.

It is a curious coincidence that the sixth century A.D. is the date assigned by a Chinese writer of the tenth

[1] It is interesting to note by the way that though this Pahlavi translation is lost, two versions of it are still in existence. The Syriac version made about 570 A.D. and entitled "Kalilag wa Damnag" (from the two jackals Karaṭaka and Damanaka in the Pañcatantra) was only found in 1870, the story of its recovery forming one of the most interesting chapters in the romance of literary history. The Arabic rendering of the Pahlavi translation made in the eighth century is a work of prime importance, because from it flowed other versions of these fables of Bidpai or Pilpay (a corruption of the Sanskrit *vidyāpati*, 'chief Pandit'), which exercised great influence on the literature of the Middle Ages in Europe. For the bibliography of this subject see Lanman, "Sanskrit Reader," p. 313.

[2] Cf. Nöldeke, "Grundriss," ii, pp. 144–5. Fīrdausī also relates the Kalīla and Dimna was brought from Kanauj to Persia under King Kisrā (Mohl, vi, 350–65).

century to the introduction of the game into China. He does not, however, acknowledge the Indian origin of the game, but attributes its invention to a Chinese king.[1] From China the game was introduced into Japan, probably by way of Corea.[2] It also spread to Thibet, Burmah, Siam, Ceylon, and Java, but to these countries doubtless directly from India.

The introduction of chess into Europe was due to the Arabs. It may have become known in Spain under the Saracen ruler Hakem II (961–76), who was a great patron of culture and collector of books.[3] In any case, the game was familiar in Spain by the end of the eleventh century. For a Spanish Jew named Moses Sefardi, in a work written by him in 1106, and entitled *Disciplina clericalis*, speaks of skill at chess as one of the seven accomplishments to be expected of a knight.[4] The oldest European account of the game is a Spanish manuscript dating from the year 1283 A.D. In this document the intelligible names of the Arabic chessmen, those of the king, the horse, and the pawn, are found translated into Spanish; but those which were no longer understood, were taken over direct in the form of *alferza* (the vizier), *alfil* (the elephant), and *roque* (chariot).[5] The latter terms were borrowed by other European nations, and were regularly employed throughout the Middle Ages to designate the corresponding pieces

[1] See Himly, "Das Schachspiel in China": Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. xxiv, pp. 172–5; xxvii, p. 121 ff. Though the Chinese game shows several innovations, such as the introduction of artillery and of a river dividing the two halves of the board, it is essentially the same as the Indian. Thus it is played on a board of sixty-four squares with sixteen pieces on each side; and the order of the pieces from the corners is: chariot, horse, elephant, with the general (=king) in the middle. The Chinese game is clearly a war-game, and is described as such by a Chinese writer of about the eleventh century (see Linde, vol. i, p. 87, note 24). But the presence of the elephant in it was so striking that the Chinese call it the "game of the elephant" (Himly, l.c., p. 175). Professor Douglas tells me that elephants were numerous in China in the old days, and that the commentator Tso (who lived within a century after Confucius) says they were employed in battle between the states of Wu and Ts'u (B.C. 512).

[2] Himly, Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. xxxiii, p. 672.

[3] Cf. Linde, op. cit., vol. i, p. 136.

[4] Linde, op. cit., vol. i, p. 137.

[5] Ibid., p. 139.

when pictorially represented, even when the new symbolical names which grew up beside them were used in writing about chess. In Italy also the game became known by direct contact with the Saracens, who began their incursions by taking Civita Vecchia in 813. It is first found referred to as *ludus scachorum* in a curious Latin letter written in the year 1061 by Cardinal Damiani, who describes how he punished a bishop for playing[1] chess publicly at an inn.

The game had penetrated into the Byzantian empire by the beginning of the twelfth century, for the Emperor Alexis Comnenus (1081–1118) is described as often playing chess at night, in order to drive away the cares of state.[2]

By that time the knowledge of the game had spread not only to France, but also to Germany and England. There are frequent references to it in the romantic poetry of Germany in the second half of the twelfth century.[3] It is interesting to note that about 1180 an Englishman, named Alexander Neckam (1157–1217), wrote in a work of his entitled *De naturis rerum*, a short chapter on chess (*de scachis*), which contains the oldest existing set of rules about the moves of the pieces. By the end of the twelfth century chess had indeed not only taken firm root in all the cultured countries of Europe, but had been taken up with all the passion inspired by gambling. The remark is often heard that chess is a game which no one would think of playing at for money. This was certainly not true in the Middle Ages. Not only was it then played for money, but often for very heavy stakes. Addiction to the game had become so general that playing it was altogether forbidden by the Council of Paris in 1212, and again by St. Louis IX and another Council in 1254 and 1255.[4]

The two centuries between 1250 and 1450 were the golden age of chess in the West. Chess problems now began to be

[1] Linde, op. cit., vol. i, p. 141.
[2] Ibid., p. 142.
[3] Ibid., p. 144, cf. 24.
[4] Ibid., p. 143 ff.

studied; and from about 1300 onwards collections of them were made, first in Spain and Italy, and then in France, England, and Germany. A new era in the history of the game commenced about 1500 A.D. It was marked by great changes of move, which led to the disappearance of two of the old figures, and to a considerable modification in the character of the game. The outward shape of one of the pieces (the rook) was also transformed. In the sixteenth century, too, chess openings began to be elaborated, chiefly by the Italian Polerio; and, somewhat later, by his better-known disciple Greco. The oldest trace of a gambit, or opening, in which a piece is sacrificed for the sake of a subsequent advantage, is also found in Italy about the middle of the sixteenth century. Towards the end of that century a number of chess tournaments took place between Spanish and Italian players, the latter generally showing to greater advantage.

Having thus sketched the rise and diffusion of chess in general, we have still to trace briefly the history of the individual figures used in the game.

The order in which the sixteen pieces were arranged on each side of the board in the Indian game, when it first became historically known, appears to have been practically the same as in the chess of the present day. The king, accompanied by his councillor (Sanskrit *mantrin*), occupies the middle of the first line; while on each side of them were placed an elephant, a horse, and a chariot, the latter occupying the corner.[1] Eight foot-soldiers (Sanskrit *padāti*) were drawn up in the second line.[2] The order mentioned

[1] A peculiarity of the chess described by Nīlakaṇṭha in the Nītimayūkha (Monatsber. d. Berliner Akad., 1873, p. 707) is that the elephant occupies the corner, but has the move of the rook. Professor Weber here observes that this is the original position of the elephants in the Indian army, a statement probably based on Kāmandaki (xix, 37), who says that the array is the most formidable in which the elephants are on the flanks. There is, however, no historical evidence that the elephant ever occupied the corner in ancient chess. In Nīlakaṇṭha's game the camel (probably under Persian influence) occupies the square (the third from the corner) of the old elephant. This is perhaps why the elephant has here been substituted for the unintelligible rook (as in Vida's game: see below, p. 136.

[2] So already in the Pahlavi chess-book: see above, p. 128.

by Firdausī[1] is identical with this: *rukh*, horse, elephant, councillor, king, elephant, horse, *rukh*. The number of the figures here implies that the game was played on a board of $8 \times 8 = 64$ squares. Firdausī, however, in another passage also expressly mentions a board of $10 \times 10 = 100$ squares,[2] played on with forty chessmen, the order of the latter being the same as before, except that a camel is added on each side, between the horse and the elephant. This is obviously a secondary development of the game. The front line here, as elsewhere, consists of foot-soldiers.

The Arabic game, as introduced into Europe, shows the same arrangement; *rukh*, horse, *fil*, king, *firzān*, *fil*, horse, *rukh*. When the game was adopted from the Arabs by the various nations of the West, the names of three of the six kinds of pieces were translated. The foot-soldier (Sanskrit *padāti*) still retains this meaning in several European languages, with a name derived from the cognate Low Latin *pedonem*. This became *pedone* in Italian, *peon* in Spanish, *pion* in French, and *pawn* in English. The horse still retains its head in the figure, though it now bears another name, as *chevalier* in French, 'knight' in English, *springer* in German. The term *shāh* was translated by 'king'; but this name, given to the most important piece by the Persians, the first borrowers of chess on its westward migration, has become the designation of the game itself in every European country except Spain and Portugal. It became the Italian *scacco*, the German *schach*, the French *échec*, the English *chess* (from the Old French *eschès*). In the form of *check* it has in English had a further history, the ramifications of which are paralleled by few other words in the language.[3]

[1] Mohl, vol. vi, p. 311; Linde, op. cit., vol. i, p. 67 ff.

[2] Mohl, vol. vi, p. 355; Linde, vol. i, p. 68. See above, p. 121 (*dasapada* in the Pāli sūtras).

[3] A few examples will illustrate this. The word has come to mean 'rebuff' from the warning 'check'! meaning '(mind your) king,' where the original sense has been so far forgotten that we even say 'check to your queen'! The word also signifies a banker's draft (spelt *cheque*), from the earlier sense of 'counterfoil of a bank bill.' It further designates a 'square pattern' like that

The names of the other three pieces remaining untranslated passed with various modifications into the different European languages. The *firzān* became in Spanish *alferza*, in French *ferce*, in English *fers*. The meaning of this piece was hardly understood, the vizier having no place in the European political system; and, as it regularly stood beside the king, it soon became symbolically transformed into a queen, by which name Neckam already mentions it in the twelfth century.

The elephant, which under its Arabic name of *fil*, or with the article *alfil*, went all over Europe, is represented in the chess MSS. of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as a piece with a divided top, the two parts of which are either straight or bent. These may be a reminiscence of the elephant's two tusks. A fancied resemblance of the top to various kinds of headgear transformed this figure into a bishop in England, a fool in France, and a courier or runner (*Läufer*) in Germany. An English writer on chess named Rowbothum[1] in the sixteenth century remarks that "The Bishoppes some name Alphins, some fooles, and some name them princes, other some call them archers."

The rook (Spanish *roque*, French *roc*) was throughout the Middle Ages also a figure with a cloven top, but the divisions were in this case curved outwards and downwards so as to resemble two horns or the two side leaves of the *fleur-de-lis*. In this form it was introduced into heraldry and became a favourite emblem (*rochus bifrons*). Occasionally it appeared with a double horse's or serpent's head instead of the horns.[2] As the name of this figure

of the chessboard. In Murray's English Dictionary nineteen meanings are distinguished in the noun 'check' and seventeen in the verb 'to check,' to say nothing of numerous subordinate senses. Then we have among derivatives the word *chequer*, with sixteen meanings as a noun and seven as a verb. Another is *exchequer* which originally meant 'chessboard' and then 'treasury department of the state.' This seemingly heterogeneous sense it acquired from the fact that it previously referred to the table covered with a cloth divided into squares, on which the accounts of the revenue were kept by means of counters. What an amount of history is compressed into this one word!

[1] See Linde, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 181.

[2] See Linde, vol. i, pp. 146 and 154, note 12.

had been unintelligible even in Arabic,[1] it became peculiarly the object of fanciful speculations in the Middle Ages. The similarity of name led to confusion with the fabulous bird named *roc*, and poets came to interpret it as a double-headed griffin. A transformation in the shape of this piece was introduced by the Italian Vida, who in 1525 published a Latin poem entitled *Ludus scachorum* in imitation of the "Aeneid" of Virgil. Vida here describes the rook as an armed tower borne on the back of an elephant. The game of *shatranj*, of course, knew nothing of a tower, nor even of an elephant in this position. For the elephant was already on the board in the form of the *fil*. Translations of Vida into various languages familiarized the notion of the rook being an elephant with a tower on its back. It was in this way that what we call the castle was introduced into English chess in 1562. The tower as *pars pro toto* gradually ousted the elephant, though its connection with the latter was never quite forgotten. Thus the elephant which had lately disappeared from one square of the board reappeared on another, the corner square.[2]

As regards the history of the moves of the various chessmen, it is interesting to note that three of the figures—the

[1] In the Chinese game the corner piece still retains the name of 'chariot' (Himly, Journ. of the Germ. Or. Soc., vol. xxiv, p. 173). On the possible phonetic connection between the Sanskrit *ratha* and the Persian *rukh*, cf. Weber, Monatsberichte, 1873, p. 707, note.

[2] Cf. p. 133, note 1. Some interesting representations of the old chessmen of various nations may be found in the work on chess entitled *Historia shahiludii* (pp. 132–7) published in 1694 by the great Orientalist, Thomas Hyde, who was Professor of Arabic and Bodley's Librarian at Oxford two centuries ago. In one of these the *rukh* is depicted as a camel. It is interesting to notice that in dealing with Indian chess, Hyde gives twelve Sanskrit words for elephant *engraved in Devanāgarī characters* (evidently reproduced from the writing of a Pandit). These names are transliterated, sometimes incorrectly (e.g., द्विरद as *dvīrada* and गज as *gudge*). The meanings of most of these words are explained, in several cases wrongly (cf. especially that of वारण). In his account of the game of *Nard* (p. 68), Hyde also gives five Sanskrit words in Devanāgarī (e.g. अक्ष *ucksh*). This is, I believe, the earliest instance of Sanskrit words in Devanāgarī appearing in any printed book.

knight, the king, and the pawn—have never changed in this respect ever since anything has been known about them. The clearest evidence of this is found in the case of the knight, as to which we have the concordant testimony of Rudraṭa, Fīrdausī, and Albērūnī. With respect to the pawn we have the statement of Albērūnī[1] that it moved forward one square at a time, both in Indian quadruple chess and in the ordinary game (double chess). Of the king, in the Indian game, Albērūnī simply remarks that it moves as in Arabic chess. In the latter game this piece has always moved to one of the eight squares adjacent to the one on which it stands.

On the whole, it seems probable that the chariot (rook or castle) has also not altered its move from the beginning. For the move of the *ratha* (chariot) in Rudraṭa is identical with that of the Arabic *rukh*, and its successor the modern castle. Fīrdausī's description, though somewhat indefinite, seems to indicate the same move. "The *rukh*," he says, "is able to traverse the whole board."[2] The fact that in the Indian quadruple chess, described by Albērūnī, the *rukh* moves differently, has no great weight; for this difference appears to be due to a transposition of moves. We find that the *rukh* here moves like the Arabic elephant, and the elephant like the Arabic *rukh*.

The moves of the minister (our queen) and the elephant (our bishop) have, on the other hand, undergone changes which have profoundly modified the character of the game. We know from Albērūnī that the Arabic *fīrzān* (our queen) could move only one square diagonally in any direction. In other words, it had access to four squares. Fīrdausī probably meant the same thing by the vague statement that the councillor moved one square.[3] This move of the *fers* (queen) remained unaltered till about 1500 A.D., when a change was introduced which enormously increased the power of this piece. From that period onwards it was no

[1] Sachau's Translation, i, pp. 183–4.
[2] See Mohl, Transl., vol. vi, p. 355: cf. Linde, op. cit., vol. i, p. 68.
[3] Mohl, loc. cit.

longer restricted in Europe to a single diagonal step, but became able to reach the end of the board in every direction. Thus, this piece, which had hitherto possessed only half the moving power of the king, now became many times more powerful. It was now, in fact, the most potent figure, combining as it did the power of the castle with the increased power of the bishop. It is somewhat strange that the piece which originally represented the power of the chief minister as only one-half of that of the king, in accordance with his relative position in the East, should have been historically succeeded by another which has a power corresponding to that of the prime minister, as compared with the sovereign, in the most politically advanced monarchy of the West.

The original move of the elephant is not so clear. Albērūnī's statement, that in the ordinary Indian game the elephant combined the move of the pawn and the minister, substantially agrees with what Rudraṭa says. In the Indian quadruple chess, again, the elephant, according to Albērūnī, "moves in a straight line, as the tower does in our chess . . . . its smallest move is one square, the greatest fifteen squares."[1] In Arabic chess, finally, we know from Albērūnī's account, that the elephant (*alfil*) moved obliquely to the third square.[2] Simultaneously with the transformation of the move of the *fers* (queen), an extension of that of the *alfil* (bishop) took place, enabling it to reach every square of the whole oblique line. These two great innovations seem to have been made in France. With their introduction the *fers* and the *alfil* disappeared from European chess.

One point of importance in the early history of chess still remains for consideration. Albērūnī's account of the game as played in India implies that two forms of it were known there in the beginning of the eleventh century. The one kind seems to have been the same as the Arabic game, with the exception of the elephant's move, and was

[1] Sachau, i, 184.

[2] Like its successor the bishop, with a limitation.

doubtless identical with that known to Rudrata in the ninth century. But it is the other form of the Indian game which Albērūnī specially describes, because it was unknown to the Arabs and Persians. The two characteristics of this game are that it was played by four persons, and that two dice were used, each piece moving according to the number of the throw. A board of sixty-four squares was employed, with thirty-two figures forming four groups of eight. Each group, consisting of a king, elephant, horse, and chariot in the first row, and four foot-soldiers in front of them in the second, was so arranged that the chariot always occupied the left-hand corner of the side facing the player.[1] There were thus four kings, each attended by figures representing the four members of the army, while the minister was absent. The earliest native authority for this game is Raghunanda, a Sanskrit writer belonging to the latter end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth.[2] The game expounded by him and called *catūrājī*, 'the four-king game,' is identical with that described by Albērūnī. The question here naturally arises, to which of these two Indian forms of *Kriegspiel* should the priority of origin be assigned? Now the existence of the ordinary game is, as we have seen, attested a century and a half earlier in India than that of the other. Moreover, it is incredible that the Persians and Arabs, who confessedly borrowed the game from India, should have first become acquainted with it in the form of quadruple chess.[3] For in that case they had not only entirely forgotten the connection of dice with it, but must also have independently transformed quadruple chess into double chess by the beginning of the eleventh century, when, according to Albērūnī's testimony, quadruple chess was quite unknown to them. Then we have the *a priori* argument that

[1] Represented in Weber, Monatsberichte, 1872, p. 67; Sachau, op. cit., i, 183 (reversed by mistake in the process of printing); coloured in Linde, op. cit., appendix to vol. i, p. 1, and in Tylor, op. cit. Falkener, op. cit., gives a photograph of the board and figures (a boat here occupying the corner).

[2] Weber, Monatsberichte, 1872, p. 63 ff., gives the Sanskrit text with German translation: cf. Linde, app. to vol. i.

[3] The game in the Pahlavi chess-book is clearly double chess. See above, p. 128.

a primitive *Kriegspiel* would be more likely to represent the operations of two armies than those of four. Sir William Jones, the great pioneer of Sanskrit studies at the end of the last century, who wrote an essay on chess,[1] expresses his belief that quadruple chess is only a secondary form of the game. The late Dr. A. v. d. Linde, author of the most exhaustive work on the history of chess, at first advocated the priority of quadruple chess, but was soon entirely converted to the opposite view,[2] even by the evidence accessible to him when he published his book in 1874. He also lays stress on the consideration that dice and chess combined are a dualism which cannot be original. Those who favour the priority of quadruple chess have, in the present state of our knowledge, to rely entirely on *a priori* arguments. They may, for instance, point out that, according to Sanskrit writers on warfare, Indian policy always has an eye to four kings, the aggressor, his foe, the neutral, and the one called the "middlemost."[3]

It is quite possible, *pace* Dr. Linde, that dice were combined with the primitive form of chess; but they could very well have been used by *two* players, as in backgammon. The ordinary game with figures moving independently might have been a development of a more mechanical game, in which the moves depended on the throw of dice. The latter might have survived beside its more intellectual successor by becoming modified as quadruple chess, just as backgammon in the form of the Indian Pachīsī can be played by four players. Chess would thus in its primitive state have been an applied form (like backgammon) of the far more ancient game of dice. This development seems more probable than that the highly intellectual game of double chess, which it is natural to suppose was the result of a prolonged evolution, should, after being independent of dice from the beginning, have when fully developed relapsed to a more primitive stage in the form of quadruple chess.

[1] "Asiatic Researches," vol. ii; quoted by Linde, op. cit., vol. i, p. 70.
[2] Op. cit., i, 68–9.
[3] Cf. Jacobi, Journal of the German Or. Soc., vol. L, p. 233.

However this may be, the invention of chess is undoubtedly a debt mankind owes to India. In the course of the above sketch we have become acquainted with one of the strangest episodes in the history of civilization. A collection of fables and fairy-tales on the one hand, and the most intellectual game the world has known on the other, start on their wanderings from India, in all probability at the same time, and after the lapse of centuries are again found side by side in Europe, whiling away the tedium of myriads during the monotonous life of the Middle Ages. And they have continued down to the present day to give mental recreation to millions of the human race quite ignorant of the source whence these gifts have come. Few nations indeed can boast of having bestowed two such boons upon mankind.

ART. XIV.—*The Iron Pillar of Dhār.* By V. A. SMITH.

IN the article on "The Iron Pillar of Delhi" I noticed that another iron pillar exists at Dhār in Central India, but observed that no detailed description of that pillar was known to me.[1]

I now find that a description of this very remarkable monument has been printed—I can hardly say published—in a report by the indefatigable Dr. Führer.

"About thirty-three miles west of Indor lies Dhār, or Dhārā, the ancient capital of Mālava; but nothing remains of its former grandeur except three remarkable Musalman buildings, erected out of the wrecks of some magnificent Jaina temples of the twelfth century A.D., and an ancient iron column. . . . .

"The Jāmī or Lāt Masjid, erected by Dīlāwar Khān Ghorī in A.H. 807, is a similar building to Kamāl-ud-dīn's Dargāh, but the Jaina columns are not so handsomely carved; the *mihrābs* and *mimbar*, however, are fine specimens of Musalman workmanship.

"Close to the *masjid* is lying, in a sloping position against the terrace, a fragment of an iron column, or *lāt*, a square of 10 inches on each side, and 24 feet long, with a Persian inscription of Akbar Shāh, dated A.H. 1100, incised on its longer length; a second piece, similar and originally belonging to it, is standing opposite the Jāmī Masjid at Māndugarh, being an octagon, 2 ft. 8 in. in circumference, with 10 inches of a circular end (showing another piece is missing), and 12 feet long. A third piece, a square of 10 inches, with a bell-capital, 6 feet high, is standing in the garden of the Mahārājah's guest-house at Dhār.

[1] J.R.A.S., Jan 1897, p. 11.

"The total height of this remarkable column would be 42 ft. 8 in. less than the *lāt* near the Qutb Masjid at Delhi; the latter, however, being round, and 4 ft. 10 in. in circumference.[1]

"It would be advisable, if local mechanical means could be found for moving these enormous masses of iron, to erect afresh this iron column in front of the Jāmī Masjid at Dhār in its original position. . . . .

"About twenty-three miles south of Dhār lies the celebrated hill fort of Māndu, now deserted, and handed over to the tender-mercies of vegetation, which has covered the whole hill and enveloped the palaces and masjids."[2]

The above very imperfect description of the Dhār pillar does not warrant the assumption that the principal fragment, lying against the terrace of the Jāmi' Masjid at Dhār, occupies its original position. The iron pillar certainly has no connection with the Jain temples of the twelfth century, which supplied the materials for the Mosque. The bell-capital, which is vaguely described as included in a fragment 6 feet high, must consist of several members. I doubt if the bell-capital, in any of its forms, is to be found of a date later than A.D. 500. So far as can be judged from a description so deficient in details and unaccompanied by any illustration, the pillar at Dhār must, like the similar monument near Delhi, date from the Gupta period. Pillars of that period were constructed with members of circular, square, and octagonal sections in combination.[3]

The three existing pieces of the Dhār column are said to measure respectively 24, 12, and 6 feet long, aggregating

[1] These figures for the Iron Pillar at the Qutb Mosque are wildly wrong. The total height of that monument from top to bottom is 23 ft. 8 in. The lower diameter of the shaft is 16·4 inches, and the upper diameter is 12·05 inches, the diminution being 0·29 of an inch per foot. The capital, which is of the bell pattern, is 3½ feet high.

[2] "Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Survey Circle, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending 30th June, 1893"; printed at the Thomason College Press, Roorkee, No. 2,286, p. 21.

[3] The references to Gupta Architecture in Cunningham's "Reports" are grouped together under that heading in my General Index. See especially vol. ix, plate xi; and vol. x, plates xx–xxii and xxvi–xxx.

42½ feet, in addition to a missing fragment. If these figures are correct, the column was approximately double the height of the Delhi monument.

We marvel at the skill shown by the ancient artificers in forging the great mass of the Delhi pillar, and must give a still greater measure of admiration to the forgotten craftsmen who dealt successfully with the still more ponderous mass of the Dhār monument.

ART. XV.—*On the Mahābhārata MSS. in the Whish Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society.* By M. WINTERNITZ, Ph.D.

AT the last Congress of Orientalists in Paris I read a paper on the Mahābhārata MSS. in the Royal Asiatic Society, which represent the South Indian recension of the great Hindu epic. As it will take some time before this paper, with extracts from the MSS., will be printed, it may be useful to give here a brief summary of the results to which a closer examination of at least two of these MSS. has led.

These two MSS. are the Grantha MS., Whish No. 65, and the fragment contained in the Malayalam MS., Whish No. 158. The former contains the Pauloma and Āstīka Parvans, the latter a fragment of the Sambhava Parvan.

Even these two MSS. alone prove beyond any doubt that the South Indian MSS. represent a distinct recension of the Mahābhārata. Apart from numerous various readings, we find both omissions and additions in the Southern MSS., and frequently the order of verses differs in these MSS. from that found in the Nāgarī editions. A remarkable omission is that of the legend of *Gaṇeśa*, who, at the request of Vyāsa, writes down the whole of the Mahābhārata. Not only is the legend omitted, but the whole arrangement of the passage in which the story occurs is entirely different in the Grantha MS. This is all the more important, as the same legend of Gaṇeśa is omitted in Kṣēmēndra's Bhāratamañjarī.

The *Parvasaṃgraha*, and especially the *Anukramaṇikā*, are very different, and much shorter in the Grantha MS.

The story of *Kadrū* and *Vinatā* and their wager about the horse Uccaiḥśravas (Mahābhārata, I, 20–22) reads much better in the Grantha MS. than in the Nāgarī editions. For the verses I, 20, 12–16 are omitted, and instead of them

we are told that Brahman gave the power of destroying snake poison to *Kāśyapa* (not to Kaśyapa, as in the Nāgarī editions), and that Kārkōṭaka, troubled about Kadrū's curse, promises to do his mother's bidding and turn himself into black hair, in order to make the horse's tail appear black. This is much better than the weak attempt made in I, 22, 1–3 of our editions to get over the difficulty that the Serpents perish in consequence of their mother's curse, although they actually complied with her wish. Chapter I, 22, which is mainly a repetition of I, 21, is omitted in our MS.

Another important omission is that of the story of Rāhu and his enmity against the Sun, and the appointment of Aruṇa as the Sun's charioteer, told in I, 24, 4–25, 1 of our editions.

But the most important divergence between the two recensions occurs in the Sambhava Parvan, of which MS. Whish No. 158 contains, unfortunately, a short fragment only. In this fragment the story of Śakuntalā, told in I, 68–74 of the Nāgarī editions, is omitted. Instead of it we find two chapters giving genealogies of Pūru and Bharata, corresponding to the chapters I, 94 and 95 of our editions. The genealogy of Bharata ends with the brief statement that *Duṣṣanta* (compare the Vedic *Duḥṣanta*) had two sons, viz., Janamējaya by Lakṣaṇā, and Bharata by Śakuntalā.

It is, of course, possible that the Śakuntalā episode may be found in one of the later Adhyāyas of the Sambhava Parvan in the South Indian recension. This might easily be ascertained, if other and more perfect copies of the Parvan could be obtained from the South of India.

There are only these two MSS. of the *Ādi Parvan* in the Whish Collection corresponding to the first 75 Adhyāyas of this Parvan.

Of the *Sabhā Parvan* the Royal Asiatic Society possesses a complete copy (Whish No. 18), of the *Vana Parvan* an almost complete copy (the beginning as far as III,

32, 45 being lost) in MS. Whish No. 62, and a complete copy of the *Virāṭa Parvan* in the Grantha MS. Whish No. 53. Of the *Udyōga Parvan* we have two fragments supplementing each other, MS. Whish No. 84A containing Adhyāyas 1–94, and No. 84B containing Adhyāyas 41–198. There are no copies of the Sixth Parvan, and only a fragment (chapters 1–34) of the *Droṇa Parvan* (MS. Whish No. 86). Nor are there any copies of the Parvans VIII–XIII. The last five Parvans (XIV–XVIII in our editions) are found in MS. Whish No. 51.

Besides these MSS. of the Mahābhārata itself, there is in the Whish Collection (No. 71) a copy of *Mahēśvara's Mahābhārata saṃgraha*, a collection of stories from the Mahābhārata, divided into seventeen Parvans. The Strī, Śānti, and Anuśāsana Parvans are not represented in this work.

My acquaintance with these MSS. has convinced me that Burnell was right in saying that there is as much difference between the Northern and the South-Indian recensions of the Mahābhārata, as between the different recensions of the Rāmāyaṇa. But from what I have seen, it seems to me that the South Indian recension is neither longer nor shorter than the text of the Nāgarī editions. For while many passages found in the latter are omitted in the Grantha and Malayalam MSS., we find also additions in the Southern MSS. which do not occur in the Northern recension. I have frequently found that the South Indian MSS. offer better readings, and in some places a better text generally than the Nāgarī editions. On the other hand, there are numerous passages where the Nāgarī editions give a decidedly better text than that found in the MSS. from the South.

The only thing which seems to me absolutely certain is that these MSS. are indispensable for any critical restoration of the text of the Mahābhārata, and that for any critical and historical researches regarding the Mahābhārata the editions printed in various parts of India are utterly insufficient. A critical edition of the Mahābhārata, made

by European scholars according to the principles followed in editing any other important text, is wanted as the only sound basis for all Mahābhārata studies—nay, for all studies connected with the epic literature of India. And I was glad to see at the Congress held in Paris that many other Sanskrit scholars, too, entirely agreed with me as to the necessity of such a critical edition. There are, no doubt, great practical difficulties in the way of such an enormous undertaking, which would involve the examination of hundreds of MSS. from all parts of India. No single scholar could ever undertake such a work, and it would necessitate a very considerable expense. But the munificence and insight of Governments, Academies, Oriental Societies, and enlightened Indian princes have made it possible to publish critical texts of the most important works of Vēdic literature. Thanks to the untiring energy of one enthusiastic scholar, the "Pāli Text Society" has been able to publish critical editions of the most important Buddhist texts: why should not a "Sanskrit Epic Text Society," aided by Governments and Academies and Oriental Societies, be able to bring out a critical edition of the great Hindu epic, which, whatever its merits as a literary production may be, is an invaluable storehouse of information about the history, religion, philosophy, folklore, and civilization of ancient India.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

BUDDHISMO. Per PAOLO EMILIO PAVOLINI. 12mo, pp. xv and 163. (Hoepli: Milan, 1898.)

This is a new manual of Buddhism, giving 30 pages to the life of Gotama, 26 pages to Buddhism, 26 to the Order, 38 to an analysis of the Pitakas, and 22 to an account of the books written in Europe on Buddhism. The sketch of Buddhism consists of short accounts of *Karma* and of the five *skandhas*, of the four stages of the Path to Nirvāṇa, and of Nirvāṇa itself, and of the so-called Chain of Causation (the *Paticca-samuppāda*), and a few words on *Thāna*.

It is, of course, impossible in so small a compass, the size of the manual being determined by that of the numerous other works in the series, to include everything; and Signor Pavolini has grouped the matter he has chosen for notice according to the well-known Buddhist division of the three "jewels" Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha. This division was very naturally adopted in the first European manuals. But the time has now come when it may with advantage be discarded, at least as regards the proportion of space to be allotted to each. Now that we know how very little the oldest records have to say about the life of the Buddha, the space devoted to that portion of the exposition might be safely curtailed by the omission of later legends, and the exposition of the Rules of the Order might with advantage give place to the history of Buddhism as a whole—that is, of the development both outwardly of the church and inwardly of the doctrine. In this last respect the present manual sets a good example, and the author has made another excellent innovation in giving a résumé of the contents of the

canonical books, as I have done in my "American Lectures." The space devoted to European works has scarcely been so happily utilized. The chapter has been very well done. But it has been necessary in a historical sketch of some fulness to mention a number of works now antiquated, and a number of modern tracts of comparatively little importance to a student. The space thus occupied would probably have been better devoted to a fuller account of Buddhism, of which the few points chosen for notice (as above pointed out) give too meagre and one-sided a picture.

Though one might wish the proportion of space devoted to each portion of the subject somewhat modified, it is impossible to find anything but praise for the matter that we have. It is only possible to suggest one or two points which might be amended in a second edition. The account of the Jālandhara Council differs from that given by Yuan Thsiang, and the author (p. 101) gives no reason for his departing in this respect from his authority. So on p. 141 he describes the Mahāvastu as an *avadāna*, but the work itself claims to belong to the *Vinaya*, to be in fact the Vinaya of the Lokottara-vādins: though it contains a good deal of what would properly come under the head of *avadāna*, it contains a great deal more which would not. The little volume is remarkably free from misprints, and it is matter for congratulation that the first work of the kind in Italian should be throughout of so careful and so scholarly a kind.

RH. D.

SUPPLÉMENT (TEXTE PERSAN) AU SIASSET-NAMÊH, OU TRAITÉ DE GOUVERNEMENT, COMPOSÉ POUR LE SULTAN MELIK-CHÂH PAR LE VIZIR NIZAM OUL-MULK, édité par CHARLES SCHEFER, Membre de l'Institut. Publications de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, IIIe série, vol. vii, 2e partie. pp. viii, rr°. (Paris: Leroux, 1897.)

Few more delightfully simple and interesting historical texts are available to the Persian student than the *Siyāsat-nāma* of that great statesman the *Nizāmu'l-Mulk*, the Prime

Minister of Alp Arslān and Malik Shāh, and the contemporary of 'Umar Khayyām and Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ. The views of such a man on the art of government could not fail to be worthy of attention, if only for the flood of light they throw on the political conditions of Persia in Seljūq times; and the copious historical allusions and anecdotes contained in the book render it one of the most satisfactory texts to read with students, whose diligence is as surely stimulated by interesting matter as it is deadened by that hollow rodomontade which is so evil a characteristic of certain later Persian writers, notably the protégés of the Timurids. The text of the *Siyāsat-nāma*, published by M. Schefer in 1891, was followed in 1893 by the French translation, provided with excellent historical and biographical notes. The present volume, the *Supplément*, consists of a selection of extracts from some dozen various books, treating of the Seljūqs, the Niẓāmu'l-Mulk and his contemporaries and successors, and finally the whole section of Ḥamdu'llāh Mustawfī-i-Qazvīnī's cosmography, the *Nuzhatu'l-Qulūb*, which deals with the geography and topography of Persia and the adjacent lands. Of this last work there exists a bad Indian lithographed edition, so marred by omissions and errors as to be almost useless; but most of the other books from which the extracts are drawn exist only in manuscript. The volume, in short, is a most welcome addition to the restricted number of readable Persian texts available to students, and forms, as it were, a sort of Historical Chrestomathy of the Seljūq period.

E. G. B.

ASADÎ'S NEUPERSISCHES WÖRTERBUCH "LUGHAT-I-FURS" NACH DER EINZIGEN VATICANISCHEN HANDSCHRIFT, herausgegeben von PAUL HORN. pp. 37 and 111. (Berlin, 1897.)

Dr. Horn merits the warmest thanks of all students of Persian for having rendered accessible to them a most important lexicographical work, the *Lughat-i-Furs* of Asadī

of Tūs, nephew of the great Firdawsī. Two older lexicons of Persian words explained in Persian are known to have existed, those of Abū Ḥafṣ of Soghd (*circa* A.H. 200) and of Rūdhakī (d. A.H. 304); but both of these appear to be hopelessly lost. Asadī, who, like these, was a poet of note, is chiefly known by his *Garshāsf-nāma*, completed in A.H. 458, one of the many imitations of the great epic composed by his illustrious uncle; and the celebrated *Codex Vindobonensis* (the oldest Persian MS. known to exist, edited, with facsimiles, by Seligmann in 1859) was transcribed by him in A.H. 447. His lexicon, comprising more than 1,100 rare and archaic words, many of which are peculiar to the dialects of Khurāsān, Balkh, and Transoxania, appears, as Dr. Horn shows in his able and scholarly introduction, to have been composed at the end of his life; since not only does it seem to have lacked a final revision, but citations from some poets of the early Seljūq period are included in it. It was, therefore, probably composed about the end of the fifth century of the Hijra (early in the twelfth century of our era). Apart from its lexicographical worth, it throws a most valuable sidelight on the literary history of Persia at this early date; for, in the case of almost every word, Asadī adduces a verse in illustration of its use and meaning. The total number of poets thus cited reaches seventy-eight; and of these the names of many and the works of still more were hitherto entirely unknown to us. The work is, therefore, not merely a lexicon, but an anthology of Persian poets who flourished before the twelfth century of our era. It is preserved to us in the unique Vatican MS. marked "Persiano xxii," and dated A.H. 733 (A.D. 1332), of which the importance was signalized by Lagarde (*Persische Studien*, 1884, pp. 38-40), whom death prevented from doing more to make it known. Dr. Horn, more fortunate, was enabled, during two visits to Rome, to transcribe and revise the MS., on which he read a communication at the Geneva Congress of 1894. The complete publication of the text, now successfully accomplished, must be regarded as one of the most

important services rendered in recent years to Persian philology; and the gratitude of all Persian students is due to Dr. Horn for the zeal, industry, and devotion to science which have at length rendered accessible to them a work of such capital importance. The introduction which precedes the text is a model of scholarly and painstaking research. To edit a text necessarily presenting so many difficulties, and for which only one MS. (and that, seemingly, by no means remarkably legible or accurate) was available, was a singularly arduous task. The careful examination to which it will be submitted by scholars will no doubt, in course of time, furnish emendations; but no pains have been spared by Dr. Horn, whose previous work on Persian Etymology has singularly fitted him for the task, to render it as accurate as possible.

E. G. B.

THE ASSEMBLIES OF ḤARÎRÎ. Student's Edition of the Arabic Text, with English Notes, Grammatical, Critical, and Historical. By Dr. F. STEINGASS. 8vo, pp. xxviii and 472. (London: Sampson Low, 1897.)

Dr. Steingass' aim in preparing a new edition of Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmahs* was to make this famous work an academical reading-book. This idea is decidedly a happy one, and the editor has taken an immense deal of trouble to render the study of the book attractive as well as fruitful. Besides, the new edition is more than a reprint of De Sacy's and Derenbourg's, since Dr. Steingass has consulted a MS. in his own possession which offers various different readings.

For his special purposes the editor has adopted the following plan, the discussion of which in the preface gives the student many valuable hints for reading unvocalized Arabic texts. In order to make him thoroughly familiar with the characteristics of the *saj'*, the rhymes of only the first few "Assemblies" are marked with the usual asterisk. This becomes rarer in the sequel, and is altogether dropped after Maqāmah VII. The vowel-signs, also more

frequent at the beginning, gradually disappear. At the head of the work is placed a synopsis of the metres employed in the poems with which Ḥarīrī adorned the Maqāmahs. As these embrace nearly all metres used in the classical period, the book would also serve as an appropriate preparation for the study of ancient Arabic poetry, of which Ḥarīrī himself made such admirable imitations. The annotations placed by Dr. Steingass below the text abound in grammatical, historical, and literary references. Appended is a glossary to the ten last Maqāmahs, compiled chiefly from De Sacy's Commentary. As this is written in Arabic, it gives the student an opportunity of becoming accustomed to the use of original dictionaries. It would perhaps have been better if the editor had for his grammatical hints also referred to original grammarians, e.g. Zamakhsharī's "Mufaṣṣal," which book is indispensable for every beginner of Arabic. It is also to be regretted that the editor did not follow in all respects the system of transliteration advocated by this Journal (October, 1896), but renders ض by ẓ (instead of ḍ or *dh*), which may lead to misunderstandings.

The book is beautifully got up, and deserves to be recommended to all interested in the study of Arabic, and to the friends of Ḥarīrī in particular. Let us hope that at no distant date an English Rueckert may be found to make the work as popular here as it is in Germany.

H. Hirschfeld.

Arîb Tabarî continuatus quem edidit, indicibus et glossario instruxit. M. T. De Goeje. 8vo, pp. xxviii and ٢١٣. (Leyden: Brill, 1897.)

The publication which Professor De Goeje has prepared for Oriental scholars, under the above-mentioned title, represents a sort of sequel to Tabarī's great historical work, which terminates with the beginning of the fourth century of the Moslim era. Part of the work, dealing with Spanish and African matters, has already been

embodied in the edition of Ibn Adhārī's History of Spain and Africa by the late Professor R. Dozy. This same scholar also ascertained the name of the author, who, he says, wrote between 363–366 H. Professor De Goeje's edition, therefore, embraces the remaining part of the same work, discussing the affairs of the Abbaside Khalīfahs from Al-Muktafi as far as Al-Qāhir, i.e. 291–320 H.

It goes without saying that the work of so prominent a scholar as Professor De Goeje is a model edition. The annotations contain references not only to other historical and geographical writings, but also to the concluding chapters of Tabarī, as far as the two works run parallel with each other. Tabarī, who becomes more and more brief when approaching his own period, is not only continued, but also supplemented by Arīb.

Not less significant is the profit which Arabic lexicography derives from this edition, since in some twenty pages of glossary the editor has collected a considerable amount of additions to the lexicon, particularly of the post-classical period. With regard to البابانية, see also Steinschneider, "Uebersetzungen," p. 515, and Malter, etc., "Abhandlung des Al-Ghazali," etc., p. lxiii. Annexed are copious indices.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

AN ARABIC DESCRIPTION OF ANTIOCH. By Professor I. GUIDI.

In the Transactions of the Reale Accademia dei Lincei for 1897, the distinguished Orientalist, I. Guidi, has published from a Vatican MS. an Arabic description of Antioch, to which he has appended an Italian translation. Both edition and translation, as might be expected, leave little to be desired: but it so happens that the Bodleian Library possesses a manuscript copy of the same work, whence it is possible to supplement in some details Signor Guidi's edition.

The Bodleian MS. bears the press-mark Laud 30, and is No. 870 in Uri's Catalogue. It is on paper, and in

a modern hand, and forms a small volume measuring $5\frac{1}{4} \times 4$ in., with 27 leaves. Though the same work as that which Signor Guidi has published, it differs in a variety of ways. It contains about a third more matter, after the point at which the Vatican text stops, consisting of the story of the conversion of the people of Antioch to Christianity. Simon and John are sent there, and imprisoned. Paul then joins them from Damascus, and gives himself out as the priest of the chief god of the place. He then offers to contend with Simon and John, and when they open the eyes of the blind, and make the lame walk, he, professedly in the name of the chief god, does the same: but when the Apostles undertake to restore to life the king's son, who has been dead three months, he declares that he cannot rival that miracle, and induces the king to accept Christianity. This account of the conversion of Antioch was current in the East, and formed the subject of a discourse by Jacob of Sarug, which is described by Assemani.[1]

Not only, however, does the Bodleian copy differ from the Vatican in the quantity of the matter, but it also differs much in text. The sentences contain for the most part the same substance, but they differ very much in form. It would be difficult to collect the various readings of B. without printing its text at length, and this is scarcely desirable. Some specimens may be quoted.

B. (p. 1).	V. (p. 139).
عول فى بناء مدينة ينشق اسمها من اسمه رغبة فى بقاء ذكره بين الملوك الارض فعند ذلك قال لوزيره وحكمائه يطلبوا تنزيها طيبا بالهواء والماء	ثم انه عوّل على ان يبنى له مدينة يشتق اسمها من اسمه وكان اذا تفسّر اسم هذه المدينة باسم هذا الملك رغبة بقاء فى ذكره بين الملوك فامر لوزرائه وحكمائه انهم يطلبوا صقعا يكون اذيذا حسنا طيبا من الماء والهواء

[1] Bibl. Or., i, 133.

In this passage B. has clearly the advantage over V. The correction رغبة فى بقاء ذكره has been anticipated by Signor Guidi; but B. further shows us that the words وكان اذا تفسر اسم هذه المدنية باسم هذا الملك are an interpolation, and to be omitted. In the case of the other differences between the two texts it is hard to say which is preferable. After a line or two the texts proceed:

V.	B.
واجتمع رأيهم عليها وشرحوا احوالها وما راووه من الضباب والمعوي الغربي اليها وتسلّطه عليها	واتفق رايهم على انها الغرض المذكور فتبادروا الى الملك وذكروا له ما راوه بهذا السقع من انصاب الهوي الغربي اليه وتساقطه عليه

Here we seem to have one story told by two different persons, rather than two copies of the same text. Clearly, however, V. is to be corrected from B.: الضباب is an error for انصباب and المعوى a corruption of الهوا. Whether تسلّط or تساقط is to be preferred is doubtful.

Another peculiarity about B. is that it gives more modern names than V. V. calls the Orontes *Maḳlūb*; B. states repeatedly that "it is called in our time *Al-'Āṣī*," e.g. V. 139, 17 = B. 2*a*, 1. V. 141, 7a. f., we read: "Then they built within the gate of the citadel, which is to the east of it, a street for the dwellings of the artisans[1] and engineers, and this was the first thing they built there." B. has instead the following (4*b*, 5):

ثم بنوا داخل باب فارس الذى يسمّوه بباب بولص وهو شرقيها وفى وسط بيت المريخ وهو افخر شئ فيها والان يعرف بكنيسة مريم على جانبها حماماً

[1] الصنّاع seems to stand for the Syriac ܐܘܡܢܢ.

"Then they built within the gate of Fāris, which is called the Gate of Paul, which is to the east of it, and in the middle of the Temple of Mars, which is the most magnificent thing there, and is now called the Church of Mary, a bath at its side." According to Chesney[1] the Gate of St. Paul is on the western side of the city.

V. 142, 16, gives an account of "two small gates

ينفذان الى عين الوادى المسمّى الخشكروس وكان لـه باب فى الجبل ينفذ الى المدينه وعليها جسور وقناة يعبرون الناس عليها"

It is not easy to translate this satisfactorily. B. 6*a* has something different:

بابان صغيران وسبعة ابواب عوادى كبار توفى الى النهر غير الوادى المسمى بـالخشكروش وله باب بالجبل ويسمى الان باب الحديد وينزل منه الماء الى المدينة وعليه خمسين جسورة منها احداها عبارة للقناة البواليط والباقى للعبور عليهم فى الشتاء

". . . . two small gates and seven large, tall gates which lead to the river; not that which is called Khush-karūsh. It also has a gate in the mountain, now called *Bāb al-Ḥadīd* (the Iron Gate), through which the water descends into the city; and it is spanned by fifty (? five) bridges, one of which serves for the aqueduct called Bawālit, while the rest are for passengers in winter." The Bāb al-Ḥadīd still exists, and leads southward (Chesney, p. 427).

V. 145, 8: "Then he set up four Talismans: one on the top of the mountain within the wall on a tower called 'the tower of the spiral staircase'; . . . . and another on the eastern gate; . . . . and a third on the western gate."

[1] "Expedition to the Euphrates," etc., 1855.

B. 11*a*, 4:

على عمل اربع ارصاد حداها فوق راس الجبل على برج يعرف بالجار لدفع البق لئلا تدخل المدينة منه شيء والاخر على باب الفرس (المعروف الان) بباب بولس برسم الغيلان . . . والثالث على (الباب) الغربى على طريق لاذقية

"For making four talismans: one at the top of the mountain on the tower called Al-Jār, to keep off vermin, that none of them might enter the city; another on the gate of Al-Furs, now called the Gate of Paul; . . . . and the third at the Western Gate on the road to Latakieh."

Chesney, l.c., makes the Gate of Latakieh lead southward. On p. 10*b*, 7, the طريق الفرس is identified with the Bāb al-Ḥadīd, which appears to contradict the notice quoted above.

Some more details are given in B. 14*a* in the list of towns which were taken into Antioch. The first, says V. (147, 7a. f.), was called Daphne: B. adds that "it lay on the west towards the mountain." The second, according to V., was called غاينا: B. calls it باشا, and says it was "by the Church of Joannes." The third, according to B., was called صورصا, clearly the same name as that which V. gives to the fourth (ضرمرضى). To the fifth neither text gives a name. The sixth is nameless in B.; in V. it is called بيسادض. The seventh is called اضراسيس according to V.; اطراشيش according to B. Perhaps in the second case B. is right, and the word باشا should be written باتيا, meaning *Βοττία*, which Malalas (cited below) says was the ancient name for part of Antioch. Ritter, "Erdkunde von Syrien," ii, 1,159 (2nd edition), gives several Greek names for the ancient quarters of Antioch, without specifying the author from whom he gets them. One of these, *Θράκων*, may be preserved in the name of the seventh city.

For the criticism of this little treatise, it is of no slight interest to observe that the same account of Antioch was used by the Turkish geographer, Ḥajji Khalfah, in his *Jihān-numā*, printed at Constantinople 1165 A.H.=1752 A.D., pp. ٥١٥ sqq. Compare the opening lines (part of which have already been cited) of the Arabic :

امر لوزرائه وحكمائه انهم يطلبوا صقعا يكون لذيذًا حسنا طيبًا من الماء والهواء قريبًا من البحر والجبل

with the Turkish :

ملک حكماسنی ومهندسینی جمع اتمشدر وانلری دیمشدر كه بنم ایچون بر مخصوص شهر استرم كه هواسی وصویی كوزل اوله ویازلی وقیسلی اوله ودخی دریایه قریب اوله

In the 1½ folio pages which this author devotes to Antioch he abridges the "Description" very much, but it is clear that the text which he had before him resembled B. more than V. A passage runs in B. 3*b* :

كان البدو من المهندسين فى بناء الهيكل لبيت المريخ الموسوم بها وكان ذلك شرقى قنطرة السمك المعروف اليوم والى الان بعظيم السمكة ويجعلون له عيدا مدة ثلاث ايام . . . . . ويحجّون الى هذا البيت اهلّ المدينة

This is represented in the Turkish as follows :

وزحل ایچون بر هیكل بنا اولنمشدر قنطرة السمك شرقنده واقعدر وسنه‌ده اونك ایچون اوچ كون بیرام تعیین اتمشدر واكا قریب بر حمام عید مهرجان ایامنده خلق اجرتسز كیرسونلر

"And a Temple was built to Saturn to the east of the Fish Bridge, and every year there is a three days' feast to him,

and near this is a bath into which they entered gratis during the feast."

The specification of three days is found in B., not in V.; and the phrase for "going on pilgrimage," which occurs in the next line (B. يحجّون, Turkish حج ايدردى), is not in V., which substitutes خرج for it. The Turkish writer further adds in agreement with B. that the Temple of Mars is now the Church of the Virgin (هيكل مريخ حالا اكا كنيسة السيدة ديرلر).

The description of the Temple in the Turkish agrees closely with the Arabic texts: one specimen of it may be given.

V. 142, 4:

خارجا منه قبة على اربعة قناطر عالية فوقها صنم بصورة المريخ وتحت رجليه صورة عقرب والجميع نحاس مطلىّ بالذهب

B. agrees. Ḥajji Khalfah writes:

وخارجده بر قبهٔ عاليه اوزره التوندن مريخ صورتى واياغى التنده بر ييلان وبر عقرب نحاسندن مصوّر در

It is, however, noticeable that whereas the Arabic says "there is a cupola on four arches with a statue of Mars above it," Ḥajji Khalfah speaks of "a cupola with a statue of Mars in *gold* above it"; and whereas the Arabic says "under the feet of Mars was an image of a scorpion," Ḥajji Khalfah says there was "an image of a serpent and a scorpion."

Another example of the agreement of Ḥajji Khalfah with B. as against V. appears in a sentence found in B. 7*b*, where the king says: "I want an aqueduct which shall enter the city and proceed into the houses, baths, and stalls."

اريد قناة تدخل الى المدينة فتسلك فى بيوتها وحماماتها واصطبلاتها

For this V. 143, 2a. f., has only "good water was rare in that city"; but the Turk mentions the "houses and baths."

وبر قناة اقتمشلردر که اولر وحمامار ایچون حالا اول قناتک اسمنه قناة بولص دیرلر

The copy followed by the Turk seems to have been fuller in some respects than either Arabic copy. When the aqueduct was finished, according to V. 144, 7, the king ordered a house to be built at the head of the aqueduct, and his image to be put there. B. (8*a*) says he put *two* statues there, but does not say what they represented. The Turk has:

وقناة باشنده ایکی صورت یاپلمشدر بری ملک صورتی بری ملکک عورتی صورتی

"One a statue of the king and the other of the queen."

The account of the seven springs is much more consistent in the Turkish than in the Arabic. The whole article is introduced with the words "it is recorded that," but the author quoted is not named. Allusion is made in one place to the fact that "the Great Mosque" now stands where the Church of the Virgin formerly stood. From this article Hammer-Purgstall took the substance of his account of Antioch in Ersch and Gruber's Encyclopaedia. It seems fabulous in almost every detail, for water cannot rise above its source, and the Arabic or Turkish work which Ḥajji Khalfah excerpted has no claim to veracity.

B. ends with a note stating that this account of Antioch is derived from *Greek* authors.

هذا آخر ما وجدت من حديث بناء انطاكية وعجائبها فى كتاب اليونانيين

Signor Guidi suggests that the book is translated from the *Syriac*. Ḥajji Khalfah offers parts of the work in *Turkish*. Which of these languages is original?

a. In studying the text of B. one very decided trace of Turkish will be found. In a passage quoted supra the "Fish Bridge" is said even now to be called عظيم السمكة, "the Great of the Fish." Now this use of "Great" for "Bridge" can most easily be explained by supposing that the meaning of the Turkish word كبرى, properly pronounced *küprü*, but indistinguishable in writing from the Arabic *kubrā* 'greatest,' has been mistaken. In Egypt the word for bridge is at present *kubri*, of which few of those who use it know the source (*küprü*=γέφυρα).

A word which occurs very often in both B. and V. is the "Roman" for "House of Water," *Bait al-mā*,[1] a famous pool whence water was brought into Antioch. V. 143, last line, المسمّى باللغة الرومية النوابط, where B. has بوليط: V. 147, 10, calls it بلوطسه, B. بلوطيس. B. 8*a* (=V. 144, 5) has قناة البوليط, and this is its ordinary spelling, varied occasionally with بواليط. What is meant by this word? Hajji Khalfah, 596, 1, calls it the aqueduct which is now called the aqueduct of *Paul*: حالا اول قناتك اسمنه قناة بولس ديرلر, and there can be little doubt that he is right. The name *Baulus* would, however, have been too familiar for the translator to mistake; the name of the aqueduct must therefore have been *Paulites* or *Paulitis*, *Παυλίτης* or *Παυλῖτις*. Although, therefore, the help of the Turk is valuable in this case, it does not imply a Turkish original.

V. 144, 5a. f., the king ordered:

ان تبنى طواحين فى كل بيت سبعة ازواج حجارة

B. 9*a*:

وامر ببناء طواحين داخل المدينة على قناة البوليط والمغارة وبظاهرها على النهر عشرة ارحه [read ارحية] فى كل بيت سبعة ازواج دائرة

[1] Chesney, "Expedition to the Euphrates," i, p. 428.

"He ordered mills to be built within the city on the canals Būlīṭ and 'Of the Cave,' and outside the city on the river ten mills, in every house seven pairs of revolving" (V. "pairs of stones").

The Turk has:

نهر عاصی اوزرینه اون عدد دکرمن وهر دکرمنده یدی طاش دونر

"over the river 'Āṣī ten mills, and in each mill seven revolving stones." The resemblance between the Turk and B. is very striking: is it possible that the word *pair* which appears in both B. and V. is due to a misreading of دونر and connecting it with some compound of the Persian دو ?

V. 144, line 6a. f.:

ثم امر ان یبنی له علی عنق النهر بطرم اعنی قصر

"He then ordered that there should be built for him on the neck of the river a BṬRM, i.e. a castle."

B. 98:

وبعد ذلک ببناء محکمه علی عنق النهر

"And after that [he ordered] a court of justice to be built on the neck of the river."

The Turk has:

ارنجه بر قالدرم یاپدردی

"For the elbow (curve) of the river he had a causeway made." The "elbow" of the river, Greek *ἀγκών*, is a more intelligible phrase than the *neck* of the river; and one is tempted to find in the Turk's قالدرم the original of بطرم which Signor Guidi gives up; but it must be confessed that "a causeway" or "pavement" does not suit the context. It is more likely that بطرم is the word *θέατρον* corrupted through Syriac and Arabic transliteration.

V. 146, 1:

وفى هذه المدينة ٧ اسواق على طول المدينة ٣ منها مسقفة واربعة مكشوفة

"In this city there are seven markets, according to the length of the city, three covered and four uncovered." B. has the same, except that it omits "covered." The Turk has:

وانطاكيه ايچنده يدى سوق ياپدرمشدر اوچ سوق طوانيله اورتولى ودورت سوق آچقدر طوانى يوقدر

"Within Antioch he had seven markets made, three covered with roofs and four open to the air without roofs." The words in the Arabic, "according to the length of the city" ("per la lunghezza della città"), seem to give no clear meaning: it seems that they are to be interpreted from the Turkish طوانيله. This word means "with roofs," but it is easily conceivable that طوان might have been confused with طول "length."

An example of this confusion is presented by B. 9*b*, 2, "when the pavilion was finished he played therein with horses," and ضرب فيه للارغل وقيل للارغن. Of the alternate form of the instrument, ارغن "organ" seems to be right, and V. has this only.

These are the only cases in which it seems likely that the Arabic has been influenced by the Turkish; and though the first of them seems exceedingly strong, I doubt whether the others will carry much weight.

b. To the arguments adduced by Signor Guidi in favour of a Syriac origin for this work, we may add the use of the word امناء in a context which almost implies that the Syriac ܐܡܢܐ is being represented in Arabic characters. For امناء (V. 142, 9a. f.) B. has بنائين "builders"; and in 145, 6, امانين, which reads more like a conscious Arabizing of the Syriac word.

In 147, 10a. f., a place is said to be called المصلبه, meaning "the middle of the city": for this B. substitutes "a place called للصالبه, of which the interpretation is المصليه (14*b* ult.), in the middle of the city." We might suppose this to be the Syriac ܒܡܨܥܬܐ "in the middle." As, however, Malalas (loc. cit.) says one of the towns destroyed to make room for Antioch was originally called Mazdaba, perhaps it is best to read المصطبة.

The frequent references to the "Hebrew" language find their easiest explanation in the supposition of a Syriac original, since there is nothing surprising in Syriac being called Hebrew. It is true that the words called "Hebrew" bear no resemblance to Syriac, but probably corruption accounts for this to some extent. V. 147, 13, ارداسيا, the name of a well, is said to mean "shallow." Ḥajji Khalfah, however, gives us the name of this well as مرتيشا, with an alternative name جرنه. مرتيشا looks very like ܡܪܬܐ ܕܢܫܐ "Queen of women," equivalent to the Arabic سيّدة النساء, a name for the Virgin. The second name given by Ḥajji Khalfah جرنه resembles very closely the word جرن given by Dozy as equivalent to "basin" or "font," and that may well have been glossed "shallow."

Another "Hebrew" word is the name of the river which flows round the seventh city; it is called in "Hebrew" كردوش, and this means "cold" in Arabic (148, 12). It is natural to think of the Syriac ܩܪܘܫ. Another "Hebrew" word is ابلط, said to be the name of a tower (147, 1). This would seem to be ܒܠܛ "palace," the Syriac equivalent of which has perhaps been lost.

c. The statement in the subscription to B. that the book is a translation or compilation from the Greek, is not incredible. The account of the founding of Antioch given by Malalas (p. 313 Migne; 255 Oxon) resembles the Arabic in some respects. The giants, for example, who, according to the Greek author, inhabited the country,

are represented in the Arabic by demons; and the legends which he recounts, and his description of the Talismans in the city, though they do not tally with the Arabic, are very similar. In Edrisi's account of Ḥums there is matter that is similar to the Arabic here. The matter contained in V., being mainly Pagan in character, may represent floating tradition, which is likely to have received literary shape in Greek first. The natural course would be Greek into Syriac, Syriac into Arabic. Ḥajji Khalfah, in his Bibliography, mentions a work called اخبار انطاكية which, as he does not further describe it, must have been in Arabic, and is probably the source of his description. The book was chiefly read, it is probable, in the neighbourhood of Antioch, and there is nothing surprising in interpolations which show a Turkish hand.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

V. ISTRIN. PERVAYA KNIGA KRONIKI IOANNA MALALY. Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg. pp. 29. (St. Petersburg, 1897.)

We have received from the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg the first book of the chronicle of John Malala, edited by V. Istrin. The Greek and Slavonic texts are printed in parallel columns, and are followed by notes. The chronicle appears to be an apocryphal version of Old Testament History, beginning with the creation of the world. The first book, divided into twenty-three eclogues, records events down to the reigns of Hermaeus and Hephaestus, kings of Egypt. M. Istrin writes as follows:—

"This chronicle has lately been much studied by learned Russians and Germans. The only Oxford text, having several lacunae, for this very reason led Byzantinologists to make accurate researches into the origin and subsequent history of the chronicle. The Slavonic text has also attracted attention as the only translation of the Greek original, as well as from the fact of its containing the first chapter. Unfortunately not all German savants could make use of the Slavonic version, because in the first place

only a small portion of the chronicle had been edited; and secondly, because being unacquainted with Russian, many could not be aware of its importance. By degrees, however, matters advanced, and now it is even proposed to re-edit the Greek text and the Slavonic translation. The academician, Jagitch (Jagiç), replying to a letter addressed to him, published in the Archiv für Slavische Philologie, vol. xvi (Gleye zum Slavischen Malalas), writes thus: 'am besten wäre es allerdings wenn schon jemand in Russland . . . . eine kritische Herstellung des slavischen Malalas liefern konnte.' The edition is of course a matter for the future; for the present we must content ourselves with preliminary work. An effort in this direction has been made by Dr. Gleye in the article just quoted, and by Mr. Shestakoff in his collation of the Slavonic version with the Greek original. The first chapter, missing in the Oxford text, was discovered by Wirth in the MS. of the Paris National Library (Greek Supp., No. 682). Wirth, however, only communicated a small excerpt, stating that the remainder of the text agreed with that published by Müller in 'Fragmenta histor. graecorum,' vol. iv, from the MS. of the Paris Nat. Lib., No. 1,630, and by Kramer in 'Anecdota Parisiensia,' No. 1,336. But on verifying this statement it appears that the concordance relied on by Wirth does not in fact exist; on the other hand, the said text agrees with the excerpt from the Slavonic translation, missing in the copy of the archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. 902–1,468, but preserved in that of the Wilna Public Library, No. 109–147, in other respects identical with it. This excerpt has been published by me in my essay, 'Alexandria of the Russian Chroniclers,' 1895. Wirth, a bad authority on Greek palaeography, as we know from Professor Krumbacher's review in his 'Orientalische Chroniken,' made several errors and omissions in his published extracts. Under these circumstances I am publishing the whole extract, adding the translation in parallel columns in order to explain many obscure passages in the Greek text.

"But first let me pass a few remarks on Dr. Gleye's aforesaid article, with some of whose conclusions I cannot agree. While admitting the correctness of his view that many of the Slavonic texts contain passages missing in the Greek eclogues, I differ from the assumption that it would be absurd to conclude that the Slavonic writers merely borrowed the preface to the Greek eclogues. A. Popoff, whom Dr. Gleye criticizes, has already shown that the preface to the so-called chronicle (not that of the Hellenic and Roman annalist) in the Russian edition is a translation from the Greek, while the chronicle itself, even to the minutest details, is composed by a Slav from Slavonic sources. That Slavs, before compiling histories, had them translated from the Greek, is highly probable; but that all the Slavonic collections known to us (for the most part Russian only) were composed on Slavonic soil from sources already prepared, has long been known to us, and therefore the matter should be stated thus—that the editor of this or that historical collection began only with the preface, using for the rest his own sources. Hence Dr. Gleye's further assumption that it would have been quite foreign to the Slavs to compile from Greek sources, as, for instance, from Malala, or the monk George, is founded on a misapprehension. The Slavs did not compile from Greek sources; they used Slavonic records previously translated from the Greek. It will suffice to indicate such monuments as the Russian chronicle, the 'Tolkovaya Paleya,' the Hellenic and Roman annalist, the chronograph, the Hilandar Collection, No. 24, to say nothing of minor works of earlier or later date, e.g. the embassy of Clement Smoliatitch, discovered by M. Nikolsky. We have, moreover, an instance of a compilation founded on Greek sources in the six-day missal of John, exarch of Bulgaria. Dr. Gleye's view of the collection in the archive of the Min. of F. A., 902 (Codex Obolescianus, according to Gleye), is quite erroneous. This is what he says: We assume that in the year 1100 a book fell into the hands of a Bulgarian monk, consisting of—(*a*) the Biblical books; (*b*) excerpts from the

monk George; (*c*) excerpts from Malala and some unknown writer, X. The Slav compiler found *a*, *b*, *c* in his library, copied the translation already made, and translated X. . . . . A first edition of the chronicle cannot have been the work of the Slav. The correctness of my view will be seen on referring to my description of this collection (see 'Alexandria of the Russian Chroniclers,' pp. 316–361). With unimportant exceptions all the sources were of Slavonic origin, and even these few exceptions are only admissible as such because I could not indicate the source in each particular case. The Slavonic sources were various: there were the Biblical books, the six-day missal of John of Bulgaria, the teaching of Zlataúst, George the monk, Josephus Flavius; and in several portions the sources are so intermingled that to assume that a Slav could distinguish the several parts of the Greek original, would be to place the Slav of those days on a level with the learned Byzantinologist of to-day. It would have been far easier for him to make a new translation of the collection than to replace the Greek text by the Slavonic, and this without avoiding errors. Next, as to why the year 1100 is assigned for the translation cannot be explained; but that the collection was made in Russia, and not in Bulgaria, does not admit of a doubt. Besides its mention of Lithuania, Josephus Flavius, who was evidently unknown to the Balkhan Slavs, may be relied on as testimony. The Archive collection is of quite particular origin, and I now assert that it is a history of the Jews from the creation of the world to the destruction of Jerusalem, and that it dates from the thirteenth century. It may be placed in the same category as the 'Tolkovaya Paleya,' which also relates to the same period. One gives the narrative of Jewish history; the other sets forth their doctrines. In the thirteenth century there was a great movement among the Jews, called forth by the appearance in Palestine of a prophet who gave himself out as the Messiah. This movement extended to Poland, and probably affected us in Russia. As a result of this such monuments as the one just mentioned may have appeared. But

apparently Byzantium was not disturbed by it, for in the course of my researches in various European libraries, I could find nothing in support of a contrary opinion. Neither is there any evidence of the kind in Slavonic literature; the testimony of the 'Tolkovaya Paleya' is all the other way (see my report on scientific researches in 1894 in the Journ. of the Min. of Public Instruction, April, 1896). Here let it be observed that the Hellenic and Roman chronicle is not borrowed from the 'Tolkovaya Paleya,' but only contains parallel passages. This may be explained by the circumstance that both the 'Paleya' and the Hellenic chronicle were compiled from identical sources, and therefore the words of the preface, 'these historical books were written,' etc., do not refer to the 'Paleya.'

"With reference to those few passages of which I was unable to indicate the source at the time, I may observe that Dr. Gleye, and after him M. Shestakoff, has pointed out one of them. The very same narrative is met with in the MS. of the Moscow archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nos. 288–667, lines 6–8, but in a complete form, and this leads to the conclusion that the editor of the thirteenth-century chronicle borrowed from a translation already prepared. As the analysis of the text of the Hellenic and Roman chronicle (Synodal, No. 280) does not show gradual composition, and as there is no ground for accepting the excerpts from Malala as appendices to the Greek eclogues, there being no trace of the latter in the chronicle itself, the name 'Hellenic and Roman Chronicle' must still be assigned to the Synodal chronicle, No. 280, and not to that of Malala, who was merely styled the Hellenic chronicler."

E. D. M.

CATALOGUE OF THE COLLECTION OF ARABIC COINS PRESERVED IN THE KHEDIVIAL LIBRARY AT CAIRO. By STANLEY LANE-POOLE. 1897.

This collection of about 3,000 coins is the very fine and in some respects nearly complete one formed by the

late E. T. Rogers Bey, with a few additions made during the last few years.

Mr. Rogers was a distinguished student of Muhammadan Archaeology and Art, and a great authority on early Arabic Coinage. His papers "On the Dinars of the Abbaside Dynasty" in the R.A.S. Journal for 1875, Vol. VII, others in the Numismatic Chronicle between the years 1871 and 1874, and his contribution to the International Numismata Orientalia "On the Coins of the Tuluni Dynasty," 1877, are of the greatest value to students of Oriental Numismatics. It was a good act, therefore, of the Egyptian Government to save the coins collected by him with so much judgment from "being rudely dispersed by a sale at auction," and by purchasing them from his executors to form the collection in Cairo, where facilities exist for making it, as it is hoped it may be, yet more complete.

As the collection was made in Syria and Egypt, it is, as might be expected, especially rich in the series of Omayyad and Abbasi Khalifs, Tuluni, Ikhshidi, Fatimi, Ayyubi, Mamluk, and Othmanli Egyptian; some of these series are remarkably full.

The Egyptian Government did well, too, in confiding the cataloguing of the coins to Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole, who has done it in the careful and thorough way which characterizes his work. As evidence of this it may be noted that there is no table of errata in the book, and apparently no need for one. The value of the Catalogue is much increased by references being given to the Catalogues of the British Museum and Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, and by some useful footnotes.

A word must be added, too, in commendation of the transliteration adopted. The clumsy double vowels of the British Museum Catalogues are replaced by single ones with a long mark over them. The name of the first Muhammadan Dynasty has passed from the Khalifs of the Race of Ommiah (Marsden), Ommiades (Tiesenhausen), Umaijadae (Fraehn), Bani-Umeya (Rogers), Amawee Khaleefahs (British Museum Catalogue), Khalifes Omayyadis

(Bibliothèque Nationale), to Omayyad Caliphs in this Cairo Catalogue, and so let us hope it will remain for some little time, although perhaps under the scheme of the Oriental Congress of Geneva it should be written Umayyad Halifs.

O. C.

KĀRNĀME-I ARTAKHSHĪR-I PĀPAKĀN; the Pahlavi Text, with transliteration, English and Gujarāti translations and introductions; also an appendix, including extracts from the Shāh-nāmeh. By DĀRĀB DASTUR PESHOTAN SANJĀNĀ. 8vo, pp. 269. (Bombay, 1896.)

This historical romance was first translated into Gujarāti by the learned father of its present editor; his translation was published at Bombay in 1853, and has now been so thoroughly revised as to be practically rewritten. The Pahlavi text was also translated into German by Professor Nöldeke, from copies of the same MSS., and this translation was published at Göttingen in 1878[1] But the original text is now printed for the first time, with transliteration, translations, and corresponding passages from the Shāh-nāmeh, specially for the use of College students in Bombay, and also for Pahlavi scholars and readers in general. For the students it appears very suitable, as the simple narrative style of the text presents few difficulties to a competent reader, beyond the identification of some names of persons and places.

Before Pahlavi MSS. of the Kārnāmak had become known to scholars, it was generally assumed, when the work was mentioned by a Persian writer, that it must have been a chronicle of events written by Artakhshīr himself. Thus Richardson (in his Dissertation on the Literature of Eastern Nations, p. vi) states that Artakhshīr "wrote a Kār-nāmah, or journal of his achievements," which "was afterwards improved by Nōshirvān the Just." But all the three translators have come to the conclusion that this Pahlavi

[1] See *Beiträge zur Kunde der indo-germanischen Sprachen*, Bd. iv, S. 22–69.

Kārnāmak can only be a narrative drawn up, from the original records of Artakhshīr (as the first words of the Pahlavi text actually assert), probably in the time of Khusrō Nōshirvān, or perhaps rather later. And the editor of this edition suggests that Buzurg-Mihir, Khusrō's chancellor, may have been the epitomizer of the older records.

The contents of this Pahlavi Kārnāmak are briefly as follows:—After the death of Alexander there were 240 rulers in Irān, of whom Ardavān, in Stākhar, was the chief. Pāpak was frontier governor of Pārs, and had no son; while Sāsān, of the race of Dāra, descendant of Darius, was his shepherd; but he did not know that Sāsān was of the race of Dāra. On three successive nights Pāpak was disturbed by different dreams about Sāsān, and sent for the interpreters of dreams, who explained that Sāsān, or his son, would rule the world. Pāpak then sent for Sāsān and asked him about his ancestors, promising him protection, and Sāsān told him the secret of his parentage. Pāpak was glad and told him to put himself into a bath (*āvzano*), clothed him with royal garments, fed him well, and afterwards gave him his daughter in marriage, who bore a son, named Artakhshīr, whom Pāpak accepted as his own son.

[This adoption made Pāpak the lawful father of Artakhshīr, as stated in Sāsānian inscriptions; but some writers about Nōshirvān's time were still aware that Sāsān was his real father.]

On account of his proficiency in learning and athletic exercises, Artakhshīr was summoned by Ardavān to court when fifteen years old, to be educated with other princes. He soon surpassed them all in riding and hunting, and in such games as polo (*cūpīgān*), chess (*catrang*), and back-gammon (*nēv-Artakhshīr*). But, owing to a dispute with Ardavān's eldest son, while hunting a wild ass (*gōr*), he fell into disgrace, and was sent to work in the king's stables. Here a handmaid of Ardavān saw him and fell in love with him, often visiting him in the stables.

One day the king consulted the astrologers, who told him that some servant, who should run away within three days,

would soon unite the whole land under his absolute sway. The handmaid told this to Artakhshīr, who induced her to run away with him on horseback with many valuables, in the direction of Pārs. When Ardavān discovered their flight, he pursued them with his troops, and heard from some peasantry that they had passed by, hours before, followed by an eagle which, the astrologers told him, must be the kingly Glory, and, if it overtook them, they would be safe. The next day some travellers told him that the eagle was seated on one of the horses when the fugitives passed them; and the high priest said that further pursuit was useless. So Ardavān returned home and sent his son, with troops, to capture the fugitives in Pārs.

[In this episode, there is some doubt whether the animal which personates the kingly Glory is *luk*, "an eagle," or *varak*, "a ram"; the only difference between the two words, in Pahlavi characters, being the initial *va* in the second word, which, in some cases, may be an optional final *o* of the preceding word in the sentence. The doubtful word occurs five times, and in the oldest surviving MS. of the text, from which all other known copies have descended, the initial *va* is certainly absent in three cases, and it may be an optional final *o* of the preceding word in the other two cases. So far, the evidence is in favour of *luk* (= Persian *luh*), "an eagle"; and this reading is further supported by the Zamyād Yasht, 34–38, in the Avesta, which states that the kingly Glory departed from Yima in the shape of a bird (*meregha*); the first time in the shape of a Vāreghna bird, and this is repeated for the second and third times. Nöldeke has preferred to consider the animal as a ram, probably because the Shāhnāmah uses the word *ghurm*, but some particulars of Firdausi's description of this animal are not quite consistent with the appearance of a ram, such as "a wing like the Sīmurgh and a tail like the peacock." The Zvārish verbs *rehatūn* and *sagītūn*, which are used in the Pahlavi text, appear to be applied to the motion of both birds and quadrupeds.]

The Kārnāmak next narrates how Artakhshīr went on

towards the sea-coast, and many of the people of Pārs submitted themselves to him. At one place, afterwards called Rāmishn-i Artakhshīr, a magnanimous man, named Banāk (or Bōhak) of Ispāhān, who had fled from Ardavān, came and joined him, with his six sons and several warriors. Artakhshīr ordered a town to be built, and left Banāk and his forces there, while he himself proceeded to the sea-coast, where he built the town of Būkht-Artakhshīr and established a Vāhrām fire on the shore. He then returned to Banāk, to raise an army, and, after hard and continuous fighting, Ardavān was conquered and slain, and his daughter became the wife of Artakhshīr, who, returning to Pārs, built other towns and constructed various public works.

Collecting a large army, he went to war with Mādīg, king of the Kūrds, in which he was first beaten, but after some wandering he conquered the Kūrds, obtaining much plunder, which was lost in a battle with the army of Haftān-bōkht, lord of the Dragon (*kirm*), who carried it off to Kūlār in the district of Kūzārān (?), where the Dragon dwelt.

Artakhshīr had intended to go to Armenia and Ātūrpātakān, where Yazdānkard of Shahrzūr was ready to submit; but he was compelled to stay and fight with the sons of Haftān-bōkht, and was again defeated. Haftān-bōkht had seven sons (hence probably his name), one of whom now came from Arvāstān with reinforcements, Arabs and Mēzanīgān, over the sea, and Artakhshīr's forces were hemmed in. Mitrōk, son of Anōshakpād, of Pārs, took the opportunity to plunder Artakhshīr's capital.

Then Artakhshīr departed alone, and came to the house of two brothers, Būrjak and Būrj-ātūr, who comforted him and showed how he might kill the Dragon. But first he marched to Artakhshīr-gadā, defeated Mitrōk, and slew him. Then, disguised and with the two brothers, he obtained admittance into the town of the Dragon, and when the creature was about to eat, he poured melted metal into its mouth; when, at a prearranged signal, his troops attacked the fortress and destroyed it. He then returned (home)

the second time (*dō bār*); and his troops came towards Kirmān for war with Bārcān.

Artakhshīr had two sons of Ardavān with him, and two others had fled to the king of Kāpūl; these latter wrote to their sister, who was married to Artakhshīr, sending her poison, and hinting at the death of her husband being necessary. Upon this hint she thought it her duty to act, and when her husband came in, thirsty from the chase, she handed him some poisoned meal-milk; but they say that the Farnbag fire flew in, like a red eagle, and struck the goblet out of the king's hand with its wing. Both king and matron (*sihānako*) stood confounded, while a cat and dog licked up the liquid and expired. The king sent for the high-priest, and ordered him to take the culprit to the executioner[1]; she pleaded pregnancy, but in vain. The high-priest, who had already protested, secretly intrusted her to his wife's care, until her son was born, who was named Shāhpūhar ("the king's son"), and he remained with them for seven years; but his mother's fate is doubtful.

One day, while hunting, Artakhshīr was reminded of the child he had wilfully lost, by the devotedness of a pair of wild asses to their foal; and he became so melancholy as to alarm his courtiers. The high-priest, princes and nobles, chieftains and secretaries, all anxiously inquired the reason of his despondency; when the king explained how he had been reminded of the lost child, and feared he had committed a grievous sin. The high-priest then confessed that he had disobeyed the king's orders, and a handsome and accomplished son had been born, who was then produced; the high-priest was richly rewarded, and a city was built on the spot, called Rāyē-ī Shāhpūhar ("the splendour of Shāhpūhar").

Afterwards, Artakhshīr became weary of continual wars for consolidating his power, and determined to inquire of various wise Kaits who were soothsayers, whether he was destined to become the sole ruler of Irān. For this purpose

[1] Literally, "the horse-stable" (*asp-akhvār* for *asp-ākhūr*). Ervad Tehmuras remarks that the Shāh still sends men to his stables to be punished.

he sent one of his faithful dependants to a Kait of the Hindūs, to ask him the question; to which he replied that the sole ruler of Irān must be a descendant of two families, that of Artakhshīr and that of Mitrōk, son of Anōshakpād. When the king heard this, he was angry, because Mitrōk had been his greatest enemy; so he went to the dwelling of Mitrōk and ordered that his children should all be killed. But one daughter, three years old, was saved alive by the village authorities, and intrusted to a farmer's care, by whom she was suitably brought up.

One day, Shāhpūhar came that way while hunting, with nine horsemen; and the girl, who was drawing water for the cattle, welcomed them to the shade and water. The horsemen tried to draw water, but the bucket was too heavy for them to raise when full of water. Shāhpūhar was annoyed at their want of strength, and went himself to the well and drew up a bucketful. The girl recognized him by his strength, of which she had often heard. Being asked who she was, she first said she was the daughter of the farmer; but, this being disbelieved, she begged protection, and then owned that she was the only survivor of Mitrōk's seven children. Shāhpūhar then married her, and they had a son named Aūharmazd: but all these circumstances were kept secret from Artakhshīr for seven years.

One day, Aūharmazd went to the racecourse with the princes, and was playing at polo (*cūpagān*) with them, when Artakhshīr and his courtiers were present. One of the youths drove the ball so near to Artakhshīr (who took no notice of it) that none of the princes dare approach it, till Aūharmazd advanced boldly and struck the ball back. Artakhshīr asked who the boy was, but no one knew. So Aūharmazd himself was asked, and said he was the son of Shāhpūhar, who was then called, and he stated the circumstances of the boy's birth, and the reasons for their concealment. Artakhshīr was satisfied, and exclaimed: "This resembles what the Hindū Kait said."

Afterwards, when Aūharmazd came to the throne, he was able to bring the whole land of Irān back to a single monarchy, and the chief neighbouring rulers became submissive and tributaries. Likewise, the Kaiser, or Emperor of the Romans, the Tāb of Kāpūl, or King of the Hindūs, the Khākān of Tūrān, and other chief rulers, from various quarters, came to his capital with courteous salutations.

This statement, which concludes the Kārnāmak, seems singularly inapplicable to the short reign of Aūharmazd I. It is true that his father, Shāhpūhar I, when he came to the throne, some thirty years before, made his son governor of Khurāsān, where he seems to have distinguished himself;[1] but Aūharmazd I actually reigned very little more than one year, a period which could have given him little opportunity of gaining the respect of neighbouring sovereigns. The compiler of the Kārnāmak, in its present form, must either have imagined the congratulations of the sovereigns, or they may have been presented merely as a politic token of respect for the new dynasty, which had once more united the Persians under a single powerful ruler. The deference, which had been really extorted by the deeds of the father and grandfather, might have been readily paid to the son who had succeeded to their power, and might have been expected to live many years. Under such circumstances, the congratulations would have been mentioned in the original records; but that the later compiler of the Kārnāmak, writing some 280 years afterwards, should have attributed them solely to the personal achievements of Aūharmazd I, displays a lamentable ignorance of history.

The extracts from the Shāhnāmah, appended by the editor, correspond very closely with the tale told in the Kārnāmak. Though both the Pahlavi writer and the Persian poet supply some details omitted by the other, they agree in all matters of importance, as if the information of both had descended from the same original.

[1] See Nöldeke's *Geschichte der Perser und Araber* (from Tabari's chronicles), p. 45.

Regarding the MSS. of the Kārnāmak, it is certain that the oldest one, known to be still surviving, is in the library of Dastūr Dr. Jāmāspji Minōcheherji Jāmāsp-Āsānā in Bombay. When I copied it, twenty-one years ago, it was the 22nd Pahlavi text in an octavo volume of 142 folios, containing about thirty-three texts, and about one-fifth of the words were more or less worm-eaten. According to its colophon, this volume was written by Mitrō-āpān, son of Kaī-Khūsrōb, who completed it in an *agiāri*, or small fire-temple, at Tānak or Tāmnak,[1] on 10th October, 1322. And at the end of the Kārnāmak text there is a note that it "was written from the copy of Rūstēm Mitrō-āpān." This Rūstēm was a great-uncle of Mitrō-āpān, who also copied the Ardā-Vīrāf-nāmak, completing it in Irān on 13th June, 1269, and a Vispērad, at Ankalesar, in India, on 28th December, 1278. We have, therefore, good reasons for believing that Rūstēm wrote his copy of the Kārnāmak in Irān, and brought it to India, some time between the last-mentioned two dates, or about 625 years ago. It is also worthy of notice that the Yādkār-i Zarīrān, the first Pahlavi text in this old manuscript volume, was likewise transcribed from a copy made by the same Rūstēm.

That all other old MSS. of the Kārnāmak are derived from Mitrō-āpān's copy is evident, because they copy several of his blunders, and misread some of his uncouth letters.

Ervad Dārāb could not obtain access to Dastūr Jāmāsp's old MS., but he probably collated an old copy of it, made in 1721 by Dastūr Jamshēd Jāmāsp Āsā, when the original was in much better condition than it was twenty years ago. His present edition is very carefully prepared, and its general accuracy and convenience will, no doubt, be thankfully appreciated by Parsi students and other readers. The translations will probably be more useful to beginners than a vocabulary would be, as they save time and stimulate

[1] Probably Tenā, between Sūrat and Bharūc. It is called Ṭhāṇām-Velākula in the Sanskrit colophon of the codex, as copied in 1721.

thought, when the teacher requires the text to be properly construed.''

Two other editions of the Kārnāmak have long been in the press, and may probably be already published—one by Ervad Edalji Keresāspji Āntiā of Bombay, and the other by Ervad Kaikobād Ādarbād of Poona. It is to be regretted that three editions of the same Pahlavi text should be undertaken about the same time, when there are other texts (though perhaps of less interest) upon which some of this wasted energy might have been more usefully spent.

E. W. WEST.

December, 1897.

ASSHUR AND THE LAND OF NIMROD; being an Account of Discoveries made in the Ancient Ruins of Nineveh, Asshur, Sepharvaim, Calah, Babylon, Borsippa, Cuthah, and Van, etc. By HORMUZD RASSAM, with an Introduction by ROBERT W. ROGERS, Ph.D., D.D. (Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings, 1897.)

NIPPUR, OR EXPLORATIONS AND ADVENTURES ON THE EUPHRATES. By JOHN PUNNETT PETERS, Ph.D., Sc.D., D.D. Two Vols. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897.)

This narrative of his travels and excavations, made by the veteran explorer Hormuzd Rassam, in the ruin-mounds of the land which gave him birth, will be read with interest by all who like to study and compare the ancient and the modern state of that interesting but ofttimes distressful country, the Ottoman Empire.

The book refers to Mr. Rassam's discoveries in 1853 (when, much to the disgust of M. Place,[1] Mr. Rassam found that portion of the palace of Assurbanipal containing the beautiful hunting slabs) and 1877–82, during which time he dug up many thousands of tablets and fragments for the British Museum, and also many objects of importance of a different kind. Among these may be mentioned the

[1] This gentleman, it will be remembered, was the French Consul at Mossul who was at that time excavating for the French Government.

Bronze Gates of Balawar (Shalmaneser II of Assyria); the almost perfect text of the records of Assurbanipal's reign, inscribed on a large clay cylinder; several barrel cylinders of Sennacherib, of chronological value, because they show that the only possible date of his siege of Jerusalem is the year 701 B.C.;[1] the well-known mace-head of Sargon of Agadé (3800 B.C.); the cylinder of Nabonidus, referring to the capture of Astyages by Cyrus, the discovery of the record of Naram-Sin, son of Sargon, with his date, 3,200 years before the time of Nabonidus, etc.; the large so-called boundary-stone of Nebuchadnezzar I (about 1200 B.C.); the bilingual story of the Creation;[2] and many other objects of the highest interest, including tablets of the chronology of the early kings of Babylon, additions to the so-called synchronous history, several very fine syllabaries and bilingual lists, etc., etc.[3]

The general reader, however, will probably turn with greater interest to the record of travel which the book contains. We there get a fresh confirmation of the abhorrence in which the Armenians are held by the Mohammedans, and the altogether corrupt state of the Government, the same then, to all appearance, as now. The following is an example of the administration of justice:—

"A party of Christian wayfarers, who were coming to Beerajeek from Aintab, on passing one of the villages below the hills in the province of the former, were met by a number of Turcoman marauders, who plundered them of everything they possessed, and severely wounded one of them. When they proffered their complaint to the proper court, they were told by the Kadheé, the president of it, that unless their evidence was backed by Mohammedan witnesses, their complaint could not be entertained, as it

[1] Schrader, "Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament," vol. i, last page.

[2] See J.R.A.S. for 1891, Art. VIII.

[3] In the Palace of Assurbanipal, it is worthy of note, Mr. Rassam found many fragments of the so-called creation-story (the legend of Bel and the Dragon) and the Gilgamesh series, the eleventh tablet of which contains the story of the Flood, translated by Mr. G. Smith.

was unlawful to receive the evidence of Christians against Moslems." (p. 77.)

This "Christian-evidence-disability," however, had been abrogated nearly forty years before, during the early part of Abd-al-Majeed's reign, by the influence of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. At intervals, however, a fanatical Kadhee, or a wily governor, starts up, and lays down the law as it suits his own interests and religious views.

The following is also instructive:—

"In the lowlands, especially in the plains of Bitlis and Moosh, the Christians complained of the constant arbitrary demands of their Mohammedan neighbours, who were continually exacting whatever they chose; and if their orders were not complied with, they would either punish the poor people by incendiary or night attacks, or set the Koordish brigands to attack them. On asking the Mohammedan villagers about these complaints, they did not deny the reported misdeeds, but said, as they were tyrannized over by other more powerful tribes, they considered it right that they should in turn recoup themselves from those who were beneath them. Some went so far as to say that, as the Turkish authorities oppressed them, they were obliged to turn to their neighbours for contribution!" (p. 89.)

Many passages similar to the above could be quoted, but the world is familiar with stories of later date, which are quite as bad as, or even worse than, any in Mr. Rassam's book. On the other hand, it is worthy of note that Mr. Rassam has nothing but praise for those subjects of the Ottoman Empire with whom he came into contact. He says: "I ever found Arabs, Koords, and Turcomans (all of whom are, of course, Mohammedans), most tractable people to deal with, and I always found them true, loyal, and most hospitable" (p. ix); and elsewhere in his book he pays tribute to the Koords, from whom he experienced many kindnesses.

The conflict of the creeds is treated of by the author with a master-hand, as one thoroughly conversant with the subject—as, indeed, would be expected from one whose

family possessed the only existing legally attested copy of the charter granted by Mohammed "for the liberty of all Christian sects" to Mar Yesho-yau, the patriarch of the Chaldeans at that time (pp. 182, 183).

Mr. Rassam's reasons for identifying the mound known as Babel (Babil) with the site of the renowned "hanging gardens" will be read with interest. He came upon four "exquisitely-built wells of red granite, in the southern centre of the mound." These constructions were "140 feet high" when he uncovered them, and "could not have been less than 50 feet higher originally." As he points out, one of the bas-reliefs found by him in 1854 (as indicated by Sir Henry Rawlinson and others) has a representation apparently showing (if it be the hanging gardens) this very ruin, which, next to the Birs-Nimroud, is the most prominent of all the mounds. These so-called "hanging gardens," to judge from the inscriptions, were far from uncommon in Babylonia and Assyria in ancient times.

But one could go on quoting from this interesting book indefinitely, for, as the production of one born in the dominions which he describes, the work has a special value, and will, no doubt, be appreciated on that account. It is to be hoped that in a second edition the publishers may see their way to give a fuller map, as the one they have given is very meagre in a book containing so many place-names as Mr. Rassam's "Asshur and the Land of Nimrod."

From the work of a descendant of the nations which built the cities and produced the sculptures and records which he excavated and discovered, we turn to the remarkable book of exploration and adventure which the learned Rector of St. Michael's Church, New York, has recently published. As a record of difficulties overcome in the face of much opposition, it is a worthy testimony to the determination of its author, the results of whose work form a most important contribution to Assyriological research.

Dr. Peters's book is likewise a valuable record of travel, as well as of most successful research. The first volume contains the account of his first visit to the ruins of Niffer,

where the Turkish Government had granted permission to carry on excavations. The various difficulties of the journey are well detailed, as well as the constant opposition and suspicion that they met with when they arrived at their destination. The first "campaign" Dr. Peters regards as a failure, and the last chapter, "The Catastrophe," shows what impression it had on his mind. Nevertheless, he was undaunted, and went to try his fortune at Niffer a second time, and it is to this second expedition that the second volume is mainly devoted.

The author's descriptions of the people are graphic and instructive, and when one reads his book one understands easily the difficulty of the task he had in hand. Besides this, however, he is an acute observer, and details some interesting matters. The following history of the growth of a legend among the superstitious natives of the country is noteworthy:—

"Noorian drew the chief on to tell stories. He informed us that in the days of his father, fifty or sixty years before, a Frank came to Niffer and went and stood on the top of the hill. Then he put a strap on the ground and commenced to read a book; and he read the strap alive, and he read until it crept and crept along the ground like a snake; and then he closed his book and brought workmen, and bade them dig where it stopped. So they dug very deep, and at last they found a golden boat with writing on it. Then he sent a man to get this out, but as he took hold of it to lift it a serpent came out and breathed on him, and the trench closed."

This man with the strap was Layard with a tape-measure and a notebook. The golden boat was probably the reminiscence of the finding of a clay coffin, which the imaginations of the people transformed, as is their tendency, into one made of that precious metal.

The results of Dr. Peters's second expedition were most gratifying. Tablets, inscribed cones, door-sockets, and many other antiquities, form the bulk of the objects that were carried away, whilst the history of the city of Niffer and

its great temple-tower called Ê-kura, "the temple of the land," dedicated to Bel, was revealed by a careful and systematic excavation of the ruins down to the various levels. It is a most interesting and valuable work that Dr. Peters has inaugurated. He excavated down to the Sargon-level (Sargon of Agadé, 3800 B.C.), found the terrace of Ur-Engur[1] (Ur-Gur of Hilprecht), and traced the buildings of various other periods. The results of this work, and of that done by Haynes, who succeeded Peters, have been published, in part, by Professor Hilprecht, whose valuable work has been already noticed in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

T. G. PINCHES.

CE QUE L'INDE DOIT À LA GRÈCE. Par Le Comte GOBLET D'ALVIELLA, Recteur de l'Université de Bruxelles. 8vo, pp. 200. (Paris: Leroux, 1897.)

These are lectures delivered by their distinguished author before the Royal Academy of Belgium. They are not addressed to Indianists, but to the general reader of the more cultured sort, and the aim is, not so much to bring forward new evidence, as to bring to a focus the results of recent inquiry into a very interesting chapter of world-history. Nearly half the book is devoted to a discussion of the facts, so far ascertained, as to the relationship of Greek and Indian Art. A few pages are then occupied in succession with each of the questions of medicine, astronomy, mathematics, writing, grammar, plays, fables, and popular legends. The question whether Indian idolatry, the use of idols in worship, unknown in the Indian literature before the advent of the Greeks, was due to their influence, is then discussed; and the work closes with a treatment of the resemblances to be found between Krishna worship and Christianity on the one hand, and Buddhism and Christianity on the other.

On each of the questions thus dealt with the summaries

[1] This I indicated as a possible reading as early as 1882 ("Guide to the Kouyunjik Gallery," p. 7, note 1).

are grouped in a very able and readable manner. The latest authorities are, in each case, quoted in the notes, so that the lectures form a useful guide to the literature on the subject; and the conclusions on each point are stated with fitting care and reserve. Shortly stated, they are as follows:—Greece has played a part, but by no means a predominant part, in Indian civilization. The evolution of philosophy and religion has gone along parallel, but independent paths. India owes to Greece an improvement in astronomy and medicine, but it had begun both; and in lyric and epic poetry, in grammar, the art of writing, the drama, mathematics, and the fine arts, it had no need to wait for the intervention or the initiative of Hellenism. Notably, however, in the plastic arts, and perhaps also in the details of dramatic representations, the classical culture has acted as a ferment to revivify the native qualities of the Indian artists, without robbing them of their originality and subtlety.

It is doubtful, according to the author, whether the modern civilization of Europe has had as good an influence. Certainly in the domain of the arts and of industry we have to record decadence rather than new life. Could the present rulers, with all their railways and public works, their maintenance of peace and public order, their elaborate organizations for the administration of justice, and the collection of revenue, even with all their examination boards, show so deep an influence on the intellectual life of the Indian peoples? In any case the fascinating story of the Greeks in India, as unfolded in these lectures, is not only full of suggestion, but is also a most interesting chapter in the history of the development of ideas.

INDIAN COINS. By E. J. RAPSON. Bühler's "Grundriss." Large 8vo; pp. 38, with five plates. (Strassburg: Trübner, 1898. Price 6*s*.)

This little work is a skeleton summary of the present state of our knowledge of Indian Numismatics. It is in every

way worthy of the high reputation of its author, and it would be impossible in the necessarily very limited space at his disposal to have given a clearer statement of the very numerous and complicated facts involved. The method followed is exclusively historical. After an account of the old punch-marked pieces of metal used as money, and of the guild tokens, we have a short section on the influence of various sorts of foreign coinage. Then the coins of the Greek colonists, of the Scythian invaders, of the native States (up to 50 A.D.), of the Indo-Parthians, of the Kuṣanas and their contemporaries, of the Guptas and their contemporaries, are successively passed in review; and the book closes with a section on the later coinage of Northern India, and another on that of Southern India. As only a page or two is allowed for each of these branches of the subject, controversy is rigorously excluded, there is no room for dynastic lists, and in each series of coins only those are mentioned which are typical, or of importance for the history of the coinage. But the pages are full of carefully selected matter: references are quoted for almost every statement; and it will be easy for anyone with this summary in his hand, and with access to the necessary books, to fill in the details of any particular series of coins he wishes to study. The arrangement of the whole is admirably clear, and the very succinctness of this bird's-eye view brings out in bold relief the leading points in the History of Indian Coinage down to the time of the Muhammadan conquests. The manual will supply a widely-felt want; and though it affords abundant evidence of the large amount of work that has yet to be accomplished in the details of Indian Numismatics, all except those thoroughly familiar with the latest researches will be astonished at the degree of order now brought into what was once considered almost a chaos.

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. Aṇgaṇa.

Professor Bendall having consulted me about the meaning of this word, found in an ethical sense in a passage in the Śikshā-Samuccaya (p. 121 of his edition),[1] it may be advisable to set qut, somewhat more fully than one could do in a note, some facts as to the use of the word.

Childers gives as its meaning: (1) "a court, a yard"; (2) "lust, impurity, sin."

These meanings he takes from the Pāli *kosa*, the Abhidhāna Padīpikā, verses 218, 589; the explanatory or supposed synonymous terms being, for the first meaning, *ajira*, *caccarā* (taken from the Amara Koṣa); and for the second, *mala*, *kilesa*.

The only passages he gives for it from the literature are two from the Mahāvaṇsa (pp. 151, 212) for the meaning "court, yard," and in neither of them does that meaning fit the context.

P. 151 has *phāsuke aṇgaṇe ṭhāne khandāvāraṇ nivesayi*, that is, "He fixed his encampment in a pleasant open spot." P. 212 has *thūpaṇgaṇa*, of the open space, the terrace or square, round a stūpa.

The fact evidently is that Subhūti, in his edition of the Koṣa, took the translation given by Wilson, which all the

[1] The passage is—

ksipram samādhim labhate niraṅgaṇam :

quoted from the Candrapradīpa-sūtra, a work otherwise unknown, but often quoted by Śāntideva.

Sanskrit Dictionaries (including Goldstücker, B. R., Capeller, Macdonell) have also copied, and Childers followed Subhūti. Subhūti must have known the right meaning well enough, for he gives as the Singhalese rendering *midula*, which is correct.

The oldest passage in which the word occurs in the literal sense is Vinaya, 2. 218, where discourteous Bhikshus beat their carpets *paṭivāte p'aṅgaṇe*, even in that part of the *aṅgaṇa* which was to windward of the other Bhikshus, and so covered them with dust.

Now what does *aṅgaṇa* mean here? In the absence of the Commentary, not yet published, we must turn to the Jātaka book, that storehouse of references for all sorts of questions as to Indian words; and very excellent is the help we receive.

Jātaka 1. 33, *ekaṅgaṇāni ahesuṁ*, "became visible like so many objects in one open glade or clearing." Compare 2. 357, *manussā vanaṁ chinditvā ekaṅgaṇaṁ katvā khettāni karissanti*, "Men will cut down the wood, make a single clearing of it, and lay out cultivated fields there."

So in the old story, already illustrated on the Bharhut Tope, the Ārāma-dūsaka Jātaka, of which we have two versions (at 1. 249 foll. and 2. 345 foll.), the blank space in a garden (where nothing grew) is called in the first recension *aṅgaṇaṭṭhāna*, in the second *chiddaṭṭhāna*; and *avirūḷha-rukkha* in the second, corresponding to *koci rukkho vā gaccho vā n'atthi* in the first. These passages explain the sense of *aṅgaṇaṭṭhāne nisīditvā* at 2. 243, where the context shows we must have a bare, lonely place where no one can come.

There is nothing about a courtyard in any of these passages, and I think that sense may be said to be excluded in each of them.

But we can see how the mistake arose, for we have *rājaṅgaṇe* at 2. 290, 316—where at 290 the horses are tethered, and at 316 the Bodisat is seated, and seen from a window. Here courtyard would fit, and from some such passages, unknown to me, in Sanskrit books, Wilson's

authorities may have got that meaning. But it can just as well mean "open space" here, as it must in the other passages. And this is confirmed by *rāja nivesanassa ākāsaṇgaṇa* at J. 2. 325, the space (on the roof) of the king's house, where it was open to the sky.

In Ceylon, at the present day, the peasants' huts, built under the palms, have an open space in front of the hut, sometimes covered with grass, sometimes not, always kept clear of shrubs and bushes, and swept clean so that nothing can grow there. It is there that the people sit; it is their parlour, the hut itself being used as bedroom and as a place to keep things in. This open space is the *midula*. This is what is meant in the passage from the Culla Vagga given above, and it exactly corresponds to the *aṇgana-bhūmi* in front of the leaf huts (the *uṭaja's*) of the rishis mentioned in the Raghuvaṃsa, as quoted below.

Ethically the word is used, always with one or other of the prefixes *sa* or *an*, in the sense of having or not having uncultivated, bare spots in the mind—

anaṇgaṇo (of the Arahat): Dhp. 238, 351; Therīgāthā 368; M. 1. 24; S.N. 517, 662.
sāṇgaṇo: M. 1. 24; S.N. 279.

The commentators explain it as equal to *rāga dosa* and *moha* (following M. 1. 24); but this is an exegetical, not a philological, comment. These are merely instances of the barren spots, where no good thing can grow, or of the weeds that cannot thrive. They are precisely those qualities the absence of which is Nirvāṇa (often = e.g. S. 4. 251, 252, 261, 262, 362), the state of freedom from rank growth, Dhp. 344.

We have an exact analogue to the thought transference in *khila*, waste (not fallow land, as Childers has); *akhila*, of the Arahat; *sakhila*, of the dull, selfish man.

I would venture, therefore, to suggest as a correction of the dictionaries the following entry:—"Aṇgaṇa(n.): (1) a glade, clearing in the jungle; (2) the open space in front of a leaf hut; (3) any bare space—for instance, in a garden, where

no vegetation except grass can grow; (4) ethical, with *an-*, 'with no bare spots in the mind,' cultured, refined, often of the Arahat; with *sa-*, uncultured, dull."

The above probably holds good for Sanskrit as well as Pāli. I only know the passages given in Böhtlingk-Roth. Only one of them helps us in the context—Raghuvaṃśa 1. 52. Mallināṭha there quotes the Amara Koṣa, but also paraphrases *aṇgana* (both he and the text, Bombay S.S., spell with a dental *n*) by *usriyā*. This must mean precisely "a clearing, an open space," though the word is not in the dictionaries in this sense.[1]

It is a small matter, perhaps; but every fresh proof of Hofrath Bühler's wisdom in urging on Sanskritists the study of the Pāli Texts has its value.

RH. D.

[Since the above was in type Hofrath Bühler has called my attention to the entry in Molesworth's "Marāṭhi Dictionary," p. 6, where the old meaning 'house-yard' is given; but also, as an alternative, 'the cleared and dung-smeared level in front of the doorway,' and Hofrath Bühler suggests that the word may be derived from √*añj*, 'to smear.' Hoernle and Grierson, on the other hand, as Professor Bendall points out to me, have retained in their "Bihāri Dictionary," p. 37, the old rendering 'courtyard'; though in each of the four passages they quote the meaning now proposed would fit the context equally well, or better.—RH. D.]

2. HAR PARAURĪ.

Gorakhpur, N.W.P.
August 21, 1897.

DEAR PROFESSOR RHYS DAVIDS,—In connection with Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra's article in the July number of the Journal on the "Har Paraurī" in Behar, it may be of interest to record the following instance which I came across in this district.

On the night of March 25, 1897, at Qasba Rudarpur, Tahsil Hata, district Gorakhpur, a number of women had met together to sing songs for rain. Passing through the

[1] The misprint in B.R. in giving this quotation (*ujaṭa* for *uṭaja*) is not corrected in the second, smaller, edition.

village, they got a plough, and proceeded to a field outside: there two women, stripping themselves of all their clothing, harnessed themselves to the yoke, while a third, equally nude, stood behind and drove, all the women singing the while. It was a strange coincidence that a slight shower of rain occurred shortly afterwards. This is the only direct instance I have come across this year; but I am informed that the "nude" ceremony was performed in several places of the district. The usual procedure here seems to be for the women to pass from door to door, singing aloud until they reach the fields outside the village: then a servant of the zemindar, or landlord, brings them a plough, and goes away. The women then perform the ploughing, until after a time the zemindar sends some vessels of water, which is either drunk or spilled upon the ground, and then the women depart to their homes.

The practice exists therefore, but, except for the song-singing, which was incessant every night during the hot weather this year, it cannot be said to be common. The instance given above was regarded as so unusual, or was so unfamiliar, that the Thānadar, or native officer in charge of the police-station in the neighbourhood, sent in a special report of it to headquarters in the secret confidential form kept up by Government.

The songs sung are much the same as those sung in Behar, with local differences. I attach one or two I have obtained.

I. Chhoḍelīn apni mehāriyā, Dev, an binā
An re binā, Dev, ki pāni re binā:
Dhiyawā alag rowen, putwā alag rowen, an binā
An re binā, Dev, ki pāni re binā:
Rowelīn . . . . kī amma, ki jin chhoḍo!
An re binā, Dev, ki pāni re binā:
Pūrab ghathā lāgat bārīn, Dev, ki barsat bārīn,
An re binā, Dev, ki pāni re binā:
Okharī aisan bunwā, ki mūsar aisan dhār,
An re binā, Dev, ki pāni re binā.

II. Kai kōs bowelu jhinwā saukan dhanwā,
Kāi go lāgīn baniharwā na?
Das kos bowelon saukan dhanwā, aur
Bis go lāgīn baniharwā na.

III. Rajwā bakhānīlen Kalaṭṭar Sahib, na
Dev, hāthī chaḍhe dekhailen gajhinwā na
Raniwā bakhānīlen dulhin Dei ke, na
Dev, ḍāndi chaḍhī dekhailen gajhinwā, na
Harwahuā bekhānīlen . . . . na
Dev, paniyā chalāo, ḍānḍ torlëin, na.

IV. Pāni binā parelā akāl, ho Rāmā
Rāndī bahmaniyā har jote, ho Rāmā.

Translations—

I. They are deserting their wives, O God, for want of grain. O God, for want of grain, and for want of water, daughters are crying here and sons are crying there for want of grain. O God, etc. (repeated). Crying is ——'s mother (and saying), "Do not abandon me!" Clouds are rising in the East, O God, and raining. Like mortars are the drops, like pestles the showers.

II. How many kos are you sowing fine sokan dhān (rice), how many ploughmen are set to the plough?

Ten kos I am sowing sokan dhān, and twenty ploughmen are set to the plough.

III. They are addressing the[1] Collector Sahib as the Raja. O God, mounted on an elephant, he looks at the crops. They are addressing[1] [Dei Dulhin] as the Rānī. O God, mounted on an elephant, she looks at the crops. They are addressing[1] . . . . as the ploughman. O God, let rain fall, that we may burst the boundaries.

IV. O Rāma, famine is fallen on us for want of rain. O Rāma, widowed Brahman women have taken the plough.[2]

WALTER LUPTON.

[1] Various names of officers, zemindars, etc., are used according to locality. The stanza is generally one of abuse, but not necessarily always so.

[2] This taking of the plough by widowed Brahmin women is regarded as an especial sign of severe distress. It has been much sung this year.

3. Indian Sects or Schools in the time of the Buddha.

I have ventured to collect some facts and to draw some inferences as to schools of Buddhist thought in India in Asoka's time (J.R.A.S., 1891, pp. 409–413) and in the time of the Chinese pilgrims (ib., pp. 414–420). Mr. Hardy's new volume of the Aṅguttara brings us an interesting list of various schools of sophists, ascetics, and teachers in India in the Buddha's own time. It is unfortunately only a bare list, and Buddhaghosa on the passage does not give much help. But the list is interesting. It runs (p. 276) as follows:—

1. Ājīvako.
2. Niganṭho.
3. Muṇḍa-sāvako.
4. Jaṭilako.
5. Paribbājako.
6. Māgaṇḍiko.
7. Tedaṇḍiko.
8. Aviruddhako.
9. Gotamako.
10. Devadhammiko.

On this Buddhaghosa has the following note:—

"*ājīvako* ti nagga-pabbajito, *niganṭho* ti purima-bhāga-paṭichanno, *muṇḍa-sāvako*[1] ti niganṭha-sāvako, *jaṭilako* ti tāpaso, *paribbājako* ti channa-paribbājako, *māgandikādayo*[2] pi titthiyā eva. Nesaṃ pana sīlesu paripūra-kāritāya abhāvena sukka-pakkho na gahito."

It seems probable that if the last five names had conveyed to Buddhaghosa clear and certain connotations he would have told us more, just as he explains that the ambiguous No. 3 means specifically a Niganṭha disciple, a Jain. The Tedaṇḍiko (No. 7) is clear enough,—that school of Brahmin beggars who carried three staves bound up as one. I can make nothing certain of Nos. 6 and 8, in both of which cases the readings are doubtful. No. 9 is most interesting. Of course it cannot mean a follower of our Gotama. So there must have existed another school founded by another Gotama. And does No. 10 mean merely a deva-worshipper?

[1] MS. buḍḍha-sāvako. [2] So MS. (*nd*).

Or should we not rather suppose a special meaning was attached to *deva-dhammiko*, such as "follower of the system of *the* god" (perhaps Śiva; it surely could not be Indra)?

T. W. Rhys Davids.

4. Water (Watura) in Sinhalese.

Mr. Donald Ferguson, who has printed for private circulation an excellent and much needed "*Contribution towards a Biography of Robert Knox*," has now brought out, in the J.R.A.S. Ceylon Branch, a very useful list of all the words found in the "Historical Relation," as well as those found in a manuscript list, drawn up by Knox, and still in the British Museum (Sloane, 1039). There are nearly 800 of these words, all current among the people in Ceylon about 1650. Among these words Knox gives *diyara* for 'water,' and Mr. Ferguson suspects this to be the real word then used, and since ousted by *watura* (the common word now) through the influence of the Dutch and English *water*. (See his note, p. 9.)

Now *watura* occurs in the title of the well-known book *Amāwatura* ('the water of life,' ambrosia, i.e. Nirvāṇa), a work certainly centuries older than the Dutch.

So far from *watura* being among the youngest words in Sinhalese, it is, I venture to think, one of the oldest, for we have to go back beyond Sanskrit or Pāli to the Greek ὑδωρ (whydor) for an analogue. Compare ὑετος and our *wet*.

T. W. Rhys Davids.

5. The Kingdom of Kartṛpura.

Sir,—The Kingdom of Kartṛpura, referred to in Mr. Smith's very interesting article on the Conquests of Samudra Gupta, in the last number of the Society's Journal, was most probably that of the Katur, Katuria, or Katyur, rajas. These chiefs ruled in Kamāon, Garhwāl, and Rohilkand, from very early times. They appear to

have been an offshoot from the tribe, which, under the names of Kata or Taka, Kāthya or Thākya, with other variants, was once very powerful in the north and west of India.

Both Katas and Katurias were of Solar race: they both claimed descent from the Nāga demigod Bāsdeo, Bāska Nāg, or Vāsuki; and both had for their tribal emblem the Nāga or hooded serpent. At Badariwār, in the Panjāb Himālaya, are temples to Bāsdeo, the deified ancestor of the Katas or Takas; and near the holy Badarināth is an ancient temple to Bāsdeo, the ancestor of the Katuria rājas.

One of the Katurias is said to have been a powerful supporter of Sankara Achārya, who, with the aid of this chief, founded the present Badarināth temple, and brought the priests from the Dakhan.

All ancient remains in Kamāon and Garhwāl are ascribed by the people to the Katuria rāj.

Two large villages near Almora are called Katyār and Katārmal.—Yours obediently,

CHAS. F. OLDHAM.

Great Bealings, Woodbridge.
November 23, 1897.

To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

6. WHO FOUND BUDDHA'S BIRTHPLACE?

Audi alteram partem.

To Professor T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, Ph.D., LL.D.,
Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London.

DEAR SIR,—As long as Dr. Waddell ventilated his grievances in the Indian and English newspapers, I did not think it worth while to take any serious notice of them; but since he has chosen your esteemed Journal as a medium, I owe it to the honour of the Department to which I belong to reply to his egoistical statements made in your Number for July, 1897, pages 644-651.

1. I flatly deny that I ever received any communication, either direct or through the usual Government channel, from Dr. Waddell concerning the Nigliva pillar inscription.

2. On the 12th May, 1896, I requested the Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh to obtain the sanction of the Nepalese Darbar, through the Government of India in the Foreign Department, to an exploration being made of the vast ruins near Nigliva as far as Bhagwanpur (Rummindei).

3. On the 29th August, 1896, the Government of India in the Foreign Department, in its letter No. 1,500 E.B., informed the Resident of Nepal, "it has been decided that, if the Nepalese Darbar grant the necessary permission, Dr. A. Führer, Archaeological Surveyor, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, will be deputed to conduct the explorations."

4. Dr. Waddell says in his letter (page 647 of your Journal): "The Lumbini Grove (the actual birthplace) will be found *three or four miles to the north of the village of Nigliva*"; whilst I found the Lumbini, the modern Rummindei, just thirteen miles east-east-south of Nigliva, and fully eighteen miles east-east-south of the southern gate of Kapilavastu. I leave it to others to decide whether I found the Lumbini Grove and Kapilavastu "at the very spots pointed out by Dr. Waddell."

5. I would refer all those interested in the controversy to my forthcoming "Monograph on Buddha Śâkyamuni's Birthplace in the Nepalese Tarai," illustrated by two maps of the ruins of Kapilavastu and the Lumbini Grove, which will shortly be issued as No. xxvi of the New Imperial Series of the Archaeological Survey Reports.

6. It would have redounded to the credit of Dr. Waddell if he had also referred to my letter published in the *Athenæum* in the beginning of April, 1896, which explains the accidental omission of the reference complained of in the *Athenæum* of September 28, 1895.

On this subject I would like to subjoin copy of G. O. No. 2,805 W. A., dated Naini Tal, the 6th April, 1896, from

the Secretary to Government, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Public Works Department, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Revenue and Agriculture (Archaeology and Epigraphy):—

"Sir,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of Government of India letter, No. 3532/32–11, dated the 31st December, 1895, relative to the complaint by Mr. Stanley Lane Poole of the incorporation, without acknowledgment, in the Report of the Moghal Architecture of Fatehpur Sikri, of certain matter taken from the Introduction to his 'Catalogue of the Moghul Coins in the British Museum.' (2) With reference thereto, I am to state that Dr. Führer did not intentionally commit the plagiarism complained of, as in supplying Mr. Smith with the introduction printed on pages xv to xix of Part I of the Report in question, it was distinctly stated in a footnote that the short introductory chapter on Akbar's life and character was based in the main points on Dr. Stanley Lane Poole's Introduction to his 'Catalogue of the Coins of the Moghul Emperors in the British Museum,' pages i and xi to xvii. The original manuscript has been submitted for the Lieutenant-Governor's inspection and contains the note. But in preparing the matter for the press, the explanatory note was omitted by Dr. Führer's copyist. The omission was unfortunately not observed by Dr. Führer himself in passing the final proofs. An extract from that officer's letter[1] on the subject is enclosed for the information of the Government of India."

* * * * *

Yours faithfully,

Lucknow Museum. A. FÜHRER, Ph.D.

September 14, 1897.

NOTE TO ABOVE LETTER.

In Dr. Führer's above attempted reply to my letter, he adduces as his proofs merely one fragmentary extract (in his para. 3) from an official letter. This official letter, however, as is evident from its fuller form (given by himself in a letter, under the same heading, to the *Pioneer* of

[1] No. $\frac{\text{A.S.}}{49}$, dated 14th March, 1896.

October 29, 1897, of which I send a copy for record), *expressly refers to quite a different subject altogether*, namely, the excavation of a tomb by the side of the edict-pillar at Nigliva. Nothing is mentioned in that correspondence whatever about the subject of Buddha's birthplace, as this, indeed, was my research, and that long-lost site lay several miles distant from the site of the proposed excavation of the tomb referred to in Dr. Führer's letters.

In reply to his bald para. 1—It will be noted that in the fuller version of his letter, in "categorically denying" receipt of my letter of August, 1893, he says "*in* 1893, *at which date this* (*Nigliva*) *pillar was not even known.*" Yet the notice of this discovery went the rounds of the newspapers in the Spring of 1893, and in Dr. Führer's own printed report for that year (Annual Rept. of the Arch. Surveyor, N.W. Provs., for 1893–4) he himself records it in para. 22 in the following words: "The new Asoka edicts, which were *discovered in March*, 1893, by Major Jaskaran Singh, of Balrampur." But perhaps Dr. Führer will "categorically deny" that he ever wrote this report, which he has now so completely forgotten. Thus, also, has he doubtless forgotten my two letters; for it is too great an improbability to believe that both these letters never reached him.

As to the quibble in para. 4, it must be remembered that the precise geographical position of the birthplace has not yet been fixed. As Dr. Führer has visited the spot, he might have given us a more intelligible direction than "east-east-south," whatever that may mean. It appears to lie some miles to the east of Nigliva, but we must await a competent survey to fix it. The important indications which I offered, when I started this research, were, that the spot lay certainly within a few miles of this Nigliva pillar, and that search ought to be made for it there, especially in the directions given by the ancient pilgrims—namely, according to the Chinese version, about "30 *li* to the S.W. and thence 50 *li* to the N.," and according to the Tibetan, "one morning and half a day's journey" to

"the north-*east*," as detailed in my original paper. Everybody knows that the Oriental estimate of distance and direction is only approximate at the best. But my central fact remained, that the long looked-for spot lay certainly within a few miles of the Nigliva pillar, somewhat in keeping with the pilgrims' indications, and had only to be searched for to be found.

In his last remaining paragraph, 6 (para. 2 carefully abstains from quotation, though even that letter makes no reference to Buddha's birthplace), he refers to his explanation of the Lane-Poole incident. I had not seen this explanation; but he still "owes it to the honour of the Department to which he belongs" to explain the much graver charges of a similar kind made in the *Pioneer* of September 22 in regard to his "Monograph" on Christian Tombs in the North-Western Provinces.

It is somewhat amusing, after all that Dr. Führer has claimed in regard to this discovery, to find that not only did he *not* initiate that research, but he had nothing to do with the local discovery of the spot, not even with the unearthing of the famous edict-pillar there, which fixed the spot beyond all doubt. This digging was done by the Nepalese officials *in response to my letter* to the Government of India; and we learn from the authoritative account by Mr. V. Smith (Journal, p. 618) that Dr. Führer did not arrive on the scene until some time after the extensive excavations had been completed, and when little else was left to be done than to take a copy of the inscriptions.

Thus, the fact of my having initiated and formulated the research in question, which led to a discovery which has been declared by the Oriental Congress to be "one of the most important Indian archaeological discoveries of the century," remains wholly untouched, and is sufficiently vouched for by the official documents which I have already published in this Journal.

December 19, 1897. L. A. WADDELL.

[The Council have decided that this discussion must now close.]

7. History of Pegu.

Dear Sir, — I herewith send you an extract from a letter I have received from Captain Gerini, at Bangkok, regarding the ancient history of Pegu. When preparing my paper on Takkola, which was read before the Oriental Congress at Paris, I wrote to Burma for information. The Chief Secretary, Mr. Symes, kindly forwarded my letter to the Commissioner of Tenasserim, who, again, forwarded it to a missionary connected with the Talaings (Môñs). That good gentleman merely referred me to the works of Phayre, Forbes, and others standing on my bookshelves, so my labour was in vain. I was, however, informed that Captain Gerini had made some discoveries, and accordingly wrote to him.

Owing to the great emigration of the Môñs to Siam, when fleeing from the sword of Alompra, most of their histories and works were taken there; but, although this is the case, there is still work to be done in Burma. Ancient manuscripts may yet be discovered, old cities overhauled and dug into, and their original names discovered by inquiring into the various Môñ dialects. There can be little doubt that in the earliest years of the Christian era the Môñ family extended as far north as the mouths of the Ganges and Brahmaputra, and that the modern Sandoway (Sada?) was one of their trading stations. Somewhere about A.D. 300, people from the east coast of the Bay of Bengal founded colonies on the coasts of the Gulf of Martaban, of which the principal appears to have been Thatôñ, or Saddhammanagara. There was also a city on the Irrawaddy, called Brôm (Prome) or Srikhetra, inhabited by a tribe called Pru, who were probably of the Môñ family. In 1050 A.D. Anuruddha the Mramma (Burman) king of Pugan, is said to have swept down on Thatôñ, and carried away its king and a copy of the Tipiṭakam. After that there was an anarchy, till a Shan (?) of the name of Wareru established a monarchy at Martaban (Muttama) in 1287 A.D., and history thenceforward begins

to get clearer. It is, however, to the time previous to this to which attention should be turned in order to solve the questions—

1. When, whence, and by whom was Buddhism introduced into Pegu?
2. Was there ever, prior to 1287 A.D., an important kingdom in South Burma, or were there only a few independent semi-Indian colonies?

French, German, and Italian workers are undoubtedly making their researches; but the Government and Civil Servants of Burma appear to be doing nothing, and are content with the works of Phayre, Mason, Forchhammer, and Forbes, which, though highly important and praiseworthy, are imperfect and out of date.

[Extract from Letter from Captain GERINI. Bangkok, October 21, 1897.]

". . . . It gives me great pleasure to hear also that five of Gavampati's books are still to be obtained in Burma, two only being lost. All I succeeded in obtaining here are the first three books, and I have little hope of finding the others, though I know the whole work was translated into Siamese some forty or fifty years ago. It would be a good thing if you could induce some scholar in Burma, acquainted with the Talaing language, to prepare and publish a translation of the books existing there. . . . . I do not ascribe much historical importance to the work, though no doubt it gives many useful scraps of information not to be found elsewhere. But there is a much more important work, of a purely historical character, dealing with events in Pegu, from the accession of King Wareru [A.D. 1287, St. J.] to the reign of P'hrā: Rām (Binyā Ran of Phayre) [A.D. 1526, St. J.]. It consists of twenty-four large books, of which twenty only are preserved. . . . . The missing four books at the end contained, I think, the

narrative from the reign of P'hrā: Rām to the Burmese conquest in A.D. 1603. I have translated nearly all the first twenty books, and am waiting for some fortunate coincidence that will lead me to the discovery of the remaining four. These are, I believe, the Royal Peguan Annals, which have evidently been lost in Pegu, as I do not see them mentioned in any book on that country. Besides the work just named, we have in Siam an abridged history of Pegu from the foundation of Hamsawati (Pegu) to the British conquest of Lower Burma. This must be the work compiled by the Talaing monk Hsayā-dau Athwā, of which Phayre (Preface, "History of Burma," etc., p. vii) says he obtained only a fragment translated into Burmese.[1] I failed, however, to discover as yet any connected narrative of events in Pegu for the famous blank period A.D. 781–1085, though I was able to gather a few facts regarding it from the contemporary chronicles of Lamp'hūñ (Labong) and other Lāu or Siamese states. . . . . Researches ought, therefore, to be made for the more ancient period preceding the twelfth century. It is indeed a pity that archaeological studies are not encouraged and supported by the British Government in Burma, and that the Talaing language is allowed to sink down into nonentity. Some effort should be made to induce the Government to give more attention to this subject, and to establish a Talaing school, say, in Moulmain, where a library should be formed containing copies of all Talaing works that it will be possible to discover in the monasteries. I think there are many of such works extant; but they are only to be found in the Moulmain and Yay districts, where Burmese domination has not been long. The Mōñ literature was much more extensive than the Burmese: in Siam we have translations of Mōñ treatises on Astronomy, Astrology, Medicine, etc., now in use, while the Siamese Laws were framed on those

[1] Hamsawati is said to have been founded in A.D. 573, but, as it is not mentioned at the time when Anuruddha sacked Thatôñ, the inference is that it did not then exist, or had fallen into decay. Sir A. Phayre does not give the date of the monk Athwā or the periods about which he wrote.—ST. A. ST. J.

extant in Pegu before as well as after the time of King Wareru. . . . ."[1]

R. F. ST. ANDREW ST. JOHN.

Wadham College, Oxford.
December 7, 1897.

To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

8. A MUHAMMEDAN ENCYCLOPAEDIA.

DEAR PROFESSOR RHYS DAVIDS,—At the last Congress of Orientalists held in Paris a motion was adopted for the third time regarding the necessity of publishing a Muhammedan Encyclopaedia. The firm of E. J. Brill, at Leyden, has now in preparation a work destined to serve as a basis for all future contributions. Beyond this, however, the scheme has not advanced since a resolution was passed at the Congress in 1892, when a suggestion was made to place Professor Robertson Smith at the head of an International Committee for the furtherance of this object. At the Geneva Congress Professor Goldziher was elected to fill the vacancy left by the demise of Professor Robertson Smith, and in 1897 a resolution was adopted by which it was decided to approach the various governments and learned societies for material support. To wait for State grants would delay the work indefinitely, and much time may thus be wasted and many more resolutions passed without furthering the publication of the Encyclopaedia.

As one greatly interested in the matter, I would venture to submit whether it would not be more to the purpose to secure a publisher who would undertake the work on his own responsibility, say on the lines of Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities." This work has paid its way so well that a *third* edition has already been published, and it has proved a success in every sense of the word. I am sure that if the Muhammedan Encyclopaedia were compiled in a similar manner, a sale of 500–600 copies

[1] Mason gives a translation of a Talaing book called Mūlamūli, said to have been translated from the Shan of Lamp'hūñ in A.D. 1788.—ST. A. ST. J.

could easily be predicted. Such a publication would undoubtedly receive substantial support from all the societies interested in the subject. The direction of affairs could not be undertaken by anyone more competent than Professor Goldziher, assisted as he would be by a number of eminent scholars, and it would be a source of great regret for all concerned were he to relinquish this task, as he seems to desire.—Yours faithfully,

H. HIRSCHFELD.

November 22, 1897.

9. PERSECUTION OF BUDDHISTS.

SIR,—At the late Congress of Orientalists in Paris there arose, in the Indian Section, a discussion relative to the alleged persecution of the votaries of Buddhism by the Brahmans, and by sovereigns professing, or converted to, the religion of Śiva. This was followed by a paper read by Professor Rhys Davids at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society. In the course of his remarks Professor Rhys Davids alluded to a supposed persecution by a king called Sudhanvan, which was brought about at the instigation of Kumârilabhaṭṭa in the first half of the eighth century A.D. It is described in the first canto of the *Śaṅkara Dig Vijaya*, ascribed to Mâdhava, and in the *Śaṅkara Vijaya*, ascribed to Ânandagiri.

I do not intend to discuss the question of persecution in this brief note, but merely to touch on the question of the identity of Sudhanvan. This king is styled a monarch of South India. The name does not appear in any of the known lists of South Indian kings. Was there really a king of that name about that time, and who was he?

Sanskrit writers are constantly in the habit of Sanskritizing Dravidian names, just as in England we anglicize the names of North American Indian celebrities, calling them "Deer-foot," "Burning Cloud," and so on. Knowing this practice to exist, and being anxious to ascertain whether any tradition existed in South India as to the existence of

a king bearing a name corresponding to "Strong bow," or "Good bow," I wrote to Dr. G. U. Pope, of Oxford, with the following result.

He points out that, amongst the seven celebrated generous chieftains of the old Tamil Lyrics, was one known as Val-vil-ôri, or Âthan-ôri. These Lyrics, according to Dr. Pope, date generally from the fourth to the eighth century A.D., and therefore embrace the period of Kumârilabhaṭṭa. It is just possible, therefore, that Val-vil-ôri and Sudhanvan may be identical, though we have no evidence to support the theory.

The king was, according to the poems, a mighty hunter. His chief residence was a hill called Kolli, on the Malabar coast, a place from which the Chera kings take one of their titles. And in this connection it may be noted that the *Kerala Utpatti* states that the Buddhists were driven out of Kerala by Kumârilabhaṭṭa; so that the locality in question tallies with both legends. Amongst the old Tamil poems quoted by Dr. Pope there are three in his praise (Nos. 152, 153, 204). He is also mentioned in the *Paṭṭu-pâṭṭu* as having fought with another king called Kâri, and in poem No. 158 he is named as "Lord of the gleaming hill of Kolli." His especial bard was Van-paraṇar. Dr. Pope has kindly given me translations of poems 152 and 204, but as they are merely outbursts of praise and gratitude, I refrain from quoting them.

R. SEWELL.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(October, November, December, 1897.)

I. General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society.

November 9, 1897.—E. L. Brandreth, Esq. (Hon. Treasurer), in the Chair.

It was announced that—

1. Mr. Maurice Canney,
2. Mr. Richard Eve,
3. Dr. J. N. Reuter,
4. His Excellency Felice Naissa,
5. Mr. Rhuvon Guest,
6. Mr. Atul Chandra Chatterjee,
7. Mr. Robert Bryson Dickson,
8. Mr. Gray Hill,
9. Mr. H. W. Cave,
10. Mr. G. P. Tate,

had been elected members of the Society.

The Hon. Mrs. Hope exhibited some specimens of Buddhist carving from the Malakhand Valley. Professor Bendall, Mr. Sewell, Professor Rhys Davids, and Hofrath Dr. Bühler spoke on the subject; and a cordial vote of thanks was passed to Mrs. Hope.

Mr. Beveridge gave an account of some new evidence he had obtained as to the history of Baber's Diamond, no doubt the same as the Kohinoor. The complete paper on the subject is to appear in the *Calcutta Review*.

Professor Rhys Davids read an abstract of a paper on "Persecution of Buddhists in India." On a detailed

examination of the evidence he considered that except in one doubtful case there never had been any such persecution. A discussion ensued, in which Hofrath Dr. Bühler, Mr. Sewell, and Mr. Romesh C. Dutt took part. The paper will appear in the Journal of the Pāli Text Society.

December 14, 1897.—Lord Reay (President) in the Chair.

It was announced that—

1. Mrs. Brian Hodgson,
2. Rev. A. W. Oxford,
3. Mr. H. W. Hogg,
4. Mr. S. L. Bensusan,

had been elected members of the Society.

Professor Salmoné then read a paper "On the Importance to Great Britain of the establishment of an Oriental School in London."

My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The subject of the necessity of encouraging the study of Oriental languages in England has frequently been advocated by eminent statesmen and learned scholars. The first, I believe, who brought the matter before the notice of the Government was the Marquis Wellesley at the beginning of this century. He pointed out the desirability of Indian Civil servants having an intimate acquaintance with the languages, history, religion, and character of the peoples of India. Since that time a great number of distinguished men have confirmed his views. But, probably, no one has laboured more in bringing the matter before public notice than Professor Max Müller, of Oxford. Forty years ago he wrote to the *Times* newspaper suggesting that the neglect of the knowledge of Oriental languages on the part of the servants of the State might have been one of the causes which brought about the lamentable Indian Mutiny.

"Truths," according to an Arabic adage, "are frequently unpalatable—none the less, they cannot be obliterated from the mind of the wise."

It is an undeniable fact that heretofore all efforts to foster and cultivate the study of Oriental languages in this country have not borne practical results.

There has undoubtedly been a partial awakening. Our two great Universities afford to desireful students the means of studying some of the languages of the East. The Imperial Institute, moreover, has certainly made a step in the right direction by taking measures for helping to bring before public notice the great need of the establishment of an Oriental College in London.

Much more, however, is wanted!

Here, in the Metropolis of this great Empire—an Empire that includes over three hundred millions of Eastern subjects—no adequate provision for the study of the various languages spoken by the divers races is made, no encouragement afforded for undertaking such studies. It is true that University College and King's College both possess an excellent staff of unpaid Professors of and Lecturers on some of the languages of the East. On the other hand, this by no means meets the requirements of the case. What is most essentially needful for the cultivation and encouragement of these studies is the foundation of scholarships for students intended for the Military, Naval, and Civil Services. Moreover, lectures on the religions, history, character, and customs of the various Eastern races, subjects of the Queen, should be given once a week, at least, in this great City of London, in order to inure the youth of England with a knowledge of the greatness of the Empire founded by their ancestors. At the same time, it can hardly be expected that these Professors or Lecturers should devote their energy and time, badly requited as they are, merely *pour l'amour de la Patrie*.

A fully equipped and adequately endowed College for London is the absolute need to which I desire to direct attention.

It is for this purpose that I venture to bring forward the resolution which I propose to move before the members of the Royal Asiatic Society and those others who are

interested in the movement. I do so more especially, having regard to the interest that this Society takes in the development of Oriental research and the expansion of the knowledge of Oriental literature in Great Britain. And, I consider that this Society should take the initiative in bringing about the establishment in London of an efficient School for the study of the living languages of the East—as well as Oriental literature in general—by nominating a Committee for the purpose of considering the best means of effectually carrying out the project.

Apart from its direct importance, I trust that you will agree with me that the initiative step for the establishment of such a School would be a truly appropriate one to take before the close of this glorious year of a remarkable reign. It must be generally admitted that no brighter day dawned, no happier or more auspicious occasion has taken place in the past annals of Great Britain, than that on which Her Majesty celebrated the sixtieth year of her reign. And here is the point—the Queen rules not only over a handful of thousands of English subjects, but over an Empire in the East exceeding in number any known to history.

In a recent publication, called "The Imperial Souvenir," a verse of the National Anthem has been rendered into fifty languages spoken in the Queen's Empire. Most of these are Eastern; but they by no means exhaust the number of languages and dialects spoken by the different subject races of the Queen.

During this year innumerable schemes have been brought forward, more or less successfully, but I trust you will agree with me that none can be of more paramount importance than the establishment of a fully efficient college for Oriental studies in London. And yet, I have been informed by doleful pessimists that the case is hopeless; difficulties will be thrown in the way, obstacles raised and oppositions made—mainly on the ground that the public in general takes no interest in outside matters not directly connected with their own affairs at home. Further, that people in England are extremely apathetic and supine to

everything connected with Eastern subjects. I fear that there is much truth in this indictment. On the other hand, of latter years, in a great measure, the public have become to realize, which is doubtless owing to the remarkable development of the British press, that these Isles form but small dots upon the great map of the Empire of Great Britain.

Fourteen years ago I had the honour of reading before the members of this Society a paper connected with this subject. It had at the time considerable support and sympathy from members and many other influential men. I also brought the matter up at the Annual Meeting of the Society in 1887. Everyone agreed, and I know that to-day almost everyone agrees, with the absolute need of the existence of such an institution as I have referred to—a need which touches the vital interests of the Empire.

It seems to me, however, that while each individual admits the fact he shirks the responsibility of doing anything for the consummation of a desirable end. In truth, one may say that each one who has the matter at heart shifts it upon another's shoulder, and thus *ad lib.*, until—until the voice of the would-be advocates fades away from a trumpet-like sound into a whisper.

To borrow a common simile, if a score of people were to speak simultaneously in whispers the sound would almost equal a shrill voice in exclamation. Why not let these whispers of those who advocate the subject be now this year heard in higher tones? Why should not those who in truth believe in the advantages that would thereby accrue to the Empire not raise their voice in loud calling upon their fellow-subjects to support the project—which must be destined to enhance the welfare of their country? Why should not each man fight with might and main and in union—shoulder to shoulder, as soldiers at the hour of battle? No one has gainsaid as yet, and I earnestly hope never will, the success of British arms in the field. Surely, Englishmen will rise to the occasion at present, and

remember that arms alone are not the only weapons by which this Empire has been founded and maintained.

The late Sir Henry Rawlinson, in the discussion which followed the paper I read in 1883, made the following remark. While approving of the suggestions which I then brought forward, as regards Government support to Oriental studies in England, he said: "The Government is always a heavy machine to move, but that by continued efforts it would doubtless move in time." This is fourteen years ago, and since then science has developed remarkably, and I should imagine that the time has arrived whereby this "heavy machine" may be made to move more rapidly.

Almost every other great Power excepting Great Britain has taken precautions to provide an efficient Oriental School for the study of the languages spoken in the East, and this in the capital of the country—being as it were a centre from which efficient servants of the State are equipped for service in Eastern countries.

There are doubtless some who may contend that, despite the lack of the advantages afforded by a knowledge of Eastern tongues, the servants of the State, whether civil or military, have hitherto always been successful in carrying out their duties. On the other hand, it can hardly be denied that the possession of such advantages would have been of extreme benefit in innumerable cases, and might possibly have helped to avoid several disasters, and, so to speak, lubricate much of that friction which necessarily must arise from misunderstanding and national sentiment.

Other nations, far less interested in the East, have been much more provident in this respect. Notably among these I may mention Russia, who has given considerable encouragement and support to the study of Oriental languages, and maintains at the cost of the Central Government a constant succession of pupils intended for the Civil, Military, and Naval Services, who receive regular instruction under competent masters in the living languages of the East. After keeping so many terms at the College, they are sent out to the several countries in which they

are destined to be employed, in order to study the vernacular dialects of each district. By this means the Russian Government has always at hand a large number of young men adequately prepared to undertake any duties which they may be called upon to perform in the East.

The Propaganda at Rome likewise maintains a succession of pupils in the Eastern languages. In Berlin there is a remarkably efficient seminary of Oriental languages. The Austrian Government, moreover, has established and supports an Oriental College at Vienna. France probably was the first to recognize the necessity of encouraging Oriental studies, and has in Paris a most excellent "École pour les langues Orientales Vivantes."

These facts are doubtless known to you all; and, side by side with these, is the sad undoubted fact that England, whose interests in the East surpass those of any other nation, has made no provision in that respect. Surely, it would not be too much to say that it is an absolute national disgrace! And in saying this, I am only re-echoing the words of several eminent men with whom I have discussed the subject.

I beg leave to read the following letter, which I have received from Professor Max Müller, with regard to my proposed resolution :—

"7, *Norham Gardens, Oxford.*
December 8, 1897.

"Dear Professor Salmoné,—For nearly fifty years I have pleaded, in season and out of season, for a School of Oriental Languages in England. I need not repeat my arguments as they have been published again and again. What I predicted has happened: England's influence in the East has diminished—that of other countries has increased. In my eyes it is little short of High Treason to throw impediments in the way of a Seminary for Oriental Languages.—Yours sincerely,

"(Signed) F. Max Müller."

The Government expends every year millions of money in supporting the Naval and Military Services, and in

a measure this is supposed to be as a means of maintaining the general peace of the world. Surely, a small sum may be spared for the proper training of some of the servants of the State, who, by a better knowledge of the languages, the religion, the history, and the customs of the Eastern races, would be enabled the better to serve their country, and to prevent those causes of hostility which often arise and lead frequently to open revolt.

It would be idle to deny that lack of the knowledge to which I refer has frequently led to complications.

When travelling in the East some years ago, I frequently observed how pleased the natives were when a European conversed with them in their own language. And by such facilities as I have indicated British officials would of course have a far better chance of obtaining information and making a favourable impression.

I only desire to refer to one more point, and that is the commercial interests of this country in the East. As everyone knows, these are considerable and growing yearly in dimensions. At the same time, we have to bear in mind that we have more than one important rival. And these rivals are far-seeing and diplomatic. They are fully impressed with the undeniable truth that the natives of the East would be far more amenable to reason and accessible to enter into negotiations with men who can treat with them and speak in their own languages than with those unable to do so.

It is therefore an imperative necessity not to allow other nations to excel us in this most important matter.

I earnestly trust, in conclusion, that you will all support the resolution, and strenuously strive in every feasible manner to bring about what should have existed many years ago; and I hope that the Royal Asiatic Society may to-day lay the basis of a project which I am convinced is of supreme national importance, and by so doing add to the many achievements which have already been made, and which will add to the glory of this great Empire.

I now beg leave to move the following resolution:—

> "That the Royal Asiatic Society—having regard to the interest it takes in the development of Oriental research and the expansion of the knowledge of Asiatic literature in Great Britain—should take the initiative in bringing about the establishment of an efficient school for the study of Oriental languages in London, —to be named 'The Imperial Oriental College'—by appointing a Provisional Committee of five members (with power to add to their number) to consider the best means of carrying out the project."

The Chairman explained the views taken on the subject by the Council. He said that on frequent occasions the Council had shown its anxiety to remove what could only be called a terrible scandal from the glory of England. It was nothing less than a scandal that countries like France, Austria, Russia, and Italy should have Oriental Schools fully equipped and with admirable staffs of professors, and that England should have, not a lack of eminent Orientals, but only a lack of organization of education. That was largely due to the fact that we had taken to examining everybody and to casting all over the country syllabuses for examinations; that we only asked "Have you been examined?" but did not ask "Where have you been taught, and have you been taught systematically and methodically?" In all other countries the first step taken was to organize methodical teaching, and then to let examinations and examiners look to themselves. But while foreign States looked first of all to the organization of education we, in this country, did the reverse. That was not only applicable to Oriental studies, but the same thing applied to science and art. The moment that the question of reorganizing the London University arose, the Council of the Society joined the promoters of a teaching University for London, and insisted that in such a University there should be embodied a school of Oriental studies by a separate Faculty of Oriental studies, or a department of Oriental

studies as a branch of the organized Faculty of Arts. They adhered to the view that the proper place for Oriental studies in London was that it should be part of a reorganized teaching University. It would, he thought, be a great pity to have an institution outside such a University, for if such an institution were created it would give an excuse, which he was afraid would be only too readily accepted, to leave undone that which certainly a University in the principal city of the Empire ought to be proud of doing—that was, to fill up the gap which they had so long deplored. They had reason to believe from what had fallen lately from the President of the Council that a Bill for the appointment of a Statutory Commission would be reintroduced in the next Session of Parliament, and the Council were of opinion that they must give their support to the Government in introducing the Bill. When the Bill was introduced, which he hoped would be at an early period of the Session, the Council would urge before the Statutory Commission the importance of embodying in a separate statute the creation of a Faculty for such Oriental studies, or an Oriental school as a branch of the Faculty of Arts. They had strong ground for urging that before the Statutory Commission, because the Royal Commission presided over by Lord Cowper in its report urged that such a school should be instituted. They would be able to urge it before the Commissioners because the Bill, unless it deviated from the Bill which was introduced in the last Session, would contain words to the effect that the Statutory Commissioners would have to embody in the statutes the principles of the Cowper Commission, one of which was that Oriental studies should be properly taught in the new University. University College, with which he was connected, had of late been strengthening its staff of professors and lecturers.

Lord Stanmore moved an amendment to omit from the resolution all words after "London," and insert "and that the Council be requested to consider the best means of carrying out the project."

Sir Raymond West seconded the amendment, which, after

discussion, was accepted by Professor Salmoné. The motion, as amended, was then put to the meeting and unanimously agreed to.

On the motion of Professor Browne, seconded by Mr. Thomson Lyon, it was further resolved—"That in the opinion of the Royal Asiatic Society it is of importance for the encouragement of Oriental studies that more hope of employment should be held out, especially by the Government, to those students who show themselves proficient in Eastern languages, and that such encouragement, it is believed, will in itself be sufficient to secure a great development of Oriental learning."

Dr. Hirschfeld afterwards read a paper on "Some Legends of the Early Life of Muhammad." A discussion ensued in which Professor Margoliouth, of Oxford, Mr. Thomson Lyon, Dr. Gaster, Dr. Löwy, Professor E. G. Browne, and Mr. Barakat took part.

II. Contents of Foreign Oriental Journals.

I. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Band li, Heft 2.

Hartmann (Martin). Arabische Lieder aus Syrien.

Vambéry (H.). Eine legendäre Geschichte Timurs.

Justi (F.). Die altpersischen Monate.

Schwally (Fr.). Zur Theorie einiger Possessiv- und Objekt-Suffixe im Syrischen.

Goldziher (I.). Gesetzliche Bestimmungen über Kunja-Namen im Islam.

Oldenberg (H.). Zur Geschichte des indischen Kastenwesens.

Vollers (K.). Beiträge zur Kenntniss der lebenden arabischen Sprache in Ägypten.

Aufrecht (Th.). Berichtigungen zu Catalogus Catalogorum. Pt. 2.

König (E.). Das l-Jaqtul im Semitisischen.

Philippi (Fr.). Berichtigung.

Kuun (Dr. Graf Geza). Zur Deutung der Orkhon-Inschriften.

Heft 3.

Vollers (K.). Beiträge zur Kenntniss der lebenden arabischen Sprache in Ägypten.

Schulthess (Fr.). Der Brief des Mara bar Sarapion.

Bacher (W.). Ein persischer Kommentar zum Buche Samuel.

Suter (H.). Bemerkungen zu Herrn Steinschneiders Abhandlung "Die arabischen Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen."

Baumstark (A.). Epaphroditos und Hyginus.

Kaufmann (D.). Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens aus judischen Quellen.

Oestrup (Dr. J.). Über zwei arabische Codices sinaitici.

Goldziher (I.). Ein arabischer Vers im Chazari-Buche.

Oldenberg (H.). Savitar.

Wrislocki (H. v.). Das sogenannte Pharaonslied der Zigeuner.

Margoliouth (G.). An ancient MS. of the Samaritan Liturgy.

Huart (Cl.). Aus einem Briefe von M. Cl. Huart in Konstantinopel.

Weissbach (F. H.). Zur Chronologie des falschen Smerdis und des Darius Hystaspes.

Rosthorn (A.). Vokabular fragmente ost-tibetischer Dialekte.

Nallino (C. A.). Zu Vollers' Beiträge zur Kenntniss der arabischen Sprache in Ägypten.

II. Vienna Oriental Journal. Vol. xi, No. 2.

Hirth (Fr.). Noch einmal die Theekanne des Freiherrn v. Gautsch.

Kirste (J.). Sechs Zendalphabete.

Lippert (J.). Ibn-al-Kûfî, ein Vorgangers Nadîm's.

Neumann (E. K.). Piyadasi's Edikte und das Suttapiṭakam.

Goldziher (I.). Zur Ḥamâsa des Buḥturî.

Jolly (J.). Caraka.

Schuchardt (H. v.). Karthwelische Sprachwissenschaft.

No. 3.

De Harlez (C.). Le livre de diamant clair, lumineux faisant passer à l'autre vie. Texte mandchou.

Goldziher (I.). Bibliographie arabischer Druckwerke.

Von. Zach (Erwin Ritter). Ueber Wortzusammensetzungen im Mandschu.

Müller (Fr.). Beiträge zur Erklärung der altpersischen Keilinschriften.

Steinschneider (M.). Heilmittelnamen der Araber.

III. Journal Asiatique. Série 9, Tome x, No. 2.

De Vogüé (M. le marquis). Notes d'épigraphie araméenne.

Courant (M.). De la lecture japonaise des textes contenant uniquement ou principalement des caractères ideographiques.

Meillet (A.). De la partie commune des pādas de 11 et de 12 syllabes dans le mandala 111 du Ṛgveda.

Cheikho (R. P. Louis). Lettre au sujet de l'auteur de la version arabe du Diatessaron.

Chabot (J. B.). Notes d'épigraphie et d'archéologie orientale.

Delphin (G.). La philosophie du cheikh Senoussi d'après son Aqida es So'ra.

III. Obituary Notice.

The Rev. J. Legge, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Chinese Language and Literature, Oxford.

Professor Legge was born in 1815 at Huntly, in Aberdeenshire. He was educated at his native place, and afterwards at the Aberdeen Grammar School. From this he went to the University of Aberdeen, where he graduated M.A. in 1835, and from it he proceeded to London to the Highbury Theological College. In 1839 he went out to the East as a missionary to the Chinese, and was first stationed at Malacca. Soon after this Hongkong became

a British possession, and in 1842 Legge was transferred to that colony. Here he continued to reside down to 1873, when he left the East and came to live in England. During the thirty years Legge was in Hongkong he led a busy life as a missionary of the London Missionary Society, as a minister of the Union Church, a helper in good works generally, and a diligent student of the Chinese classics. In 1876 he became Professor of Chinese at Oxford, the Chair having been instituted for him. This very congenial appointment he continued to hold up to the day of his death, November 29.

Dr. Legge, while in the Far East, took a great interest in all matters which affected Chinese, or the relations between them and the English. He was highly esteemed by the Government of Hongkong, and his advice and opinion on educational and other public questions were often solicited.

In the great controversy among Protestant missionaries in China over the Term question, Dr. Legge was the thoroughgoing, uncompromising advocate of Shang Ti. His "Notions of the Chinese concerning Gods and Spirits" is a controversial work of great learning and ability. In 1877 he sent out to Shanghai his pamphlet "Confucianism in relation to Christianity," in which the claims of Shang Ti are stated with renewed emphasis. This pamphlet, which was read at a great Missionary Conference, called forth considerable remonstrance.

In 1880 Dr. Legge published a very useful and interesting little book entitled "The Religions of China, Confucianism and Taoism, described and compared with Christianity." The book was of a popular character, being a series of lectures delivered to a Presbyterian congregation in London.

Dr. Legge's fame, however, is imperishably associated with his labours on the Chinese classics. The careful translation and elucidation of these constituted a self-imposed life-long task to which he devoted all his leisure time. The first volume, containing "The Analects, the Great Learning, and the Doctrine of the Mean," appeared in 1861. This

was followed by a translation of Mencius; and then in due succession appeared the Shu, the Shi, and the Ch'ün-ch'iu, all accompanied by the original text, critical notes, and learned Prolegomena. These volumes have proved of great service to students, and they have been highly appreciated by Chinese scholars in all countries. The Yi (Book of Changes) and the Li Chi (Book of Rites) were unfortunately not published in Hongkong: they appear among the "Sacred Books of the East," and have neither the Chinese text nor the critical notes. To the S.B.E. also Dr. Legge contributed a new edition of his translation of the Shu and of a part of the Shi, and also a translation of the classic of Filial Piety. In this series appear also Dr. Legge's translations of the "Tao-tê-ching" and other Taoist classics, forming S.B.E., vols. xxxix and xl.

In 1886 he went further afield in "heresy" and published a translation of Fa-hsien's "Fo-kuo-chi." In 1888 he brought out the text and a translation of the famous Nestorian inscription. But in 1895 he went back to Confucian orthodoxy, and contributed to the Journal of the Society an account of the classical Chinese poem "Li-sao" and its immortal author.

T. W.

IV. Notes and News.

Monier-Williams's Sanskrit Dictionary.—Sir Monier Monier-Williams writes during this month as follows:—"I am thankful to say that I am now within measurable "distance of the end of the new edition of the Sanskrit "Dictionary, of which only about one hundred pages remain "to dispose of. The work involves incessant labour, as my "assistants live in Germany—Cappeller of Jena, Blau of "Berlin; and Kielhorn of Göttingen gives occasional help. "I am labouring to produce a Dictionary for English "Sanskritists in one compact volume with more words than "even the great St. Petersburg Dictionary, and fully up to

"date. It will contain fully 50,000 words more than my "first edition." Sir Monier has been fifty-two years Member of the Royal Asiatic Society. R. N. C.

October, 1897.

NINTH CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS.—A few copies of the Transactions are left, and are now offered to Public Libraries at half-price, £1 the two volumes. Apply at the Royal Asiatic Society's Rooms, 22, Albemarle Street, W.

THE Rev. T. Witton Davies, Principal of the Baptist Midland College, and Lecturer in Arabic at University College, Nottingham, has received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the Leipzig University.

THŪPA VAṂSA.—This important old chronicle, which gives an account of the Buddhist stūpas both in India and Ceylon, exists in two recensions, one Pāli, the other Sinhalese. Both of these have now been edited by scholars in Ceylon. The Pāli text, edited by Wœligama Dharmaratna, is just out. The editor assigns it to Vācissara, which is unexpected news. Hitherto the author was unknown; the Gandha Vaṃsa (p. 70) simply says it was written by a great teacher.

THE Mission Conference of Saxony offers a prize of £50 for a scientific treatise on the following subject: "Exposition of the religious and philosophic aspect of India according to the Vedas, Upanishads, and the Brahmanic (especially the Vedantic) Philosophy, and a critical examination of the same from the Christian standpoint." Papers will be received up to June 30, 1899. Full particulars can be obtained from Dr. Kleinpaul, Brockwitz bei Coswig, Saxony.

THE ST. PETERSBURG SERIES OF BUDDHIST TEXTS.

The following is a list read by me at the Paris Congress, by desire of Professor S. F. d'Oldenburg, of the series called *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, at present in course of publication at St. Petersburg by the Imperial Academy of Sciences, to which science is already indebted for the monumental

Sanskrit lexicon of Böhtlingk-Roth. The series has been projected by Professor d'Oldenburg, and is under his general direction. It is to contain texts (and certain original documents illustrative of texts) in the languages of Buddhism not already dealt with by the Pāli Text Society.

A. Sanskrit Texts.

(1) *In progress.*

Śikṣāsamuccaya of Śāntideva. (Fasc. 1 has appeared.) Editor, Professor C. Bendall.

Rāṣṭrapāla-paripṛcchā (in the press). M. Finot.

(2) *Works in preparation.*

Daśabhūmīśvara. M. de Blonay.

Abhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā. (With text deciphered from Chinese sources.) Professor S. Lévi.

Suvarṇaprabhāsa. M. Finot.

(3) *Works agreed to.*

Samādhi-rāja. M. Foucher.

Mañjuśrī-parājikā. Dr. D. N. Kudriavski.

Sārdhadvisahasrikā Prājñāpāramitā. Mr. Neil.

Gaṇḍavyūha. Professor S. d'Oldenburg.

Nāmasaṃgīti-ṭīkā. Dr. Th. Schterbatzky.

Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka. Miss Ridding.

Madhyamakavṛtti. M. de la Vallée Poussin.

Laṅkāvatāra. Mr. Rapson.

Avadāna-Śataka. Professor Speyer.

Sugatāvadāna. M. Boyer.

(4) *Names of Editors who have promised works at present unassigned.*

Professor Kern (Leiden), Professor Pischel (Halle), Dr. S. Konow (Christiania), and Mr. W. H. D. Rouse.

An edition of the Tathāgataguhyaka is also projected.

B. WORKS ILLUSTRATIVE OF TEXTS.

Index to Mahāvyutpatti.

The late Prof. Minaev, revised by Prof. d'Oldenburg (nearly ready).

Index to Tanjur. *Sanskrit and Tibetan.*

Professors d'Oldenburg and Ivanovski.

C. BENDALL.

SHAPE OF INDIAN LETTERS.

Buddhaghosa, at the end of the Papañca Sūdanī, has preserved a curious old tradition of a letter written by Bimbisāra, king of Magadha, in the Buddha's time, to Pukkusāti, the then king of Takkasilā. The words were written by Bimbisāra himself on a gold leaf with red lac, and it is said of the writing:

> Manāpāni vata akkharāni samasīsāni samapantīni caturassānīti;

that is, that the letters were pleasant to look at, even at the top, written in regular lines, and square in shape.

We should have been glad to have had a more detailed description, but the passage is worth noticing as giving the views of the scholars at the Mahā Wihāra in Anurādhapura, in the early years of the fifth century A.D., as to the letters so often referred to in the Pitakas as having been used by the contemporaries of the Buddha. The context may be seen at pp. 73–80 of Alwis's "Pāli Grammar."

RH. D.

NOTES ON INDIAN LITERATURE.

(*Continued from Volume for* 1896, *pp.* 215–217.)

Continuing my examination of the Sanskrit MSS. in the British Museum, I have come across several cases where historical information as to various sovereigns is given. These are accordingly arranged by localities or dynasties.

Several of the references in the subjoined notes were kindly supplied by my friends Hofrath Bühler and Miss Duff (Mrs. Rickmers). Fuller details will be given in the Catalogue, now in the press.

3. *Gujarat.*

The Dūtāṅgada[1] of Subhaṭa is a drama of which accounts have been given by H. H. Wilson ("Theatre" = Works, vol. xii. p. 390) and Aufrecht, Cat. Bodl., p. 139. Neither of these authorities, however, appear to have noticed that the names of sovereigns mentioned by the *sūtradhāra* occur in the history of Gujarat.

We are told (v. Aufrecht, l.c.) that the play was composed by order of the *pariṣad* (court) of the *mahārājādhirāja* Tribhuvanapāla deva *adya vasantamahotsave deva-śrī-Kumārapāleśvarasya yātrāyāṃ dolāparvaṇi.*

Dr. Bühler suggests that this passage must be interpreted on the model of such stanzas as Rājataraṅginī, vi. 173, where we read that King Kṣemagupta built a sanctuary to Gaurīśvara, called after himself, *Kṣemagaurīśvaram vyadhāt.* Accordingly, the present play was produced at a spring-festival at the swing-celebration[2] in honour of the image of Śiva set up by Kumārapāla. One of the celebrated acts of Kumārapāla was the restoration of the great Śaiva temple, with its image, at Devapattan or Somnath (A. K. Forbes, "Ras málá," ed. 1878, p. 147 sqq.).

The interest of the mention of Tribhuvanapāla[3] is, that we get a contemporary acknowledgment of the actual reign of Tribhuvanapāla, who is not often mentioned in the inscriptions, and, as Dr. Bühler observes, probably "maintained himself only for a short time, and was not

[1] The British Museum possesses (Add. 26,358 B) a copy of the verse portions of this play.

[2] Swing-celebrations (i.e. feasts at which images were put in swings) were held in the month Phālguna (February–March) in Eastern India in honour of *Vishnu* (Rāj. Mitra, "Notices," i. p. 235; vi. 209).

[3] Tribhuvanapāla was also the name of Kumārapāla's father, who, however, never reigned.

generally acknowledged as king" (*Ind. Ant.*, vi. p. 190). The production of the play will thus fall in or about V.S. 1299 (A.D. 1242–3).

Under the same Kumārapāla (A.D. 1143–1174) was composed the *Sāmudratilaka*, a work on divination by Durlabharāja, completed by his son Jagaddeva. A unique MS. of this work formerly in the possession of Professor Jacobi (Z.D.M.G., xxxiii. 697) has been recently purchased by the British Museum (Or. 5252). Jagaddeva (himself a writer on divination [1]) gives his genealogy as follows:—

Śrīmadyāhilla (? °dvā°) of the Prāgvāṭa caste, employed as a revenue officer (*vyavahāraṇa-padāmātya*) by King Bhīmadeva.
|
Rājapāla.
|
Narasiṃha.
|
Durlabharāja, patronized by King Kumārapāla.
|
Jagaddeva.

Durlabharāja also (says Jagaddeva) wrote works on elephants, horses, and birds. The present work, therefore, belongs to the middle of the twelfth century, while the interval of two generations is the same for the kings as for their protégés; in other words, Durlabharāja was the great-grandson of a man who had been patronized by Bhīmadeva [I], A.D. 1021–64, the great-grandfather of his own patron Kumārapāla.[2]

4. *Devagiri* (*Dekhan*).

The *Kalpataru*,[3] a commentary by *Amalānanda* on the *Bhāmatī* (itself a super-commentary on the Brahma-sūtras) was composed "while King Kṛishṇa, son of Jaitradeva, was ruling the earth, along with Mahādeva" (Cat. Sansk.

[1] Reff. in Aufrecht, Cat. Catt., i. 195, 749.
[2] See Dr. Bühler's Table at Ind. Ant., vi. p. 213.
[3] B.M. Or. 3,360 B is a fragment of this work.

MSS. in India Office, p. 722). An account of these kings is given in Professor Rāmakṛishṇa Bhāṇḍārkar's "Early History of the Dekkan" (2nd. ed., 1895), forming part of the *Bombay Gazetteer*: see pp. 112, 120, and 140. In the *praśasti* (ibid., p. 142), stanzas 8–10, though the two kings are mentioned together (in dual compounds), the joint-regency is not expressly mentioned, nor does it appear to be otherwise known. Mahādeva's separate reign commenced A.D. 1260.

5. *Rāypur* (*Central Provinces*).

The *Subhadrā-pariṇayana* (or °*haraṇa*) is a drama by Rāmadeva, of the Vyāsa caste. An account of its plot has been given by Professor S. Lévi (*Theâtre indien*, p. 242). The British Museum copy (Add. 26,359 B) dates from A.D. 1422, and accordingly belongs, as we shall see, to the same quarter of a century as the production of the piece itself. The king under whom the play was produced was Haribrahma,[1] of the Haihaya family, Kalacuri branch. He was reigning in A.D. 1402 and 1415.[2]

Another play by the same dramatist is the *Rāmābhyudaya* (Add. 26,443 A). Sylvain Lévi describes this, op. cit., p. 242, and Dr. Peterson has transcribed the historically important passage of the Introduction in his Ulwar Catalogue,[3] p. ৩২. The royal patron was the Maharāṇa[4] Meru, son of Rāmadeva. Haribrahma, just mentioned, was the son and successor of Rāmadeva (*Ep. Ind.*, ii. 230). Meru must accordingly be added to the list of Kings of Raypur, as the younger brother and successor of Haribrahma.

[1] Also called in this play, *metri gratia*, Haribhrama (twice) and Harivarman. Thus, with the forms given in Ep. Ind., ii. 230, there are no less than *six* names for one king.

[2] Ep. Ind., ii. 228; Ind. Ant., xix. 26.

[3] This is a most valuable work. But why does Dr. Peterson hide his light under a bushel? The book was published as long ago as 1892, and "for presentation rather than sale"; and yet I think it probable that unless I had lighted on its title a few months ago in the preface to *Catalogus Catalogorum*, pt. ii., and had called the attention of several library authorities to it, not one of the leading Oriental Libraries (much less private scholars) of London would now possess a copy.

[4] So our MS.

6. *Tirhut.*

The subjoined record is perhaps the most satisfactory of all, inasmuch as it brings confirmation to a little-explored and doubtful branch of history, and gives a line of kings drawn up by a writer contemporary with one of the latest of them, and doubtless having access to State documents. The work is the *Gaṅgākṛtyaviveka*, brought from Nepal by Dr. Gimlette,[1] and already referred to by me in this Journal (Oct. 1888, Vol. XX. p. 554). The author, Vardhamāna, wrote several works on religious and legal procedure; in one of these[2] he is called (in the colophon) *mahopādhyāya-dharmā-dhikārin* to the King of Videha (Tirhut).

Among the opening stanzas of the *Gaṅgākṛtyaviveka* occur these lines:—

Kāmeśo Mithilām aśāsad udabhūd asmād Bhaveśa[ḥ] sutaḥ |
saṃjajñe Harasiṃha-bhūpatir ito jāto Nṛsiṃho nṛpaḥ ||
tasmād Bhairavasiṃha-bhūpatir abhūt Śrī-Rāmabhadras tato |
dīpād dīpa ivābhavat sa iva samrājāṃ guṇair ūrjjitaḥ ||

The colophon tells us (J.R.A.S., supra cit.) that the book was composed under the patronage of King Rāmabhadra, who was the son of King Harinārāyaṇa.

If we now consult Mr. Grierson's Table appended to an article in *Ind. Ant.*, xiv. 196, we shall find a very fair agreement.

Kameśa (or °eśvara) was the first king; our author passes over the second king, who was the elder brother of the third, Bhaveśa (or °eśvara). His son and successor[3] was Hari- (or Hara-)siṃha, who was succeeded by his eldest son Narasiṃha, or Nṛsiṃha. This king had as successor the second son of his first wife, Bhairava-siṃha, *alias* Harinārāyaṇa (it will be observed that *both* names are authenticated by our MS.). King Rāmabhadra, for whom the work was

[1] Now Or. 3567 A in the Museum Collection.
[2] The Daṇḍaviveka, *apud* Rāj. Mitra, "Notices," No. 1,910.
[3] Possibly, however, not immediate successor. Harasiṃha's elder brother, Devasiṃha, may have reigned. (Ind. Ant., xiv. 187, note 20.)

composed, was the eldest son of the last. A native writer[1] gives the date of his accession as equivalent to A.D. 1520, but as our MS. was not only already composed but actually copied out in A.D. 1496,[2] this date must be rejected.

7. *Uncertain Sovereigns.*

I should be glad of any references showing the further identity of the following princes:—

(1) *Nṛya*, under whom Vācaspati Miśra wrote the Bhāmatī.[3]

(2) *Jāideva*, in whose reign at Valasāṭhi ("Bulsar" in Bombay Presidency) a MS. of the drama Bhīmavikrama was copied in A.D. 1426.

C. BENDALL.

V. ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

Presented by Gerald Elias, Esq.

Persian MS. Poems by Ḳāsimī, being poetical histories of Shāh Ismā'īl, Shāh Rukh, and Shāh Ṭamāsp. Copied A.H. 1014.

Persian. New Testament. American Bible Society, 1880.

Persian. Travels of Nāṣir ad Dīn, Shāh of Persia, in Europe. A.H. 1308. Litho.

Persian. Travels of Nāṣir ad Dīn, Shāh of Persia, in Europe. A.H. 1293. Litho.

Persian. Muṭl'a-ul Shams. By Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān. 3 vols. Fol. Teheran, A.H. 1303. Litho.

Presented by Hardevram Nanabhai Haridas, Esq.

The Student's Guide to Sanskrit Composition. By Vaman Shivasan Apte.

[1] Ayodhyaprasāda, cited in note 20 of the article already referred to.
[2] Lakshmaṇa-saṃvat 376; verified by Dr. Kielhorn, Ep. Ind., i. p. 306, note 3.
[3] See the last stanza (ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 766): cf. Cat. Sansk. MSS. Ind. Off., p. 719.

A Guide to Sanskrit Verbs (Parts 1 and 2). By Govind Shankar Shāstri Bāpat.

Dhāturūpakosa. Conjugation of Sanskrit Verbs. By Dharmarāja Nārāyan Gandhi.

Presented by the India Office.

Hakluyt Society. Danish Arctic Expeditions. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by C. C. A. Gosch. 2 vols. 8vo. *London*, 1897.

Griffiths (John). The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-Temples of Ajantā. 2 vols. Fol. *London*, 1896.

Banerjei (N. N.). Dyes and Dyeing in Bengal. 8vo. *Calcutta*, 1896.

Holland (T. H.). Report on the Geological Structure and Stability of the Hill Slopes around Naini Tal. 8vo. *Calcutta*, 1897.

Crooke (W.). The North-Western Provinces of India; their History, Ethnology, and Administration. 8vo. *London*, 1897.

Presented by Hardevram Nanabhai Haridas, Esq.

Prāchīn Kāvya Māla, or Old Gujarati Poetical Series. Published with Annotations by Hargovind Dwarkādas Kāntāvalā and Nathashanker Pujashankar Shastri. 30 Vols. Ahmedabad, 1890–92.

1. Poet Premānand's Droupadīharan.
2. Poet Dayārām's Rāsik Vallabh, etc.
3. Poet Girdhar's Rājasuyayagna.
4. Poet Vallabh's Duhshāsan Rudhir Pān Akhyān.
5. Poet Bhojābhakta's Kāvitā.
6. Dīvālībāi and Rādhābai's Kāvitā.
7. Bāpū Saheb Gāyakwādakrita Kāvitā.
8. Poet Weerji's Kāmāvāti-Katha.
9. Poets Hāridās and Dwārkādās' Kāvitā.
10. Poet Nīrānt Bhakta's Kāvitā.
11. Poets Bhālan, Nākar, Mūkūnda, Dayārām, and Girdhars Kāvitā.

12. Poet Premānand's Ashtāvakrākhyān.
13. Dayārāmakrita Parchūran Kāvitā, Dayārām's Kāvitā.
14. Poet Premānand's Subhadrā Harana and Rūkminī Harana.
15. Poet Ratneshver's Kāvitā.
16. Poet Premānand's Mārkandeya Purān.
17. „ „ Part 2.
18. „ „ Part 3.
19. „ „ Part 4.
20. „ „ Part 5.
21. Poet Vallabh's Yaksha Prashnottar.
22. Poet Narbherām's Kāvitā.
23. Dhīrābhakta's Swaroop.
24. Dhīrābhakta's Kāvitā.
25. Dhīrābhakta's Prashnottar Mālīka.
26. Premānand's Rōshadārshikā Sātyabhāmākhyān.
27. Poet Vallabh's Kuntīprasannākhayān.
28. Poet Vallabh's Yūdhishthir Vrikodar Samvādākhyān.
29. Poet Vallabh's Mitradharmākhyān.
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OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. XVI.—*The Early Commerce of Babylon with India—700–300 B.C.* By J. KENNEDY.

LETTERS and coinage are the natural fruits of commerce. Scholars agree that the Indian or Brāhma alphabet had a Western origin, and owed its existence to commercial exigencies. But while Hofrath Dr. Bühler traces it to a Phoenician source, and ascribes its creation to the early part of the eight century B.C., M. Halévy derives it from an Aramaean script in the time of Alexander the Great [1] No such definite theory has been put forward with regard to the silver coins called *purāṇas*, the most ancient coins of India; but it is generally believed that they were current before the Macedonian invasion, and, as silver has always been one of the most important of the imports from the West into India, we should naturally suppose that silver coinage came also from the West—unless, indeed, it were an indigenous invention.[2] In the case, then, both of Indian letters and of Indian coinage, a direct and constant intercourse with Western Asia is the presupposition of every solution. Now, for a trade between Western Asia and

[1] Vide Dr. Cust's interesting paper on the "Origin of the Phoenician and Indian Alphabets," J.R.A.S., January, 1897, pp. 62–5.

[2] On the antiquity of the purāṇas, vide "Coins of Ancient India," by Sir A. Cunningham, pp. 52–3. London, 1891.

India three routes are possible. The first climbs up the precipitous and zigzag passes of the Zagros range—which the Greeks called "ladders"—into the treeless regions of Persia. This route was barred for centuries by the inveterate hostility of the mountaineers, and it did not become practicable until the "Great King" reduced the Kurdish highlanders and the lowland Semites to an equal vassalage. The second route traverses the mountains of Armenia to the Caspian and Oxus, and descends into India by the passes of the Hindoo Kush. Articles of commerce doubtless passed along this way from early times; but the trade was of little importance, fitful, intermittent, and passing through many intermediate hands, until the Parthian domination forced trade into this channel. Lastly, there is the sea; and, as this alone afforded a means of direct and constant intercourse, the question is narrowed to a single issue: at what period did regular maritime intercourse first arise between India and Western Asia? From the remotest ages, we generally assume. But this was not the case. On the contrary, I think it can be demonstrated that it arose at the commencement of the seventh century B.C. I propose to show (1) that the early commerce of Egyptians, Babylonians, and Arabs in the Eastern seas did not embrace India, and that the reasons usually adduced for a contrary opinion are invalid. (2) I shall show, from the history of the Chinese coinage, that an active sea-trade sprang up about 700 B.C. between Babylon and the East, and that India had an active share in it. From the time of Darius Hystaspes (*circâ* 500 B.C.) the Babylonians lost their monopoly, and the traffic with Babylon, although never quite extinct, passed largely into the hands of the Arabs, whom the Greeks found in possession. (3) These facts have an important bearing on the history of Indian letters and coinage. If my premises be granted, we can hardly date the invention of the Indian alphabet much before or much after 600 B.C. And, with regard to the *purâṇa* coinage, I hope to show that it represents a system of private coinage, and is identical (so far as one can judge in the

absence of specimens) with the private currency system obtaining at Babylon in the days of Darius Hystaspes. (4) Certain features of Indian art inexplicable through the medium of Persia, and probably not indigenous, may be explained as traces and survivals of Babylonian influence.

I.

Few coasts are more forbidding than the barren shores of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Dark and serrated mountain ranges, glowing with heat and devoid of life, alternate with stretches of burning sand; sunken reefs and coral rocks prevent a near approach to the shore; and the havens are infrequent and often insecure. Contrary winds blow from either end of the Red Sea throughout the year; storms beset the entrance to the Persian Gulf; the tides are violent and the seas dangerous. And yet, along these shores, where all life appears to be lost in an immensity of desolation, the earliest maritime commerce of the world was carried on. Tradition said that the holy city of Eridu had received the first elements of civilization from the sea; and the Egyptians believed that the "followers of Horus" had migrated from Pun to Egypt along the Red Sea littoral. At the commencement of the third millennium B.C. we find the priest-kings of Lagash[1] obtaining valuable woods and stones by sea from the lands of Magan and Malukhkha[2]—countries through which Assurbanipal passed on his way to invade Egypt, and which the majority of scholars identify with the Sinaitic Peninsula. The statue of one of these priest-kings, Gudea by name, furnishes a most convincing proof of the intimate maritime relations between Babylonia and Egypt. The statue is of diorite, and was executed by

[1] Better known by its modern name of Tell-loh. The civil name was Shirpurla, the sacred name Lagash. It was situated on a canal not far from the ancient course, and near the mouth of the Tigris.

[2] On Magan and Malukhkha, vide Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887: "Lectures on the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians," pp. 31–2. (London, 1889.) Malukhkha is the district to the south of the Wādi-el-'Arish.

a local artist; but it is copied closely, almost slavishly, in figure, dress, and attitude, from the Egyptian type which the famous diorite statue of King Cephren in the Ghizeh Museum has made classical. The king holds on his lap a map, and on the map is marked a scale with bevelled edge, which Professor Petrie has identified with the Egyptian cubit.[1]

The timber and the diorite were furnished to Gudea by trading-ships from Magan and Malukhkha, Nituk and Gubi.[2] Magan and Malukhkha represent the Sinaitic Peninsula; Nituk is the island of Bahrein, half-way down the Persian Gulf;[3] and Sir H. Rawlinson identifies Gubi with Koptos. The identification is doubtful, but the inscriptions of the Wādi Hammamat on the road from Koptos to Kosseir show the efforts of the Pharaohs from the time of Assa, of the fifth dynasty (*circâ* 3580–3536 B.C.), to keep open the communications with the Red Sea.[4] Indeed, the earliest proof we possess of a trade by way of the Red Sea dates from this same Assa, who imported a Deng or pigmy from the land of Punt in South Arabia.[5] S-ankh-ka-ra (*circâ* 2786–2778 B.C.), the last king of the eleventh dynasty, attempted to reduce the tribes on the Abyssinian coast under the suzerainty of Egypt by means of a fleet, and to secure the safety of the watering stations.[6] But this solitary expedition had probably little effect. It was the work of the great Queen Hat-sheps-ut (1516–1481 B.C.) first to extend the sphere of Egyptian influence along the entire African coast as far as the vicinity of Cape

[1] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887, p. 137. The statue is in the Louvre, and a cast of it in the British Museum.

[2] Gudea's inscriptions are translated in De Sarzec's magnificent "Découvertes en Chaldée," and in "Records of the Past," N.S., vol. ii, pp. 80–2.

[3] "Niduk-ki in Accadian, and Tilvun or Tilmun in Assyrian, unquestionably applies to Bahrein."—Sir H. Rawlinson, J.R.A.S. 1880, vol. xii, p. 212.

[4] W. M. Flinders Petrie, "A History of Egypt," vol. i, p. 79. London, 1894.

[5] Petrie, "History of Egypt," vol. i, p. 100. Cf. Budge, "Book of the Dead: Papyrus of Ani," Introd., xxv.

[6] Maspero gives a full account of the maritime expeditions of the Pharaohs from the eleventh to the twentieth dynasty in his essay "Navigations des Egyptiens": Revue Historique, vol. ix, 1879.

Guardafui. The exquisite bas-reliefs on the walls of her temple at Deir-ul-Bahri still preserve the memory of that smallest of all great expeditions. Five ships and some two hundred and fifty men—the ships with their low prows, lofty sterns, and V-shaped keels, the unmistakable predecessors of the modern dhows—coasted along the African shore, and at last sailed up a stream which Maspero takes to be the Elephant River in Somaliland. The reception they met with; the stout African princess, and the enormous queen-mother mounted on an ass, who came to receive them; the gold and frankincense, the slaves, and aromatic trees, they brought away—are still to be seen on the temple walls. Although Thothmes III (1503–1449 B.C.) carefully erased his mother-in-law's cartouches, the memory of Queen Hat-sheps-ut's expedition was never lost. The Pharaohs, the Ptolemies, and the Caesars, each in turn, extended their protection over the western shores of the Red Sea, securing thereby regularity of trade and a plentiful supply for the Egyptian market.

The articles imported in these expeditions are always much the same, whether it be Queen Hat-sheps-ut, or Thothmes III, or King Solomon. We hear of gold and silver, ivory, ebony, rare animals and plants, products of Arabia, but chiefly of North-Eastern and Equatorial Africa. With the exception of the sandal-wood and the peacocks furnished to Solomon (of which more hereafter), there is nothing specifically Indian. But, valuable as the gold and silver, the ebony and ivory, might be, they were not, as M. Maspero has pointed out, of the first importance. The chief demand was for the frankincense, the cinnamon and cassia and myrrh, and fragrant woods of Oman and Somaliland, which the temple services of Egyptians, Babylonians, and Syrians alike required. The altar of Bel at Babylon consumed one thousand talents of frankincense yearly,[1] and clouds of incense arose at every service before all the gods of the Egyptian pantheon.

[1] Herod., i, 183.

And who were the navigators—the seafaring men of Magan and Malukhkha, of Nituk and Gubi, who carried on this lucrative traffic? Babylonians or Egyptians? The Babylonians had not a word for a sail, and knew nothing of the sea.[1] The Egyptians manned their fleets from the mixed population on the sea-coast of the Delta. The tribes inhabiting the shores of the Persian Gulf were for the most part nomads, and Darius banished political exiles to the islands as to a tropical Siberia.[2] Pitiless wreckers dwelt along the Arabian coasts,[3] and merchantmen were exposed to the treacherous attacks of the barbarians on the Red Sea littoral.[4] Our choice is therefore very limited, and we must answer, I think, that probably in the earliest days the Phoenicians were sole masters of these Eastern seas. The earliest seats of the Phoenicians were on two islands of the Persian Gulf called Tyre (Tylos; Assyrian, Dilmun) and Aradus (now Arad)—so the Phoenicians of the Mediterranean seaboard informed Herodotus. Eratosthenes saw Phoenician temples on these islands, and learned from the inhabitants that they regarded the Western Phoenicians as their colonists. The tradition is vouched for by an independent witness—Trogus Pompeius. The recent archaeological finds on the Bahrein Islands completely confirm the Greek historians.[5] Innumerable tumuli with cyclopean masonry of the well-known Phoenician pattern cover the central island of the group; ivories of Phoenico-Assyrian shape, and at least one Cuneiform inscription, have been found there.[6] It is "beyond a doubt that the [Bahrein]

[1] T. G. Pinches, quoted by De Lacouperie, "Western Origin of the Early Chinese Civilization," p. 105. London, 1894.

[2] Herod., iii, 93.

[3] "Periplus," c. 20. The author calls it a "dreadful shore."

[4] "Periplus," c. 4.

[5] Herod., i, 1, and vii, 89. Strabo, xvi, c. 3, § 4. Justin, xviii, 3. Nearchus found a city called Sidon or Sidodona on the opposite side of the Persian Gulf.

[6] J.R.A.S., vol. xii, 1880: "The Islands of Bahrein," by Captain (now Sir E.) Durand, with notes by Major-General Sir H. Rawlinson. Proceedings of the R.G.S., vol. xii, 1890: "The Bahrein Islands in the Persian Gulf," by J. T. Bent, pp. 13–17.

archipelago was one of the chief seats of that seafaring people long before the dawn of history." [1]

But the great mass of the Phoenician people migrated to the Mediterranean at a very remote date, when navigation was in its infancy; and, with their departure, much of the sea-borne traffic of the Persian Gulf probably passed into the hands of caravans from the Arabian emporia. The Chaldaeans are the next great sea-power we hear of in the Gulf, and they do not appear in history until the ninth century B.C. They then occupied the salt marshes which stretch from the head of the Gulf towards Arabia; and from this time forward they played an important part in Babylonian politics and commerce.[2] Isaiah has graphically described the Chaldaeans "whose cry is in the ships"; [3] they supported most of the rebellions against Assyria; transported Merodach-Baladan and his colonists to the coast of Elam; [4] and in subsequent days they must have been the chief shipmasters of the Indian trade, for we know that when the Persians dammed up the waterway of the Tigris and Euphrates, the Chaldaeans founded a colony at Gerrha, far down the Gulf, and carried on an active trade from Gerrha with India.[5]

Our knowledge of the Red Sea navigation is even more indefinite. A large portion of the trade must have been in the hands of the Western Phoenicians, both before and after Solomon; and a considerable number of Egyptians from the Delta doubtless took a part in it. But the chief agents appear to have been a vanished people, whose remains Mr. T. Bent has discovered both in Mashonaland,

[1] A. H. Keane, in "Stanford's Compendium of Geography," etc., 'Asia,' vol. ii, p. 439. The connection of the Phoenicians with the Persian Gulf was denied by Movers, and asserted by Lassen ("Ind. Alt.," vol. ii, p. 583) and Lenormant ("Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient," vol. iii, p. 3; Paris, 1869). Renan says that "the great number of modern critics admit it as demonstrated" ("Histoire des langues Sémetiques," ii, 2, p. 183, quoted by G. Rawlinson). The recent discoveries of archaeological finds practically put the matter beyond a doubt.

[2] Sayce, "The Races of the Old Testament," p. 62. Strabo, xvi, c. 1, § 6.

[3] Isaiah, xliii, 14.

[4] F. Lenormant, "Histoire Ancienne," vol. ii, p. 104.

[5] Strabo, xvi, c. 3, § 3. Lassen, "Ind. Alt.," ii, pp. 601–2.

and near the Red Sea.[1] They were a race of circumcised gold-diggers, who built immensely massive temples dedicated to the Sun, erected gigantic phalli, melted gold into ingots, and surrounded their mining centres with elaborate fortifications. Their civilization reminds us in turn of Egyptians, Phoenicians, and Arabs, and yet it is distinct from each. And since we find their traces near Suakim, it is natural to suppose that they inhabited the country on the upper reaches of the Red Sea, and furnished a large part of the mariners and traders who traversed it.

Among these early sea-going races the Arabs are often included. But three reasons militate against it—(1) The local trade along the Arabian coast, whether at Kane, or across the Straits of Babelmandeb, or in the Aelanitic Gulf, was carried on by means of rafts and hide-bound boats.[2] (2) Not a single harbour existed throughout the entire length of the Red Sea coast on the Arabian side, from Leuke Kome in the Aelanitic Gulf to Mouza near the Straits of Babelmandeb.[3] Had the Sabaeans and Minaeans always been a seafaring race, they would scarcely have been content with harbours in the hands of their rivals on the other side the sea. (3) In later days the merchants of Mouza established their supremacy over the equatorial Azania,[4] and the Sabaeans founded settlements in India;[5] but the shipmasters alone were Arabs, and the vessels were manned, as the "Periplus" says, by "common crews" of Sidi boys and negroes.[6] Sabaeans, Minaeans, and Dedanites were from remote ages the carriers of the East; they were born merchants and intermediaries; their riches were fabulous, and private persons possessed the wealth of kings;[7] their caravans traversed the Arabian Peninsula in

[1] "The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland," by J. Theodore Bent, chaps. iv–vii, pp. 87–210; London, 1892. R.G.S. Geographical Journal, vol. viii, pt. 2, 1896: "A Visit to the Northern Soudan," by J. T. Bent, pp. 342, 344–51.

[2] "Periplus," c. 27. Strabo, xvi, 4, §§ 18 and 19.

[3] "Periplus," c. 19–21.

[4] "Periplus," c. 16.

[5] Agatharcides, quoted by McCrindle in his translation of the "Periplus," p. 86.

[6] "Periplus," c. 16 and 21, with McCrindle's note, p. 73.

[7] Strabo, xvi, 4, § 19.

every direction. But their traffic was by land, and not by sea.[1]

And now for the sea-trade with India. There is ample proof that it flourished from the seventh century B.C.; but did it exist earlier? Such has generally been assumed to be the case, and there is no antecedent improbability in the theory. The Dravidian race, which can be traced throughout the greater part of India and Mekran, must have come from the West; it was doubtless akin to the primitive Cushite populations of Arabia and Babylonia; and it dwelt along the seaboard from the entrance of the Persian Gulf to the Indus Delta. It is true that the miserable Ichthyophagi, who lived upon the sandy bays between the bold headlands of Mekran, scarcely knew the use of a canoe, caught fish in the shallows, and had little intercourse with the interior;[2] while the coast of Drangiana was chiefly inhabited by nomads.[3] But the Dravidians of Southern India were accustomed to the sea, and afterwards furnished a large proportion of the ships and sailors, not to say the pirates, on the Indian Ocean. So that, although the coast-line was long, perilous, and uninviting, there is no obvious physical or ethnological reason why an early intercourse by sea should not have existed between India and the West. I can only say that, as a matter of fact, there is no valid proof of it. And the matter admits, I think, of explanation. The earliest trade of the world was between the earliest centres of civilization—to wit, Babylonia and Egypt; and all that these countries did not obtain from one another, they obtained from the adjacent shores of Arabia or Somaliland. The Phoenicians migrated to the Mediterranean before their enterprise or skill was equal to the discovery of the Eastern Continent; their successors in

[1] Lassen admits that of all the Arabs the merchants of Mouza alone had sea-going ships (in the days of the "Periplus"): "Ind. Alt.," ii, 583. So also Lenormant, "Hist. Anc.," iii, 267–8.

[2] McCrindle, "The Erythraean Sea," etc., pp. 194–5. The sufferings of Nearchus and his fleet are vividly described by Arrian, "Indika," pt. ii, c. xxvi–xxxii (translated by McCrindle). There is an excellent account of Mekran in R.G.S. Geographical Journal, April, 1896, by Colonel T. H. Holdich.

[3] Herod., iii, 93.

the Persian Gulf were comparatively feeble until the advent of the Chaldaeans in the ninth century B.C.; and most of the trade between Arabia and Babylon had passed into the hands of Arab sheikhs and caravans. On the other hand, the Arabs were not at that time an ocean-going race, and the Red Sea mariners from Elath and Kosseir naturally turned their prows to the rich gold-mines and incense-bearing shores of North-Eastern and Equatorial Africa. Every cape and bay of the Mediterranean, every creek and indentation of the East African coast, was known to the Phoenicians while as yet an impenetrable mist hung over the lands of the rising sun.

To establish this fact, I shall examine the more important proofs usually advanced for a contrary opinion. From India we have, if not very definite, at least suggestive, references in the great epics and in Buddhist writings;[1] but these are admittedly of much later date, and refer to much later times. The proof I seek must be discovered among the archaeological or literary remains of Babylonia, Syria, and Egypt prior to 700 B.C.

1. Professor Sayce obtained from an Arab dealer a mother-of-pearl scarab with the cartouche of an Usertesen—it is not stated which; and it is suggested that the mother-of-pearl came from Ceylon.[2] But the manufacture of scarabs with the names of famous twelfth and eighteenth dynasty kings went on even in the Greek settlement of Naukratis; the mother-of-pearl might have come equally well from the Persian Gulf, and Professor de Lacouperie, who brings this scarab forward, afterwards admits that it is of uncertain date.[3]

2. The Egyptians, says Lassen,[4] dyed cloth with indigo, and wrapped their mummies in Indian muslin; while

[1] Lassen, "Ind. Alt.," ii, p. 578 ff.

[2] I am not aware whether this scarab has ever been figured. I believe that a somewhat similar scarab was found in Spain, but I am unable to find the reference.

[3] De Lacouperie, "Western Origin of the Early Chinese Civilization," p. 98, note 415.

[4] Lassen, "Ind. Alt.," ii, p. 596.

Chinese porcelain with Chinese letters had been found in a previously unopened grave of the eighteenth dynasty. For authority he quotes Ed. Dulaurier,[1] and Dulaurier in turn relies on Sir G. Wilkinson. But what does Wilkinson say?

He is quoting from a pamphlet by Mr. Thompson, an expert at Kew: "Mr. Thompson mentions some fragments of mummy-cloths, which he saw in the British Museum. 'My first impression,' he continues, 'on seeing these cloths, was that the finest kinds were muslin and of Indian manufacture; but this suspicion of their being cotton was soon removed by the microscope, which showed that they were all, without exception, linen.'"[2]

Again, as to the indigo, Mr. Thompson remarks:—"A small pattern about half an inch broad formed the edging of one of the finest of these cloths, and was composed of a strip of blue. Though I had no doubt the colouring matter of the blue stripes was indigo, I subjected the cloth to the following examination. . . . . These tests prove the colouring matter of the stripes to be indigo. This dye was unknown to Herodotus, for he makes no mention of it. It was known to Pliny. We learn from the Periplus that it was an article of export from Barbarike on the Indus to Egypt."[3] Sir G. Wilkinson goes on to point out that the broad coloured borders of these cloths are very similar to patterns which occur in paintings of the sixteenth (?) and eighteenth dynasties, and on shawls worn by Nubians at the present day. But there is nothing to prove that indigo was used in the eighteenth dynasty, nor does Sir G. Wilkinson say so.[4]

Lastly, as to the Chinese porcelain. "Among the many bottles found in the tombs of Thebes and other places, none have excited greater curiosity and surprise than those

[1] Journal Asiatique, ser. iv, vol. viii, pp. 132–3.
[2] "The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," by Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, revised by S. Birch, vol. ii, p. 162. London, 1878.
[3] Wilkinson's "Manners and Customs," etc, by Birch, vol. ii, pp. 163–4.
[4] Ibid., vol. ii, pp. 164–5.

of Chinese manufacture presenting inscriptions in that language. Their number is considerable. But though found in ancient tombs, there is no evidence of their having been really deposited there in early Pharaonic or even Ptolemaic times. Professor Rosellini, however, mentions one he met with 'in a previously unopened tomb of uncertain date,' which he refers, 'from the style of the sculptures, to a Pharaonic period not much later than the eighteenth dynasty.'"[1]

On this Dr. Birch remarks:—"It is now known that these bottles are of a comparatively recent period. . . . The Arabs . . . engaged in selling objects of antiquity, confessed the bottles were never found in the tombs or ruins, and that the greater part of the bottles came from Qous, Keft, and Cosseir. . . . The inscriptions of some of these bottles . . . are verses of poets who flourished in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D."[2] Sir G. Wilkinson himself remarks that, according to Medhurst, "the style of the characters did not come into use till the third century of our era," and the "earliest mention of porcelain in China is also limited to the second century B.C."[3]

3. Herodotus mentions a cloth used in Egypt, Babylon, and the Levant, which he calls *σινδών*, and sometimes *σινδὼν βυσσίνη*. It is the Hebrew šadin, the Assyrian sindu. Dr. Budge says of it: "The Greek *σινδών* = Hebrew šadin, was used to denote any linen cloth, and sometimes cotton cloth; but the *σινδόνος βυσσίνης* with which, according to Herodotus, ii, 186, the mummies were bandaged, were certainly linen."[4] This *σινδών* or sindu cloth must be of considerable antiquity. It is mentioned

[1] I take this extract from the abridged edition of Sir G. Wilkinson's work, entitled "A Popular Account of the Ancient Egyptians," vol. ii, p. 68; London, 1871. Sir G. Wilkinson's words are found on pp. 152-4, vol. ii, of Birch's edition.

[2] "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," by Sir G. Wilkinson, edited by S. Birch, vol. ii, p. 154. Similar bottles are found on mediaeval sites in the Persian Gulf.

[3] Ibid., vol. ii, p. 154.

[4] "The Mummy," by E. A. Wallis Budge, p. 190; Cambridge, 1893. Compare Wilkinson's "Manners and Customs," by Birch, vol. ii, pp. 158-9.

five times in the W.A.I.,[1] and four times out of the five in copies of old Babylonian tablets made for the library of Assurbanipal. All we know of this cloth is, that it was manufactured from a vegetable substance, and came from the country of Kur.[2] Where the land of Kur is no man can say; but it must have been among the mountains, for Kur in Accadian means a mountain.[3] Lassen, starting from the fact that *σινδών* occasionally meant cotton cloth, argued that it got its name direct from the Sanskrit sindu.[4] So also Sayce.[5] But, according to the tablets, the cloth did not come from India, but from Kur; and, although it was sometimes applied in later times to cotton, this was an evident extension of its original meaning, which designated at first one particular species of vegetable cloth. The derivation from the Sanskrit sindu is now, according to Professor de Lacouperie, generally abandoned.[6]

I come to the literary evidence. The expeditions sent by Solomon to Ophir prove, it is said, the existence of an early sea-trade between India and the West. Ophir is the literary El Dorado; it has been discovered in many a land, from Arabia to Peru. But the great authority of Lassen and Sir A. Cunningham[7] may be quoted for the identification of Ophir with the Aberia of Ptolemy, the Abhīra of the Sanskrit geographers, the district bordering on the mouths of the Indus. The identification does not rest on mere similarity of sound. The chief product of Ophir was gold; and gold was found in considerable quantities among the

[1] WAI. V. 28.
14, 19, and 20.
30 (c).
II. 29.
50 (g).
The colophon of the second is lost, and it cannot be dated.

[2] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887, p. 138.

[3] e.g., Nin-kur-gal, "lord of the great mountain"; Nin-kur-el, "lord of the high mountain"; E-kur-gal, "temple of the great mountain."

[4] Lassen, "Ind. Alt.," ii, p. 554.

[5] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887, pp. 137–8.

[6] De Lacouperie, "Western Origin of the Early Chinese Civilization," p. 104, note 428.

[7] Lassen, "Ind. Alt.," i, 357; ii, 552–92. Cunningham, "Coins of Ancient India," p. 4.

mountains on the upper course of the Indus and its affluents.[1] Indian gold, moreover, has a peculiarly ruddy hue.[2] It is further said that Solomon obtained sandal-wood and peacocks from Ophir, and Ophir's twin Tarshish; and both the things and the names are Dravidian. The trade with Ophir was not, of course, a novelty in Solomon's day; it flourished from the reign of King David to the times of the prophet Isaiah;[3] but Solomon alone, thanks to his Phoenician ally, succeeded in opening up direct communications with it.

The theory is plausible, and yet it has not met with general acceptance.

(1) Although gold was found in the mountains far up the Indus, it was not exported from Barbarike—the port for Aberia and the Indus Delta.[4]

(2) The gold of India was exported in the shape of gold-dust,[5] the gold of Ophir apparently in nuggets.[6] (Job, xxii, 24.)

(3) The book of Genesis enumerates Ophir among the sons of Joktan between Sheba and Havilah (Gen., x, 29). Ophir must therefore be sought among the Semites.

[1] Cunningham, "Coins of Ancient India," p. 5.

[2] Ibid., p. 22.

[3] For David, 1 Chronicles, xxix, 4; for Jehoshaphat, 1 Kings, xxii, 48, also Isaiah, xiii, 12.

[4] "Periplus," c. 39, where a full list of exports is given. Lassen and Sir A. Cunningham are hard put to it to explain the absence of gold among the exports from Barbarike.

[5] Cunningham, "Coins of Ancient India," pp. 5, 6, 21, 22, 49.

[6] The matter is not quite clear. Sir A. Cunningham says the gold of Ophir was gold-dust, and refers to Job, xxviii, 6–16. But thegold-dust of verse 6 cannot be referred to the gold of Ophir in verse 16, which is expressly contrasted with the common gold previously described by the poet. On the other hand, Cunningham admits that the gold of Ophir was made into ingots (p. 49) and refers to Isaiah, xiii, 12. The "golden wedge of Ophir" there mentioned in the authorized English version rests on a mistranslation. Job, xxii, 24 appears to me to refer to nuggets of gold, but it is an open question. I give Dr. A. B. Davidson's translation:—

Verse 24. "And lay thou thy treasure in the dust,
And gold of Ophir among the stones of the brooks:
25. Then shall the Almighty be thy treasure (lit. ore),
And silver in plenty (lit. in bars) unto thee."

Had gold of Ophir been gold-dust we should have expected 'sands' and not 'stones' of the brooks.

(4) The LXX always reads *Σουφίρ* or *Σωφίρα*, except in Gen., x, 29, where it reads *Οὐφίρ*. But *Σουφίρ* and *Σωφίρα* recall well-known Arabian localities—Saphar, the capital of the Homerites, Zabara, and Sofala.

(5) Almug-trees (almuggim, algummim) were brought to Solomon from Ophir (1 Kings, x, 11; 2 Chronicles, ix, 10). "The red sandal-wood of India is very probably the wood intended";[1] and both name and thing are Dravidian.[2] This is satisfactory proof of an Indian trade in the time of the author of 1 Kings; but was it sandal-wood that Solomon received, or something else taken for sandal-wood centuries after the destruction of the Temple? The LXX says nothing of sandal-wood. In 1 Kings, x, 11 it reads *ξύλα πελεκητὰ πολλὰ σφόδρα*—immense quantities of hewn timber; in 2 Chronicles, ix, 10, *ξύλα πεύκινα*—pine timber. The wood was used for props (LXX, *ὑποστηρίγματα*) and the inclined ascents (Heb. 'raised paths,' LXX *ἀναβάσεις*) to the Temple and the Palace.[3] I know few materials less fitted than sandal-wood for such purposes.[4]

(6) Peacocks came with silver and gold, not from Ophir, but from Tarshish (1 Kings, x, 22; 2 Chronicles, ix, 21). "Thuki, the Hebrew for pea-fowl, is certainly Dravidian," and derived from the Tamil tokei or togei.[5] Now we happen to know, on independent evidence, that peacocks were exported from India at the time when the books of Kings and Chronicles were composed; but here again there arises the

[1] Professor Bonney, in the "Cambridge Companion to the Bible," p. 526. London, 1893.

[2] Cf. De Lacouperie, "Western Origin," etc., p. 99, note 416.

[3] The 'pillars' of 1 Kings, x, 12 literally mean 'props' (Cheyne). Ewald conjectures 'balustrades.' The 'terraces' of 2 Chron., ix, 11 are 'raised paths' (Cheyne).

[4] In 2 Chron., ii, 8, 'algum' or 'almug trees' are brought from Lebanon. The LXX here also reads 'pine.'

[5] Caldwell, "Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages," p. 66.

question of identity. The exports of silver from Tarshish are decisive against any Indian locality, and the LXX says nothing about pea-fowl.

I have said nothing about Solomon's "apes," because (1) the apes not being necessarily Indian, the use of a particular designation for them can only prove the age of the writer; and (2) the derivation of the Hebrew qoph from the Sanskrit kapi is extremely doubtful. The Egyptians were, so to speak, next-door neighbours of the apes, and they had an abundance of names for them. Aāāni and ānāu (from *ān* 'to imitate') were the commonest; but a monkey was called ḳan, the sacred cynocephalos qefṭen, and the particular species of apes imported by Queen Hat-sheps-ut is called qafu, a purely Egyptian word. The Hebrews must have known apes and their designations in Egypt; whereas if they had imported them from the West Coast of India, they could not fail to have imported their Tamil name. Rice, peacocks, sandal-wood, every unknown article which we find imported by sea into Babylon before the fifth century B.C., brought with it a Dravidian, not a Sanskrit, designation; and had apes ever come by this route, they would have formed no exception.[1]

I can find, then, no archaeological or literary evidence for a maritime trade with India prior to the seventh century B.C. One piece of evidence, however, still remains to be examined. Lassen derives the name of the island of Sokotra from the Sanskrit Dvipa Sukhādāra—the "island abode of bliss."[2] But was this the original name of the island, and when was it first so called? Greek and Arab traditions say that the island (which the Greeks called Dioscorides) was first colonized by fugitives or exiles in the time of Alexander the Great. The northern shore only was inhabited in the time of the "Periplus," and the population was composed

[1] Cf. De Lacouperie, "Western Origin of the Early Chinese Civilization," p. 99, note 416.

[2] Lassen, "Ind. Alt.," ii, p. 580.

of Arabs, Indians, and Greeks.[1] What curious fit of irony could have possessed rough Tamil-speaking pirates and lascars to name that humid and forsaken island of gigantic cactuses and lizards an abode of bliss? and why employ Sanskrit for the purpose? The answer is obvious. The name was not original. It was suggested by the proximity of *'Αραβία εὐδαίμων*, and merely meant the island of Aden. But if the island got its name from the Greek designation for Aden, the fact can only prove what no one doubts, an active trade—post Alexandrum Magnum.

II.

A commerce frequent and direct between the Semites of Mesopotamia and the Indian Aryans could be carried on only by way of the sea. The overland routes were not impracticable; the physical obstacles could be overcome; and, as a matter of fact, the earliest trade between India and Mesopotamia crossed the lofty passes of the Hindu Kush, and wound its perilous way along the Oxus bank. But the commerce was from hand to hand and tribe to tribe, fitful, rare, and uncertain, and in early ages never possessed of any importance.[2] I propose to notice the traces it has left, and to show its character, before I discuss the actual commencement of the sea-trade with India in the seventh century B.C.

[1] On Sokotra, vide "Periplus," c. 30, with McCrindle's note, pp. 92–5.

[2] It was so obscure that the Romans knew nothing, or nothing accurately, of it down to the time of the Mithridatic war—so says Pliny, quoting Varro:—"Adicit idem [M. Varro] Pompeii ductu exploratum in Bactros vii diebus ex India perveniri ad Iachrum flumen quod in Oxum influat, et ex eo per Caspium in Cyrum subvectos, et v non amplius dierum terreno itinere ad Phasim in Pontum Indicas posse devehi merces."—C. Plini, N. H., vi, 52. The Greeks first discovered it when Alexander and his Macedonians reached the Oxus. The Indian traffic on the Oxus at that time was very considerable.—Strabo, xi, c. 7, § 3. The route was always the same. As part of the journey was made by land and part by water, it is probable that merchandise changed hands on the route, and Indian merchants seldom accompanied their goods to the West, or, if they did, we do not hear of them. In this they differed from the Indian traders to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. Strabo, himself a native of Pontus, would scarcely have failed to notice the presence of Indian traders in Armenia or on the Euxine, had any been there.

The continent of Asia proper—the Asia which lies east of the mountains of Kurdistan—consists of an immensely elevated plateau with a fringe of rich and fertile countries—Persia, India, China—lower lying and sloping downward to the ocean. The central plateau, the Dome of the World, affords little sustenance for man or beast; but, although it be barren and inhospitable as the sea, like the sea it has served since the remotest ages for a means of passage from one part of the continent to the other. The Bak tribes which fled across it twenty-three centuries B.C., the Aryan invaders of Persia and India, Scythians, Moghuls, Turks and Huns, the Cossacks of the Don, and the tribes which dwell under the shadow of the great wall, we see them all hurry over it, crossing, recrossing, and traversing it in every direction, until our forefathers, awed with such shadowy visions of an unknown land, called Central Asia the "officina gentium." For migrating tribes it was, in early days, the chief means of transit. And where tribes can move, traders can go also. Trade between neighbouring tribes exists even among the most savage, and we know that single articles in this way often travel a long distance. But a direct traffic between distant communities requires security on the route, and political circumstances rendered this impossible. The Medes began to consolidate their kingdom in the ninth century B.C.; about the same time the Sakae, the Tokhari, the Dahae, established themselves on the north of the Hindu Kush. Before the ninth century B.C. we know or can conjecture nothing except the movements of pastoral or nomadic tribes wandering over sparsely populated regions. Political stability in the lands between the Tigris and the Indus there was none.

The few traces of trade with the Far East disclosed by the Assyrian monuments correspond with this state of things. The cultivation of wheat (which is indigenous to Mesopotamia), and possibly of some fruit-trees (like the citron from China), the knowledge of iron first obtained by the iron-smelters on the east of the Euxine, the use of asbestos from Badakshan, prove the existence of intertribal

commerce at an early period. A few rare finds of jade in Assyria[1] would prove that some kinds of traffic existed with Central Asia at least twenty centuries B.C., if geologists were agreed that these specimens came from Khotan. But the very scarcity of such finds shows the rarity of the commerce.[2]

An elephant, "unmistakably Asiatic," on the black obelisk of Shalmanassar (858–824 B.C.) supplies the first certain evidence of intercourse with India. It appears in company with various other animals: some Bactrian camels, "of which double are their backs," a very ugly and ill-drawn rhinoceros called an "ox of the river Sakeya," human-looking apes, and long-tailed monkeys, among which Mr. Houghton thinks he can identify the Indian *Presbyter entellus*.[3] All these formed a part of the tribute of the

[1] The British Museum possesses only five specimens, all found by Layard. Four of these are uninscribed axe-heads (three grass-green and one blue-green); they come from Mugheir (Ur), and are exhibited with other prehistoric celts. The fifth specimen is an archaic cylinder found in the south-west palace of Esarhaddon, at Nimrud. Two men in robes, a woman, and a kneeling boy, are represented on it, with a dedication to Sin, in worn archaic characters of the time of Hammurabi (*circâ* 2100 B.C.). Jade is found in the Caucasus, and geologists have not yet decided, I believe, on the provenance of these specimens. The Uk-nu stone of the inscriptions is sometimes identified with *yu*, the Chinese name for jade (B. & O.R., iii, p. 102), but Mr. Pinches has shown that it denotes lapis lazuli from the Zagros range. The earliest mention of jade in India occurs, so far as I know, in Hiuen Tsiang's description of Nalanda. Mr. Rudler has summarized the evidence regarding the provenance of prehistoric jade implements in a paper read before the Anthropological Society, London ("On the Source of the Jade used for Ancient Implements," etc., 1891), but he does not mention these Assyrian specimens.

[2] Some pieces of bamboo (?) found by Taylor in undated graves at Mugheir, and a representation of a Tibetan hound (B. & O.R., iii, p. 135) on a Babylonian terra-cotta, are, I think, the only other material objects which would suggest an early commerce overland with Central Asia or India. Tibetan dogs were favourites in after days with the Achaemenids. Four villages near Babylon were assigned for their support (Herod., i, 192), and a large pack accompanied Xerxes to Greece (vii, 187). Ctesias says they could cope with a lion (Ind., 5). Ivory came to the Assyrians from many quarters. The elephant, in early days, was found, not only in Assyria, but apparently throughout Central Asia, on the borders of the central plateau, as far east as China (B. & O.R., vii, 15, 16), and in later times a constant supply of ivory must have been obtained from Africa. The Assyrian trade with the mountaineers of Kurdistan is, of course, not here in question (cf. Maspero, "Hist. Anc.," 4th edition, p. 489), nor is the gradual introduction of plants and fruits, nor of animals like the horse, which, as the ideogram shows, came to the Assyrians from the East.

[3] On these animals, vide Rev. W. Houghton, "The Mammalia of the Assyrian Sculptures," part ii, in Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, vol. v; London, 1877. For the monkeys vide p. 320; for the elephant, p. 348.

Muzri, an Armenian tribe living in the mountains to the north-east of Nineveh. It is true that elephants were indigenous to Assyria, and Thothmes III had hunted them seven centuries earlier on the upper Euphrates.[1] But after that time we hear nothing of them, and the elephant on the black obelisk is called, not *piru*, the usual Assyrian word for elephant, but by a strange term, *baziati*, which some philologists have connected with the Sanskrit *vāsitā*, a generic epithet for females, and especially female elephants.[2] It must be conceded, I think, that the elephant in question was Indian; and, from its association with Bactrian camels, and from the position of the Muzri, we may reasonably conclude that it came over the passes of the Hindu Kush.[3]

Whether Indian traders brought Shalmanassar's elephant to the Muzri, or whether it passed from hand to hand, we cannot tell.[4] The Indian evidence on the subject is suggestive but indecisive. Three proofs of Babylonian influence are usually advanced.

First. We have the story of Manu and the Fish. The coincidences with the Chaldaean legend of the Flood are striking, and F. Lenormant does not hesitate to say that the Babylonian story has "without doubt left its influence on the tradition of India."[5] But this legend is not found in the Vedas; it first occurs in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, and is therefore comparatively late. It cannot have been brought by traders over the Hindu Kush, for it points to Babylonian and not Assyrian influence. Nor can it have come by way of Iran; it differs too widely from the deluge

[1] H. Brugsch, "History of Egypt," Eng. translation, 2nd edition, vol. i, p. 400. London, 1881.

[2] See the authorities in De Lacouperie's "Western Origin," etc., p. 100, note 423. Macdonell says it is used of cows and other female animals, but especially of the female elephant (Sanskrit-English Dict., p. 278).

[3] There was nothing impossible in this. Hiuen Tsiang's presentation elephant (probably aged) managed to clamber over these passes.

[4] I have already pointed out that Indian traders can rarely have accompanied their goods by this route as far as the Euxine in the first century B.C.

[5] F. Lenormant, "The Beginnings of History," translated by F. Brown, p. 387. Professor Max Müller denies any connection between the two ("India: What can it teach us?" pp. 133-9), but Lenormant makes out a very strong case, in my opinion.

legends of the Avesta and the Bûndehesh.[1] It must therefore have come through the Dravidians, or by way of the sea, and the identification of Manu with the king of the Dâsas or fishermen[2] favours the latter hypothesis. I conclude that, if the legend be not of native growth, it must have travelled to India after maritime communications had been opened with Babylonia.

Second. In Rigv., viii, 78, 2, the poet prays to Indra for "a jewel, a cow, a horse, an ornament, together with a golden Manâ."[3] If the poet means the Assyrian Maneh, it would go far indeed to prove a regular commerce with Assyria, although it would remain a solitary fact unsupported by any other evidence. But scholars have not yet decided whether the poet prays for a golden armlet or a definite weight of gold. And even if the latter interpretation be adopted, it would still be hazardous to identify it with the Assyrian standard, for Indian weights are all, so far as we know, indigenous.

The Indian Nakshatras are usually adduced as a third item of proof;[4] but it is unnecessary to discuss the question, since the "lunar mansions" were of late introduction into Babylonian astronomy. But a much earlier and much closer connection between the Aryans of the Five Rivers and the city of Babylon is claimed by Dr. Brunnhofer in his brilliant essay on Rigv., v, 13, 1–3;[5] and it is worth while to examine the historical basis for this claim. It is founded on two alleged extracts from the history of the Chaldaeans by Berosus. They are not taken direct from Berosus (whose work was apparently little known outside the kingdom of the Seleucids), but from the compilations of Alexander Polyhistor, and that possibly at second or

[1] Vide Lenormant, "The Beginnings of History," pp. 429–31.
[2] Ibid., p. 426.
[3] Vide Max Müller, "India: What can it teach us?" pp. 125–6, for a discussion of this question.
[4] Vide the point argued and refuted in Max Müller's "India: What can it teach us?" pp. 126–33.
[5] Brunnhofer, "Iran and Turan," pp. 217–26. I have to thank Professor Rhys Davids for drawing my attention to this passage.

third hand, while Polyhistor himself is suspected of frequently borrowing his extracts through an intermediary.[1]

(1) The Armenian translation of the Chronicon of Eusebius says that, according to Polyhistor, after the reign of eighty-six mythical kings, lasting for many thousand years, the Medes collected their forces, and by a sudden onfall captured Babylon, establishing a tyranny which lasted for eight reigns and 224 years in all.[2]

(2) Georgius Syncellus (*circâ* 800 A.D.), referring to the same passage and criticizing Polyhistor's chronology, mentions Zoroaster as the first of these Medic kings.[3] In other words, the real history of Babylon, according to Eusebius and Syncellus, begins with a Median invasion headed by Zoroaster. M. Oppert, following these authorities, treats the Medes as Aryans,[4] and Dr. Brunnhofer has turned the first three strophes of Rigv., v, 13, into a song of triumph over captured Babylon.[5]

[1] "Syncellus ex Eusebio, vel sicuti Eusebius sua hausit ex Africano, Africanus ex Alexandro Polyhistore, hic ex Apollodoro."—Müller, "Frag. Hist. Graec.," ii, 496. But Polyhistor came from Phrygia, and probably used Berosus at first-hand, although occasionally content to extract from Apollodorus. Berosus, priest of Bel, at Babylon, presented his history to Antiochus Soter about 280 B.C. (ibid., ii, 495).

[2] "Post hos . . . . derepente Medos collectis copiis Babylonem cepisse ait [Polyhistor], ibique de suis tyrannos constituisse. Hinc nomina quoque tyrannorum Medorum edisserit octo, annosque eorum viginti quattuor supra ducentos," etc.—Müller, "Frag. Hist. Graec.," ii, 503.

[3] Syncellus says that "after this time [of the eighty-six Chaldaean kings] . . . . (Polyhistor) introduces Zoroaster and seven who came after him, as kings of the Chaldaeans, and makes them reign for 190 solar years." Up to this point, Syncellus continues, Polyhistor had reckoned not by solar years, but by Sari, Neri, and Soss.—G. Syncelli Chronographia, ed. Dindorf, p. 78, D ("Corpus Script. Hist, Byzant.," ed. Niebuhr). In his nominal lists, Syncellus throws Zoroaster and his company altogether overboard. Cf. the Babylonian nominal roll, p. 90, D, and the Assyrian, p. 96, D, p. 103, B.

[4] Oppert, Histoire, p. 9: "Le règne des Ariens dut bientôt finir." He says: "La Médie n'était pas uniquement peuplée par les races indo-européennes; au contraire," etc. Canon Rawlinson thinks that some Aryan elements were to be found in Elam, although it was mainly Turanian; but he supports this statement only by two untenable etymologies.—G. Rawlinson, "The Five Great Monarchies," etc., i, 159. M. Maspero says: "Une dynastie nouvelle que Bérose appelle Méde et qu'on a prise à tort pour une dynastie arienne."—"Hist. Anc.," 4th edition, p. 160.

[5] He points out that the hymn is unintelligible in its usual acceptation, and the translations of it poles asunder. For positive proof he relies chiefly on the identification of Vauri ('lurking-place') with Bauri in the Avesta, and the Bâveru of the Jâtakas.—"Iran und Turan," von Dr. H. Brunnhofer, p. 221.

But the difficulties are very great, and most modern historians refuse to acknowledge any Aryan element. It is universally admitted that Berosus must have referred here to the famous invasion of the Elamite king Kudur-Nakhunta. We know that Kudur-Nakhunta captured Babylon by a sudden raid in 2285 B.C. A little later the Kassite kings established their power in Babylon, and reigned there for some two centuries.[1] The Elamites, according to Hommel, were akin to the Georgians, and the Kossaeans spoke an alarodian language.[2] The Kossaeans, it is true, dwelt in the mountains to the north of Susa, a country which the Persians afterwards occupied; but neither Elamites nor Kossaeans had anything Aryan about them. How, then, came Berosus to mention the Medes?

Ctesias knows nothing of the story; and, although Shalmanassar penetrated as far as the future site of Ecbatana (844 B.C.), and must have come in contact with the Medes, they do not appear by name in Assyrian history until the eighth century B.C.[3] Canon Rawlinson says: "By calling the second dynasty Median, Berosus probably only meant to say that it came from the mountain tract east of Babylonia, which, in his own day, had been for so many ages the seat of Medo-Persic power." But a more plausible, and probably a truer explanation, may be given. The Babylonians called the barbarians dwelling on the mountains north of Elam by the generic name of Manda. We must admit that Berosus knew what he was speaking of; and if he described the raid of Kudur-Nakhunta, and the dynasty of the Kassites, as the work of the Manda, he doubtless spoke correctly. But Polyhistor, with his copyists and epitomizers, knew nothing of the Manda, and would readily substitute for Mandai the more familiar Medoi.

[1] Hommel, "Geschichte Babyloniens," etc., pp. 343–4, 357. Maspero, "Struggle of Nations," p. 37.

[2] Hommel, "Geschichte Bab.," pp. 275–6.

[3] Maspero, "Hist. Anc.," 4th edition, p. 490. For the early relations of Medes and Assyrians vide Maspero, "Dawn of Civilization," pp. 603–10; Lenormant, "Hist. Anc." (ed. 1869), ii, 339; Delattre, "Le peuple et la langue des Perses," pp. 246–60; Tiele, "Babylonische Geschichte," p. 469; R. von Jhering, "Vorgeschichte der Inde-Europäer," pp. 102–5.

The Medes naturally suggest Zoroaster, and Syncellus appears to be responsible for the introduction of his name. According to Moses of Chorene, Berosus spoke much of a certain mythical Zerovanus, identifying him with "the Magian Zoroaster, king of the Bactrians, the founder of the Medes, and the father of their gods."[1] Syncellus, coming across the first Median dynasty known to him, would naturally place Zoroaster at its head, and thus a simple and unconscious fabrication of its history is palmed upon the world.

To return from this digression. I conclude that any connection between the Indian Aryans and the Mesopotamian Semites prior to the ninth century B.C. is extremely problematical. In the ninth century B.C. some trade certainly existed between the Panjab and Assyria; but whether it was direct or indirect we cannot say, and its traces are so infrequent and obscure that it cannot have been frequent or important. The true commercial route to India was not over dangerous mountain passes, but by the Persian Gulf, and the sagacity of Professor de Lacouperie has suggested a possible, perhaps the probable, occasion.[2]

The savage ferocity of Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.) drove the greater part of the Assyrian Empire into revolt. The people of Babylon, with Merodach-Baladan at their head, were among the most obstinate rebels; and the latter part of Sennacherib's reign was chiefly occupied with attempts to suppress them. The maritime Chaldaeans were the chief allies of the Babylonians, and Merodach-Baladan, despairing of success, embarked his followers and sailed to Magitu, on the coast of Elam, where he founded a colony

[1] Müller, "Frag. Hist. Graec.," p. 502.

[2] Although my conclusions differ widely from Professor T. de Lacouperie's, my obligations to his writings are considerable, and it would be ungrateful of me not to acknowledge them. The late Professor de Lacouperie was one of the most learned and ingenious of men, but I need hardly say that his writings require to be used with caution. He was apt to produce his theories before he verified his facts, and fancy sometimes took the place of judgment. Moreover, he had a bad habit of hanging his learning in the shape of notes upon a slender thread of text, as the Indians hang their letters on a line. But the notes are an excellent quarry for out-of-the-way information, and his Catalogue of Chinese Coins in the British Museum is, I believe, a standard work.

at the mouth of the Ulai river. But Sennacherib determined that the rebels should not escape him. Former kings of Assyria had employed fleets on the Mediterranean. Sennacherib decided to launch one on the Persian Gulf. Phoenician carpenters built sea-going ships for him on the upper reaches of the Tigris and Euphrates; mixed crews of Sidonians, Tyrians, and (Cypriote?) Greeks transported the vessels to Bab-Salimeti, the port of Babylon; and Sennacherib sailed in triumph across the Gulf, and destroyed the rebels' nest (695 B.C.). The shipbuilders and mariners were captives taken in rebellion, and it is not probable that Sennacherib ever allowed them to revisit their native land; they greatly surpassed the Chaldaeans, their apt pupils, in the art of shipbuilding and knowledge of navigation, and their advent is synchronous with the opening up of the Eastern seas.[1]

In Professor de Lacouperie's Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, we read that coinage was first introduced into China about 675–670 B.C. by foreign traders from Lang-ya (Lanka?), who settled on the Gulf of Kiaotchou, in the South Shantung peninsula. The currency took the form of bronze knives struck to a uniform Babylonian standard, and inscribed with the name of the place of issue (Tsi-moh).[2]

[1] G. Maspero, "Histoire Ancienne des peuples de l'Orient," 4th edition, pp. 442–3; Paris, 1886. F. Lenormant, "Hist Anc.," ii. pp. 104–5; G. Smith, "History of Babylonia," pp. 128–31; De Lacouperie, "Western Origin," etc., p. 102. Maspero says: "Les mâts et les voiles, la double rangée de rames, les éperons pointus des nefs syriennes, furent probablement des nouveautés pour les habitants de ces contrées."

[2] De Lacouperie, "Catalogue of Chinese Coins from the seventh century B.C. to 621 A.D., including those in the British Museum," Introd., p xi; London, 1892. The coins were struck, says M. de Lacouperie, according to the maneh of Carchemish, and the Babylonian empan of 27 mm. (Introd., chap. vi, and "Western Origin," etc., p. 386). It is a pity that he used these terms at all, for no materials exist, so far as I can learn, for determining the value of the maneh of Carchemish; and what M. de Lacouperie meant was the light Babylonian maneh ("Western Origin," etc., p. 93), a perfectly well-known weight. The Babylonian empan of 27 mm. also appears to me entirely arbitrary. The Babylonian measures of length were determined by fingers, cubits, canes, etc., as they still are in India and many other countries, and doubtless varied for every locality and at different times, as they still do throughout the East (vide, e.g., tablets 30, 61, 78, and 97, British Museum Guide to Nimroud Central Saloon). Uniformity of *weight* between these Chinese knife-coins and Babylonian standards is all that can be admitted.

In 670–665 B.C. the Prince of Tsi issued rules for the regulation of the weight, and the knives now bear the inscription, "Returnable reviving (*sic*) currency of Tsi."[1] We find foreign merchants issuing similar knife-coins between 580–550 and 547–493 B.C., with the inscription, "Returnable reviving currency of all travelling traders of Tsi and Kwang."[2]

But the decisive fact is that, in 613–590 B.C., Tchwang, king of Tsu, issued two sizes of small coins, "bean-shaped after the fashion of the Aeginetan and Lydian coins of 750–700 B.C., and inscribed with their respective weights."[3]

We find, then, Western traders, in the seventh century B.C., introducing into Southern China a system of inscribed coinage based on a Babylonian standard; and this currency leads by the end of the century to a direct imitation of the Lydian coinage. The bronze knives and hoes of the Chinese were of little value, and intended only for small change. Babylon had possessed for many centuries a ring currency which passed for fractions of a shekel,[4] and nothing was required except a change of form to adapt the Babylonian system to the Chinese market.

A sea-trade between Babylon and China necessarily includes India. For the seventh century B.C. this must be inferred from the Chinese records, but for the sixth century B.C. direct evidence is forthcoming:—

(1) Mr. Rassam found a beam of Indian cedar in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar (604–562 B.C.) at Birs Nimrud, part of which is now exhibited in the British Museum.[5]

[1] De Lacouperie, "Catalogue of Chinese Coins," Introd., p. xii.
[2] De Lacouperie, "Catalogue," etc., Introd., p. xiii.
[3] De Lacouperie, "Catalogue," etc., Introd., p. xii.
[4] This ring money represents ½, ⅓, and ¼ of a shekel, and goes back to some period antecedent to 2100 B.C.—W. St. Chad Boscawen, in Babylonian and Oriental Record, vol. vii, p. 243. The Egyptians used gold and silver rings as currency even in the twelfth dynasty (Lepsius, "Denkmäler"), and these rings are often represented in the scales (Wilkinson, "Manners," etc., by Birch, vol. i, p. 285, and ii, pp. 244–5). The use of gold and silver rings for currency continues in Sennaar to this day.
[5] Vide Mr. Rassam's letter given below. The wood is exhibited in the new Assyrian Room, Table-case B.

(2) The foundations of the temple of the Moon-god at Ur (Muqeyer) go back to a very early date. The temple was rebuilt by Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus (555–538 B.C.).[1] In the second story of this temple Mr. Taylor found "two rough logs of wood, apparently teak, which ran across the whole breadth of the shaft." The logs were imbedded in masonry characteristic of the age of Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus, and a cylinder of Nabonidus was found immediately above, and apparently resting on them.[2]

[1] Lenormant, "Histoire Ancienne," ii, p. 236, for Nebuchadnezzar. Cf. p. 241 and also the Nabonidus cylinders for Nabonidus.

[2] J.R.A.S., vol. xv, 1855, p. 264: "Ruins of Muqeyer." So many contradictory statements have been made regarding these logs that I have been at some pains to ascertain the real facts, and I give the result of my inquiry.

First. Taylor does not seem to have removed these logs. He does not say that he did so, and no trace of them can be discovered in the British Museum, where his finds were deposited. Dr. Budge, the Keeper of the Oriental Department, does not know of any teak, and Mr. Pinches informs me that he never heard the late Keeper, Dr. Birch, mention any. We must, therefore, take the teak on Taylor's authority.

Second. Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus rebuilt the Temple of Sin at Ur, the latter probably completing what the other had begun, as he did also at Babylon (Lenormant, "Hist. Anc.," ii, p. 241). The second story (in which the logs were found) is their handiwork. It is separated from the lower story by a pavement, and the bricks of each story are "totally different in size, colour, and in the inscription." The bricks of the lower story were "imbedded in bitumen; those in the second story in a mixed lime and ash cement." The bricks in which these teak logs were imbedded had "an amazing thickness; their size was 16 inches square and 7 inches thick" (J.R.A.S., Taylor's article, p. 264). Here we have the well-known characteristics of Nebuchadnezzar's masonry. Whether Taylor brought any of these bricks away I cannot say, but if so, they are not exhibited. Taylor's description, however, is sufficient to settle the matter.

Third. At each corner of the second story Taylor found an inscribed cylinder, and "just below the cylinder" were the logs of teak (p. 264). The four cylinders are exhibited in Table-case C in the new Assyrian Room of the British Museum, and they are cylinders of Nabonidus. It is certain, then, that the teak was built into the brick masonry (perhaps as a tie-beam) by Nebuchadnezzar or (more probably) by Nabonidus.

The famous hexagonal "Taylor cylinder" of Sennacherib has nothing to do with Ur. Its provenance is Nineveh, according to Bezold's Catalogue.

I give an extract from an interesting letter of Mr. H. Rassam on the subject:

"Most probably the block of wood which Mr. John Taylor discovered in the ruins of Mogguier was Indian cedar, like the beam I discovered in the Palace of Nebuchednezar at Birs Nimrud, of which I brought a piece for the British Museum. There is no doubt that this wood was imported into Babylonia from India, as it is the only cedar which does not rot so quickly as other cedar, and it is, in my opinion, a kind of teak.

"With regard to the Taylor cylinder, it must have been found in the Palace of Sennacherib, either at Koyunjik or Nebbi Yenis, the same as the one bought

(3) The Bāveru Jātaka, translated by Professor Rhys Davids,[1] relates the adventures of certain Indian merchants, who took the first peacock by sea to Babylon. The Jātaka itself may go back to 400 B.C., but the folks-tale on which it is founded must be much older. For, as we shall presently see, peacocks were imported into Babylon before 500 B.C., and direct intercourse between Babylon and India practically ceased after the reign of Darius Hystaspes.[2]

(4) Certain Indian commodities were known to the Greeks and others under their Indian names in the fifth century B.C. Rice, for instance, has always been a staple export from India,[3] and it was a common article of food in the time of Sophocles,[4] while the Greek ὀρύζα is identical with the Tamil ariši.[5] Again, Aristophanes repeatedly mentions the peacock,[6] and assumes that it was as well known to his audience as the common fowl with which he contrasts it.[7] But the Greek ταώς is derived from the Tamil tokei or togei.[8] The medial *k* was transmuted into *av* in the Persian tavus, and the *v* was expressed originally by a medial aspirate or digamma in ταώς.[9] Peacocks and Indian sandal-wood[10] were known in

by Sir H. Layard in 1845, and which was used by the native owner as a candlestick. I have no doubt that Colonel Taylor, the father of Mr. John Taylor, bought it when he visited Mossul before he began his researches."

On the various spellings of Mugheir or Muqeyer vide J.R.A.S., July, 1891, p. 479, and correspondence there alluded to. It is, of course, quite possible that Mugheir may not be the Ur of Abraham or of the Chaldees, for there were probably several places of the same name, but Mugheir was the Ur of Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus.

[1] B. & O.R., iv, 7.

[2] "Professor Minayeff saw in the Bāveru Jātaka the oldest direct trace in India of Phoenicio-Babylonian intercourse."—B. & O.R., iv, 9.

[3] "Periplus," c. 14 and 31.

[4] It is mentioned in one of his fragments: vide Liddell and Scott, Greek Dict., s.v. ὀρίνδης ἄρτος.

[5] Caldwell, "Comparative Grammar," p. 66.

[6] Aristoph., Av., 102, 269; Ach., 63.

[7] For instance, Av., 102, where ὄρνις = 'fowl'; so also Av., 269.

[8] Caldwell, "Comparative Grammar," p. 66.

[9] See the evidence in Liddell and Scott, s.v. ταώς.

[10] The Sanskrit name for sandal-wood, 'chandana' = σάνταλον, does not appear to have been known in the West until the first century A.D.

Palestine under their Tamil names (as we saw in the preceding chapter) in the days of the Hebrew compilers of 1 Kings and 2 Chronicles.

Here, then, we find rice, peacocks, and sandal-wood known in the West in the fifth century B.C by their Tamil designations. It follows that they were imported from the west coast of India into Babylon directly by sea; and this conclusion is borne out by the statements of the Bāveru Jātaka. And we must further conclude that they were first imported into Babylon in the sixth century B.C.; not only because direct intercourse between Babylon and India practically came to an end after 480 B.C., but because rice and peacocks must have reached Greece at the latest in 460 or 470 B.C. in order to become common at Athens in 430 B.C. But this requires us to ascribe their first importation into Babylon to the sixth century B.C.

I add two pieces of less direct evidence:—

(1) Weber considers that most of the pre-Alexandrian astronomy (or astrology) of the Indians had a Chaldaean origin.[1] Some of these borrowings must go back to the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., since Professor de Lacouperie finds that "astrology and sorcery from a Chaldaean source, tinged with Indian views," reached China through the Erythraean sea-traders after 665 B.C.[2]

(2) Hofrath Dr. Bühler has given a *résumé* of the Indian evidence regarding the early sea-trade with the West.[3] Baudhāyana's condemnation of the Northern Aryans who took part in it proves that they were not the chief agents in it, although they had a considerable share.

[1] Weber, "History of Indian Literature," Eng. trans., p. 246 ff. London, 1892.

[2] De Lacouperie, "Western Origin," etc, p. 89. A corrupt list of the signs of the Zodiac, and the nineteen years cycle of Assyria in the seventh century, and the names of some of the planets in the sixth century B.C., are the chief. The Chinese Shepti = Jupiter, is said to have been borrowed from the Sanskrit Vrishas Pati in the sixth century B.C. (pp. 93 and 296–385).

[3] G. Bühler, "Indian Studies," No. 3, pp. 81–2, in the Sitzungsberichte der Kais.-Akademie der Wissenschaften, vol. cxxxii. Wien, 1895.

The evidence, then, warrants us in the belief that maritime commerce between India and Babylon flourished in the seventh and sixth, but more especially in the sixth century B.C. It was chiefly in the hands of Dravidians, although Aryans also had a share in it; and as Indian traders settled afterwards in Arabia[1] and on the east coast of Africa, and as we find them settling at this very time on the coast of China,[2] we cannot doubt that they had their settlements in Babylon also.[3] But the sixth and seventh centuries are the culminating period of Babylonian greatness. Babylon, which had been destroyed by Sennacherib and rebuilt by Esarhaddon; Babylon, which had owed her importance and her fame to the sanctity of her temples—now appears before us of a sudden as the greatest commercial mart of the world. There was no limit to her riches or her power. She arose, and utterly overthrew her ancient rival and oppressor Nineveh. With Nebuchadnezzar she became the wonder of the world. No other city could rival her magnificence:[4] splendid in her battlements and streets, her temples, and palaces, and gardens, she glowed with colour under the Syrian sky, the acknowledged mistress of the nations, regally seated among the palm-groves on either bank of the broad, swift-flowing flood of the Euphrates. The merchants of all countries made her their resort; the camels of Yemen and the mule-trains of Media jostled each other in her streets. Her commerce fell no whit behind her splendour, as her tablets testify. But the secret of her greatness lay in her monopoly of the treasures of the East, in the shouting of the Chaldaeans in their ships, and the swarthy Orientals who frequented her bazars. It moved the envy of the nations. Pharaoh Necho (612–596 B.C.) vainly sacrificed his subjects in order to

[1] Lassen, "Ind. Alt.," ii, p. 580.

[2] From 631 B.C. onwards, according to De Lacouperie. For the earliest instance of an Indian trader with a Sanskrit name in China, vide his "Western Origin," etc., p. 89.

[3] Crowds of strangers lived at Babylon. "Πολὺ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἀλλοεθνῶν," says Berosus. Vide C. Müller, "Frag. Hist. Graec.," ii, p. 496.

[4] Herod., i, 178.

reopen the canal which Seti I had made from the Nile to the Red Sea; and he despatched his Phoenician fleet round Africa in the hope of discovering a new world for commerce. And thus, long ago, the rivalry of the Spaniards and Portuguese for the treasures of Ind, which led to the discovery of America, was anticipated and equalled by the rivalry of Babylonians and Egyptians, and by the circumnavigation of Africa, when the world was as yet one and twenty centuries younger.

The decline of Babylon begins with Darius (519–484 B.C.).[1] The Babylonians hated him; they twice revolted against him, and were independent for years; and he chastised them. Xerxes wreaked his vengeance on them, and dared to plunder the sanctuary of Bel.[2] And so, from the commencement of the fifth century, the commercial tablets become scarce, the canals fall into disrepair, and dams impede the entrance of the Euphrates and the Tigris.[3] Herodotus was a witness to the great and increasing poverty of the common people under Persian rule.[4] From this time forward the decline of Babylon is continuous, and Bel and Nebo are no longer to avail. The Chaldaeans transferred their commerce to Gerrha, beyond the reach of the Great King's jealousy.[5] In after days the foundation of Seleucia drained what life was left, and by the days of Strabo Babylon had sunk to be a village and a name.[6]

The Persian blight destroyed not only Babylon; it extended to Egypt, and the merchants of Yemen entered into the commercial inheritance of both. The trade of Gerrha

[1] Or 521–485 B.C.

[2] Herod., i, 183; iii, 150–9. Lenormant, "Hist. Anc.," pp. 244–5. Maspero, "Hist. Anc.," pp. 608–27. For a summary of the Behistun inscription vide Lenormant, "Hist. Anc.," ii, pp. 429–32.

[3] Strabo, xvi, c. 1, § 9. Lassen, "Ind. Alt.," ii, p. 601.

[4] Herod., i, 196.

[5] The date of the foundation of Gerrha is uncertain, but it must have been after the Persians conquered Babylon.—Lassen, "Ind. Alt.," ii, p. 601. In all probability it was after Darius had reconquered Babylon, in 488 B.C., and thrown down its walls.—Lenormant, "Hist. Anc.," p. 244; Strabo, xvi, c. 3, § 3.

[6] Strabo, xvi, c. 1, § 5. After the foundation of Seleucia few of the inhabitants remained except the priests and attendants of the temple of Bel (Paus., i, c. 16, § 3). In ancient times the temples were the last buildings left intact in a deserted city.

with India survived; but the greater part of the trade with India and with Equatorial Africa passed into the hands of the merchants of Mouza and Aden and Kane. When the Greeks arrived, they found Indian merchants settled in Arabia and Sabaean forts and factories on the west coast of India.[1] But I can find nothing to show that the Arabians had any share in the Indian traffic before the monopoly of Babylon was broken.

The history of the trade between Babylon and India suggests one remark. The normal trade-route from the Persian Gulf to India can never have been along the inhospitable shores of Gedrosia. Doubtless more than one adventurous vessel reached India by hugging the shore prior to the seventh century B.C., although the records are lost, and commercial results there were none. But the exploring expeditions despatched by Darius in 512 B.C. from the mouth of the Indus,[2] and nearly two centuries later by Alexander the Great, show the difficulties and dangers of the route, the time it occupied, and the ignorance of the pilots.[3] The clear-headed author of the "Periplus," it is true, says that small ships formerly made the voyage to India, coasting along the shore, until Hippalus first ventured to cross the ocean by observing the monsoon.[4] But the writer probably refers to Greek ships only,[5] and on this point he is contradicted by other classical authorities.[6] No date is

[1] A summary of the Indian trade with Arabia will be found in Lassen, "Ind. Alt.," ii, pp. 581–4 and 593–6.

[2] Herod., iv, 44; Maspero, "Hist. Anc.," p. 618; Lenormant, "Hist. Anc.," ii, p. 484. The fleet of Darius was manned by a mixed crew (like the fleets of Sennacherib and Alexander), and it took thirty months to reach Arabia. The account written by Scylax of Karyanda, a countryman of Herodotus, who sailed with the expedition, was well known. Aristotle and Strabo refer to it. Herodotus goes on to say that after the expedition Darius used this sea, a fact which would imply that it was not used by the regular traders of Gerrha, Mouza, and India, who had the Indian trade entirely in their hands and were outside the Persian Empire.

[3] For the sufferings of the fleet with Nearchus, vide Arrian, "Indika," c. xxvi–xxxii. The voyage occupied about five months.

[4] "Periplus," c. 57.

[5] "Periplus," c. 58 ad fin.

[6] Arrian says ("Indika," xliii, McCrindle's translation) that "a voyage could be made all the way from Babylon to Egypt by means of this [Persian] Gulf. But, owing to the heat and utter sterility of the coast, no one has ever made

assigned to the discovery of the monsoons; and when we read that the monsoon wind is called Hippalus, are we not tempted to turn the story round the other way, and say that it was the wind which gave its name to the mythical pilot, and not the pilot to the wind? The monsoons must have been known from the earliest times to all who sailed along the Arabian and African coast; they were known to Nearchus;[1] and the mariners who reached Kiao-tchou in the seventh century B.C. cannot have feared to leave the land.[2] The introduction of Western shipbuilding and Western navigation into the Persian Gulf enabled men to face the open sea; and the true trade-route to India was discovered when the bluff-bowed, black-hulled merchant-ships, with their double rudders, first plunged through the salt sea-spray, and ploughed their eastward course under the stars amid the open ocean.

this voyage, except, it may be, some chance navigator." The expedition sent by Alexander failed to get round the coast of Arabia, and without local pilots it was impossible to do so.

[1] Arrian, "Indika," xxi. Pliny ("Nat. Hist.," vi, 23 (26)), after relating the voyage of Onesicritus and Nearchus, expressly says that, although the ships of Alexander sailed along the coast, afterwards vessels never took this course, but sailed direct with the monsoon ("favonio quem hippalum ibi vocant") from the Syagros promontory in Arabia to Patale. For Patale another port, Sigerus, was substituted, and this route was long in fashion, until, in much later times, vessels ventured with the monsoon straight from Ocelis (at the Straits of Babel-mandeb) to Muziris or Barake. Pliny says nothing of any individual called Hippalus, he knows it only as the name of a wind; and the 'mercator' in vi, 23-101, is used in a generic sense, and not of any special individual. Since Vincent's time many writers have accepted it for a fact that the monsoons were known long before the first century A.D. Cf. Lassen, "Ind. Alt.," ii, 582.

[2] Down to the very end of the Middle Ages the voyage from Ormuz to India was rarely attempted except at the commencement or in the middle of the monsoon. At other times it was considered extremely dangerous, on account of storms. Vide 'Abdur Razzák's narrative in Sir H. M. Elliot's "Historians of India," iv, p. 97.

III.

Did the Indian traders who visited Babylon bring back with them a knowledge of the Phoenician alphabet and of coinage? The question must be decided in each case by experts, but there is a strong natural presumption in favour of an affirmative.

First, as to the alphabet. Indian traders would find two forms of writing used for commercial purposes at Babylon in the seventh century B.C.—the alphabetic and the cuneiform.[1] The syllabic cuneiform was the more perfect; it was preferred even by the great Jewish banking-houses like the Egibi; and, had Brahmans had the choosing of a script, they would doubtless have selected it to express the complicated sounds of the Sanskrit, just as Darius selected it for his Pehlvi. The alphabet of the Phoenicians was imperfect and rudimentary, but it had two great advantages: it was easily learned, and the Indian traders were rude men; it could be written on portable although perishable materials, while the cuneiform could be written rapidly on clay only. The Indians chose the alphabetic form. But the script which they would use must necessarily have been the script current in the bazars of Babylon in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. As it was especially adapted for use on fragile materials, almost all examples of it have perished;[2] the nearest examples are the letters on the Assyrian weights. Hofrath Dr. Bühler has given four of these—three in his comparative table of alphabets on p. 91, and a fourth (No. 9) on p. 60 of his "Indian Studies," No. iii.[3] Nos. 5, 9, and 22 are identical with the corresponding Indian forms, and the fourth (No. 11) approaches

[1] "The Alphabet," by J. Taylor, vol. ii, p. 231.

[2] We are only now beginning to realize how great our losses are. "The few classical papyri preserved in Egyptian tombs suffice to show how the immense stores of Greek and Latin MSS. have disappeared."—Burgon and Miller, "The Traditional Text of the Holy Gospels," pp. 155–8 (London, 1896), and Sir E. Maunde Thompson's Greek and Latin Palaeography there referred to.

[3] In Sitzungsberichte der Kais.-Akademie der Wissenschaften, vol. cxxxii. Wien, 1895.

nearer to the Indian form than any other does. But the *he* (No. 5) of the Assyrian weights does not appear before 700 B.C.;[1] while, according to Dr. Bühler, certain Aramaic letters of the sixth century B.C. "are so strongly modified that they cannot be considered the prototypes of the corresponding Brāhma" ones.[2] On the other hand, Dr. Bühler has collected a large amount of evidence[3] to show that the Indian alphabet had been elaborated and was widely known by 500 B.C. Are we not, then, compelled to infer that the Indian alphabet first took shape about 600 B.C., and was suggested by the script prevailing at Babylon in the seventh century B.C.? To the eye of an outsider, the relationship between the early Phoenician and the Asoka alphabet, although unmistakable, is by no means immediate; and we require some intermediate form like the seventh-century script of Babylon—alas! almost entirely lost through the perishable nature of the materials.[4]

I come to the origin of the silver coins known as *purāṇas*. They are represented on the bas-reliefs of the Buddhist rails at Bodh Gaya and Bharhut, and it is generally admitted that they represent the oldest coinage of India.[5] These coins are oblong pieces of silver hardened with copper, of varying size and thickness, but all representing a uniform weight. One side is usually plain, or has a single punch-mark at the most; the other has various rude representations of what appear to be animals, plants, or other natural objects punched upon it. The number of these different

[1] Bühler, "Indian Studies," No. iii, p. 58.
[2] Ibid., p. 64.
[3] Ibid., pp. 5–26 and 85–6.
[4] As the majority of the early traders to Babylon were Dravidian, we may conjecture that the alphabet was first employed for writing Tamil; modified by the Aryans for the Prakrit; and finally adopted by the Brahmans for the Sanskrit. I understand Bishop Caldwell to assert the antiquity of Tamil letters when he says: "The art of writing [Tamil] had probably been introduced several centuries before the arrival of the Greek merchants" ("Comparative Grammar," etc., p. 67).
[5] For the evidence vide Sir A. Cunningham's "Coins of Ancient India," pp. 52–3. The bas-reliefs at Bodh Gaya and Bharhut representing the story of the Jetavana garden are well known. Photographs of them form the frontispiece to Sir A. Cunningham's work; and a larger photograph is given by way of frontispiece to his Bharhut.

marks is very great—nearly three hundred, it is said.[1] Legend has minted golden *purāṇas* from its own imagination; but legend touches everything to gold, and all the specimens (several thousands) we possess are silver.

There circulates at the present day in the Nepal Terai a species of copper coinage exactly resembling the *purāṇas* in shape and character. These coins are called Gorakhpuri pice, and formed the ordinary copper currency of Gorakhpur, Benares, and Behar, until their manufacture was prohibited (in 1886, if I remember aright) by an Act of the Legislative Council of India. The Gorakhpuri pice are oblong pieces of copper, of uniform value, but of varying size and thickness; and one side is punched with rude representations similar to—sometimes, perhaps, identical with—the marks on the *purāṇas*. The reverse is usually plain, or has a single punch-mark. It is a peculiarity of the *purāṇas* and of the Gorakhpuri pice that they never bear a legend or letter.

These Gorakhpuri pice are the only specimens of private coinage current in British India with which I am acquainted.[2] But private coinage of gold as well as silver was the rule among the Hindoo Rajahs of Central India at the commencement of the century. Malcolm says: "The right of coining is vested in no particular body or individuals; any banker or merchant sufficiently conversant in the business has merely to make application to Government, presenting at the same time a trifling acknowledgment, engaging to produce coin of the regulated standard, and to pay the proper fees on its being assayed and permitted to pass current."[3] At Pertabgarh four mercantile houses had a monopoly of the gold and silver coinage.[4]

[1] Cunningham, "Ancient Coins," etc., pp. 55 and 58.

[2] Private coinage of copper was also known under the Mahomedans. Ziāu-d dīn Barni says of Muhammad bin Tughlik Shāh that "he introduced his copper money, and gave orders that it should be used in buying and selling. The promulgation of this edict turned the house of every Hindu into a mint, and the Hindus of the various provinces coined krors and lacs of copper coins. With these they paid their tribute," etc.—"The History of India as told by its own Historians," by Sir H. M. Elliot and Professor Dowson, vol. iii, p. 240.

[3] "Memoir of Central India," by Sir J. Malcolm, vol. ii, p. 80; London, 1823. I am indebted to Mr. Rapson for the reference.

[4] Ibid., vol. ii, p. 84.

Private coinage in India goes back to very early times. The proof is to be found in certain coins of Taxila described by Sir A. Cunningham.[1] These coins preserve the *purāṇa* shape, but they bear legends, and are obviously transitional. On one side they have a Kharosthi inscription, which is not understood; on the other is the word Negāma. "The word Negāma is common enough," says Dr. Bühler, "in Pali and in the epigraphic Prakrits, and means always the traders. It shows here that the coins are mercantile tokens issued by traders, and the names on the obverse may be either of towns or of guilds."[2] These coins are "anterior to the Greek conquest of Demetrios"[3] ("of Alexander," says Sir A. Cunningham).

Since, then, private coinage is of extreme antiquity in India, and the *purāṇas* agree in character with one species, at least, of private coinage still in vogue, it is reasonable to suppose that the *purāṇas* were issued, not by any state, but by bankers and by merchant guilds. This hypothesis alone can explain their numbers and their wide distribution.[4] But it attains an amount of probability almost approaching certainty, if we compare it with the contemporary currency of Babylon, from which I believe it was derived.

The currency of Babylon at the close of the sixth century B.C. was of private coinage. The earliest official coin from a Babylonian mint in the British Museum bears the name of Mazaios (331–328 B.C.); the earliest mention of official coinage in a Babylonian contract tablet dates from the twelfth year of Seleucus II (234 B.C.).[5] It is true that Darius issued gold darics and silver sigloi, but these were current chiefly in Asia Minor and along the Mediterranean coast, and rarely found their way to the Euphrates. Not a single coin of the Achaemenids was found by Dieulafoy

[1] Cunningham, "Ancient Coins," etc., pp. 63–4.
[2] Bühler's "Indian Studies," No. iii, p. 47.
[3] Ibid., p. 46.
[4] Cunningham, "Ancient Coins," etc., p. 42.
[5] British Museum Guide to the Nimroud Central Saloon, 1886, p. 124.

in his excavations at Persepolis, and of the treasure discovered by Alexander at Susa four-fifths were bullion.[1]

Nevertheless, the Babylonians had a coinage of their own. Before the days of Darius they had transacted their business in pure gold or silver, and their payments were made by weight. But, from the first year of the reign of Darius, 519 (or 521) B.C., the contract tablets show a remarkable change. In a contract of the first year of Darius we read of a payment of "half a mana [of] pure [silver] and half a mana 50 shekels by the one shekel piece coined."[2] These silver shekels are said to be "stamped" or "punched" "for giving and receiving." They are often called "white" silver, and are said to be "coined, not standard."[3] The most curious notice dates from the twenty-sixth year of Darius—"4 mana of silver (and) ten shekels of silver, which are by the one-shekel piece (and) which are not struck with the bird's-tail (name of a plant)."[4] From the time of Darius to the end of the Persian monarchy every Babylonian contract which advances or requires payment in silver distinctly specifies whether the advance or payment has been or is to be made in "pure," "refined," or "standard" silver, or in "white" silver shekel pieces "punched" "for giving and receiving."

These silver shekel pieces were evidently called forth by the actual or anticipated issue of the sigloi of Darius;[5] but they certainly were neither sigloi nor in any way official.

[1] Perrot and Chipiez, "History of Art in Persia," Eng. trans., p. 458. London, 1892.

[2] British Museum Guide to the Nimroud Central Saloon, No. 79, p. 109. The translations are by Mr. T. G. Pinches. For other examples of silver shekels in the above Guide see, for the reign of Darius, No. 81, p. 110; No. 83, p. 111; No. 86, p. 112; No. 87, p. 112; No. 89, p. 113 (where 'refined' silver is especially opposed to 'white,' i.e. coined silver); No. 90, p. 114; No. 92, p. 115; No. 96, p. 117;—nine examples, commencing with the first and ending with the last year of Darius. No. 104, p. 120, is an example from the time of Xerxes, and No. 106, p. 121, from the time of Artaxerxes. Notice also how contracts which do not mention coined shekels mention 'pure' or 'refined' silver, a distinction which first commences with the reign of Darius.

[3] "Records of the Past," N.S., vol. iv, p. 105.

[4] British Museum Guide to the Nimroud Central Saloon, No. 92, p. 115.

[5] It is generally supposed that Darius first began to issue his new coinage in 516 B.C.

(1) The Babylonian shekel weighed 132·76 grains, the siglos 86·4 grains.[1] (2) Instead of the royal archer, they have various natural objects stamped upon them, and are not always in uniform esteem—the "bird's-tail" plant device being an objectionable coin. (3) Had they been official coins, they would have been described in legal documents by their official designation, and not by popular circumlocutions. When we come to staters, we find them called "istaterrānu."[2]

In order that these silver shekels might at once pass current in the market, they must have borne devices already familiar on the ingots of pure silver. Indeed, they can have differed from these ingots only in the fact that they were all of uniform weight, and contained a certain amount of alloy. We may further assume that they bore no letters, since none are mentioned, and were punched on one side only. In this they would necessarily agree with the characteristics of all non-Hellenic coinage at the time (521 B.C.).

In these Babylonian shekels, punched for giving and receiving, I think we may discover the origin of the Indian *purāṇas*. The Indian *purāṇas* have two of the chief characteristics of an early coinage—the absence of letters, and the stamp on one side only. Silver must have been imported into India, in the sixth century B.C., entirely or almost entirely from Babylon; and it was only natural that, when the need for a local currency arose, the Babylonian coinage should be imitated with the foreign metal. Both Indian *purāṇas* and Babylonian shekels appear to represent a private coinage; both had a great variety of natural objects for a device, and were punched on one side only; both adopt a standard weight, but not a standard size;[3] and both contained a small amount of alloy. It is

[1] Cunningham, "Ancient Coins of India": for the shekel, p. 30; for the siglos, p. 47. It is immaterial to my argument whether these determinations are exact or not; they are sufficiently approximate.

[2] British Museum Guide to the Nimroud Central Saloon, No. 112, p. 124.

[3] The difference in size, and the rudeness and variety of the devices, are the natural result of leaving the coinage in private hands; whereas a fixed weight is necessary for the issue of any one trader to pass current with those of another in the market.

true that the Indian coin, being intended for local use, adopted the local weight. But the general characteristics of both coinages are the same; and, if we reject the Babylonian origin of the *purāṇas*, I do not see from what quarter we can derive them. The *purāṇas* cannot be of purely indigenous invention, without a hint from abroad. The Indians could not fail to get such hints when they imported silver; and the *purāṇas* have too many of the characteristics of early Occidental coinage to be spontaneous. The Indians cannot have borrowed the idea from the Arabs; and, if they borrowed it from the Greeks, why are the *purāṇas* so primitive—so letterless and rude? The traders of Taxila, on *their purāṇas*, imitated the Greeks; why should not the traders of the west coast, two centuries earlier, have imitated the rude private coinage of the Babylonians?[1]

The history of the Babylonian shekels and the Indian *purāṇas* suggests two general reflections.

1. The stamp on a coin was required not so much to guarantee the weight as the purity of the metal. The weight could only be guaranteed at the time of issue; and even in the Middle Ages, and still later among the Moghuls, silver, after a very few years' currency, was reckoned not as coin, but specie. To this day, in India every banker and money-changer examines every coin he receives, and weighs it if he be doubtful; and every big payment, whether by a firm or by a Government treasury, is made by weight and not by tale. And, in the same way, we find that the Egyptians[2] continued to weigh their coins long after the Ptolemies had established their mints. Everyone can test the weight of a coin, but its purity can be guaranteed only

[1] None of the Babylonian shekels have been preserved, and it is impossible to say what shape they had. The shape of coins must have been chiefly determined, in the first instance, by the shape of the silver ingots and the convenience of manufacture. The Lydian coins are bean-shaped ingots. The round shape of later coins was probably due to the belt which held them when punched. Silver was imported into India in the shape of silver plate ("Periplus," c. 39), and Sir A. Cunningham has shown that the purāṇas were cut out of it with a chisel: "Ancient Coins," etc., p. 43.

[2] Wilkinson, "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," edited by S. Birch, vol. ii, p. 245.

by a professional assayer; and Sir A. Cunningham has pointed out how Indian merchants often put their private marks on Government coins.[1] Such a guarantee would be still more necessary when pure silver was used, and I have already pointed out that the Babylonian shekels could not have obtained immediate currency had they not adopted devices already familiar on the silver ingots.[2]

2. The importance of private coinage, and its priority to an official coinage, are not always recognized.[3] According to Indian (and I might say Oriental) ideas, currency is the business, not of the State, but of the banker and the merchant. What they will accept in payment, that is current with all the world. The idea of monopoly is foreign to such a system; and the close connection in practice, as well as theory, between money and specie, prevents any degradation of the standard. Every peasant looks on silver ornaments and silver coin as of equal value, after due allowance made for the labour of the silversmith.[4] On the other hand, the State encounters many obstacles when it attempts to put its own coinage into circulation.[5] One way alone is open: it may demand that all its dues shall be paid in its own coins. But Oriental States have always realized much the greatest part of their income in kind, and this method is therefore not within their power.

[1] Cunningham, "Ancient Coins," etc., p. 58.

[2] The use of private marks as a guarantee for coin among traders is illustrated by a practice still prevailing among the merchants of Mirzapur. My friend Mr. Irvine, the historian of the Moghul Empire, tells me that in Mirzapur large payments are made in bags of Rs. 1,000 each, which bear the seals of well-known merchants, and are never opened. Cunningham ("Ancient Coins," etc., p. 49) remarks that gold-dust tied up in small bags circulates in the Western Himalayas, and Wilkinson ("Popular Account of the Ancient Egyptians," vol. ii, p. 149; London, 1871) says that the Egyptians kept gold-dust in sealed bags.

[3] I first heard the suggestion of private coinage being anterior to official coinage from the late Dr. R. S. Poole, in the course of a lecture. Lectures have a great advantage over books as a medium for "happy thoughts" and unsigned ideas; much the advantage which a conditional I.O.U. has over a regular cheque.

[4] It is usual in India to hand over to the silversmith a certain amount of coin, and to receive in return an equal weight of jewellery, the cost of manufacture being fixed by bargain at a certain percentage, usually from one-eighth to one-fourth, half, or even three-quarters of the whole, according to the difficulty of the work.

[5] As I know from experience.

The Lydian kings had a monopoly of the golden sands of the Pactolus, and could circulate their gold in whatever fashion might best suit the royal finances; but such a proceeding was beyond the power, perhaps the wish, of the "Great King." An official coinage meant an alloy and a degradation of the currency; and Egyptians and Babylonians, accustomed for centuries to pure gold and silver, would have none of it. Thus, we can understand why State coinage spread so slowly, and found so little favour, among the great mercantile nations of antiquity—whether on the Nile, the Euphrates, or the Ganges; while needy and mistrustful newcomers, like the Greeks and Indo-Scythians, readily adopted it. Private coinage must have existed for centuries before Lydian kings took it up; and if the devices were rude, the metal was pure, and well-suited to peoples who drew no distinction between money and specie. Official coinage is in reality a gift of the Greeks.

IV.

Indian traders brought back to their native land notions of writing and of coinage which they had picked up in the bazars of Babylon. But when we ask whether they also borrowed any ideas of art or architecture from the temples, the hanging gardens, and the public and private palaces of Babylon, the answer is much more doubtful, and there are many difficulties in the way. Our earliest Indian examples of architecture and art are very limited in character: they consist chiefly of Buddhist topes and rails, things essentially Indian; and they are separated by centuries from everything Babylonian. Moreover, we know something of Babylonian architecture, but very little of Babylonian art, during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.; we must assume (and the assumption is probable) that it

resembled the Assyrian art of the seventh century. And the greatest difficulty of all is the difficulty of disentangling any Assyrian forms which might have reached India through Babylon from the immensely greater influence of Assyrian art, exercised indirectly through Persepolis.

Again, the architectures of Mesopotamia, of Persia, and of India, were essentially national and essentially distinct. The architecture of Babylon and Nineveh is a massive architecture of solid brick. The pillar is the special characteristic of Persia; and the pillared halls of Cyrus, of Darius, and Xerxes, on their enormous platforms of stone, were glorious examples. The Indian architecture was of brick and wood—a hollow shell, with brick walls for the lower stories and wood for the upper. The three architectures are distinct in kind.

The sculpture of India must also be classed as altogether original. Its straightforward realism, the violent although expressive motions in which it delights, its preference for the full face, and its peculiar type of feminine beauty, are wholly Indian. So also is its fondness for idyllic scenes, its love of animals and animated nature, and the profusion of fancy and fanciful variety, although this profuse variety is apt to become as oppressive as the tangled wealth of a tropical jungle.

But if the elementary conceptions of art and architecture were purely indigenous, there was abundant scope for the borrowing of detail; and, as a matter of fact, most of the details were borrowed from Persia. The pillar, indeed, was the only lithic form Persia had to lend; it survives at Bharhut and in Asoka's monoliths, and it reappears in the caves of Western India. It must have been universal where decorated stone was used, but Indian buildings do not run to height, and the examples have perished long ago in sugar and oil mills. The borrowings in sculpture are much more numerous. The lotus and honeysuckle, the crenellations and mouldings, the conventional methods of representing water and rocks, are all taken from Persia, and find their original prototypes in Nineveh; the hybrid

creatures and winged animals are borrowed, with many a fanciful variation and addition. But the debt of Indian to Perso-Assyrian art is most strikingly apparent from two general observations.

First. The sculpture of India proper—the India of the Gangetic Valley—is mainly bas-relief. That forms its chief characteristic, and its main distinction from the Hellenized sculpture of Gandhara, which consisted of sculpture in the round. It is true that sculpture in the round was not unknown in India; but it was as little practised there as at Persepolis or Nineveh. The sculpture of all three is essentially bas-relief. And the Indians apply their bas-reliefs after the Persian fashion. Their sculpture is lavished chiefly on the doors and vestibules, and the most important single figures guard the entrance of the gateways in India, as in Persia; the sculptured risers of the Jamalgarhi monastery recall the inclined ascents to the palaces of Darius and of Xerxes. Even the inscribed bas-reliefs of Bharhut—unique, alas! in Indian art—have their counterparts at Persepolis and Nineveh.[1]

Second. Of the decoration of the earlier Buddhist monasteries we know practically nothing, but the decoration

[1] The Buddhist rails and their decoration are alike unique. But the method of decoration is so singular and yet so artistic that I cannot help believing the first suggestions were borrowed from abroad. The processions of bulls and other animals upon the plinth are obviously a modification of the Persian practice; the division of the coping into sculptured groups by means of floral ornament may possibly have had its origin in the lotus-divided bas-reliefs such as those which crowned the top of the staircases at Persepolis. The decoration of the uprights is the real difficulty. The decoration of these must have been originally floral; for in the earlier examples the semi-discs at top and bottom of the upright are commonly filled with floral or geometric patterns, and the central discs surround the figure-sculpture with a floral band, or else reliefs and rosettes occur on alternate rails. The origin of the scheme of decoration must therefore be sought in some scheme of floral ornament; and this, I think, may be found in rows of palmettes or semi-discs at the top and bottom of an entablature or other plain surface with rosettes in the middle. Something of the kind may sometimes be seen rudely painted on the walls of an Indian house; and I fancy that the wooden posts of the Buddhist rails were originally painted, although metal must often have been used instead of paint, on account of its durability and lustre. Metal rosettes on wood were common enough in Persia. For Fergusson's suggestion vide "History of Indian and Eastern Architecture," p. 93; London, 1891. Of course, the so-called Buddhist rails were not necessarily Buddhist. Hindoos and Jains, as well as Buddhists, employed them for buildings of every kind, sacred and profane.

of the later Vihāra caves, of Nālandā, and of the Sanghārāmas of Gandhāra was Persian, and that not so much after the fashion of the Sassanians as of the Achaemenids. There is the same lavish employment of colour, the use of enamelled or metallic tiles upon the roof, the guilded rafters and elaborately painted ceilings, the rich capitals of the pillars, the application of inlaying. The two schemes of decoration are substantially the same.

To the general question, then, concerning the direct influence of Babylon on Indian art, we must answer "No." But I think that a direct influence may be traced in one particular class of buildings and in one particular locality—I mean the Buddhist vihāra caves of Western India. These caves differ in many of their leading features from what we meet elsewhere. The vihāras of the Gangetic Valley appear to have consisted originally of a set of buildings one or two stories high around an open courtyard. That is the shape they would naturally assume according to modern Indian practice, and it is the shape preserved to us in the Rani ka Nur at Udayagiri.[1] But the four or five storied vihāras which we hear of afterwards are tower-like buildings, each stage set back upon the lower one. They undoubtedly recall the impression of a Babylonian *ziqurat* or temple, but are hollow throughout and built of wood.[2] But how and where did this idea of roofing over the originally open court arise? And how came the building to be turned into a lofty and organic whole? We first meet with the inclosure of the central space in the western caves, and these were probably the work of

[1] But see Fergusson's remarks on this cave in "Cave Temples of India," by Fergusson and Burgess, p. 78; London, 1880. His explanation appears to me very far-fetched and improbable.

[2] Fergusson ("History of Indian Architecture," pp. 202 and 618) has attempted to connect certain Burmese and Sinhalese dagobas with the Babylonian type, and has suggested that connecting links once existed in brick and plaster in the valley of the Ganges. Cf. also his "Cave Temples of India," p. 34. But there are two objections: (1) Had massive buildings of solid brick, either temples or vihāras, ever existed in the valley of the Ganges, they could not fail to have left their traces, as the stupas have done. (2) The Indian buildings, so far as we know (apart from the stupas, which are not buildings at all), were not solid, but hollow.

ὀρεινοί, a class of ascetics still surviving in the hermits who erect mimic mountains of earth for their habitation in the plains of Hindostan. Now the Babylonian zigurats represented exactly on a large scale the same idea of a mountain. The Accadian gods lived on the tops of the mountain ranges to the north-east of Babylon. When the Accadians descended from the hills and settled in the alluvial plains at the mouth of the Tigris and Euphrates, they built stepped mountains for their gods with winding paths, and oriented them to the north-east, towards the region they had left, the region where the gods remained.[1] But the storied vihāras of India, with their retreating stages, are also imitation mountains. The proof is to be found in the miniature huts erected along the exterior edge of each stage in the "raths" at Mahāvellipur. That Accadians and Dravidians should agree to venerate mountains, is not wonderful; but that they should have agreed to express their veneration in a unique and striking form, argues a common origin. The artificial mountain of the Indians was necessarily a hollow shell, because all their construction was of brick and wood. And as the Buddhist brethren met within the open courtyard, so they would meet within the interior of this shell, and take up their abode within it, just as the Hindoo devotee makes in his artificial mountain a cavè-dwelling for himself. The towering vihāra became a very different structure from the solid stories of the

[1] The earliest existing zigurats (at Mugheir and Nippur) were built by Ur-gur and Dungi (*circâ* 2500 B.C.), and are therefore much later than the step pyramids of Medum and Sakkarah. There was frequent communication between Egypt and Babylonia in the days of Ur-gur and his descendants, and it is sometimes supposed that the zigurats of Babylonia took their shape from the step pyramids of Egypt. But I do not think this view can be maintained. The step pyramids of Egypt were developed from the *mastaba*, and were exceptional. They were always tombs, and had temples in front of them. The Babylonian zigurats were never tombs, they had raised ascents, and shrines on their summits, and their form was fixed throughout the whole period of Babylonian history. The zigurats of Mugheir and Nippur are built on the ruins of temples as old as the step pyramids of Egypt, and there is no reason to believe that the Chaldaeans ever materially altered the shape of their temples. The names of the zigurats often recall the idea of a mountain, e.g. "temple of the great mount," and kings compare their temples to hills. Thus, Kudur-Mabug says he has made a temple to the goddess Ninni (Istar) like a mountain (Hommel, "Geschichte Babylon," p. 358).

zigurat, for India has rarely borrowed anything which she has not altered in adapting it; but we may conjecture that zigurat and vihāra had a common origin.[1] These speculations may be fanciful; I will not deny it. But of two things I do feel assured. Babylonian influence lingered longest on the west coast of India; and the western caves are the work of a totally distinct artistic school from that of Orissa and the Ganges Valley. The prehistoric age in India is distinguished, not by periods of stone and copper and bronze, but by the spread of the Aryans, the consolidation of societies, and the elaboration of a cult. With the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. we reach the commencement of personal and dated history, and a great creative era—the age of Mahāvīra and of Buddha. But the material preceded the spiritual. The first stir of that new life arose from the contact with Western civilization; the breath of inspiration came from Babylon, and then from Persia. When the Greeks arrived, they found great and civilized peoples whose learning and whose capitals aroused their admiration. The records of that civilization were written on palm-leaves and on bark, or exhibited in brick and wood—things perishable, which have perished; and we are perforce reduced to search painfully among the flotsam and jetsam of time for any vestiges of the grandeur of antiquity.[2]

[1] Jhering ("Evolution of the Aryan," Eng. trans., p. 182) has no difficulty in deriving the whole of Indian architecture from Babylon. He says that a Babylonian architect had only to despatch the necessary models and workmen in a ship or fleet for the Indian Prince to select what he required. The ancient myth-makers, with their Argo, are not a patch on the modern rationalists, with their superficiality and dogmatism, their appalling blunders, and massive ignorance. Jhering sometimes has good ideas, and I occasionally agree in his conclusions; but he repels me by his method, his absurdities and blunders.

[2] The remains of Asoka's time show considerable skill in the use of stone, and prove that stone-work was no novelty. The imitation of wooden forms in stone does not necessarily imply a recent origin; similar imitations lasted for centuries in the Doric order and in Achaemenid architecture. The progress of the Indians was necessarily of the slowest, for Persia could supply them with scarcely any models, and they had to discover everything for themselves; so that, according to Fergusson, they took a thousand years to get rid of all traces of wooden forms. The rise of stone architecture must, therefore, be dated long before Asoka, either in the end of the fifth or beginning of the fourth century B.C. But these remarks do not apply to the western caves. The slanting

pillars at Bhaja and Kondane show a very novel and rudimentary knowledge of work in stone. Not that this implies any very low stage of civilization; on the contrary, the elaborate wooden screens, and the grandeur of conception which these caves display, are proofs of a very considerable culture; and we must remember that these Dravidians had long carried on trade with Babylon, and Sabaean colonies had settled among them. But it does imply that Persian influences took some centuries to extend to the west coast, and that the intercourse between India north and south of the Nerbudda was not great.

ART. XVII.—*Notes on Alaṅkāra Literature.* By Colonel G. A. JACOB, Indian Staff Corps.

III.

THE presentation of the Rules and Examples of the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, in skeleton form, traced as far as possible to their sources, is the object of the present paper. I wish, however, that I had been able to achieve greater success as the result of the immense labour bestowed upon it. Most of the quotations from the older writers were found when studying the work in Poona, twenty-one years ago, with Kṛshṇa Śāstrī Vaijāpurkar; but many others were obtained from the literature unearthed by my friend Dr. Bühler during his famous tour in Kashmir and edited by the late Paṇḍit Durgāprasād and by Dr. Peter Peterson. Doubtless many of those which have defied my efforts to track them were composed by the joint authors themselves; whilst others may have come from works no longer extant, a remark which applies very specially to the large number of untraced Prākṛta passages. Yet, in spite of all this, I feel that the task might have been performed in more scholarly fashion but for the complete breakdown of my eyesight three years ago, which has considerably circumscribed my work ever since. And, now, a second attack of Glaucoma incapacitates me still more, and seems even to demand the complete abandonment of Oriental studies.

I trust that the well-known specialist Dr. Pischel and other Sanskritists in Europe and India may be able to fill up some of the *hiati* so conspicuous in this paper. And as I retire from the field in which I have revelled for thirty-five years, let me commend it to my countrymen in India who have

a real love for linguistic science. At present we are far outdistanced by scholars on the Continent, and that in spite of our unique position as masters of Bharata-Varsha! May the proposed Oriental College in London speedily become a reality, and awaken such national enthusiasm as shall sweep away the reproach which we have deservedly contracted for our masterly inactivity in this fascinating field!

Kāvyaprakāśa.

Chap. I.

I. **Niyatikṛtaniyama.**

II. **Kāvyaṁ yaśase 'rthakṛte.**

In the *vṛtti* which follows, read, with Kashmir MSS., "Bāṇādīnām," instead of "Dhāvakādīnām"; and compare line 5 ff. with similar passages in *Locana*, pp. 12, 180.

III. **Śaktir nipuṇatā.**

IV. **Tad adoshau sabdārthau.**

1. Yaḥ kaumāraharaḥ. *Śīlābhaṭṭārikā* (Śārṅga.).
2. Niḥśeshacyutacandanam. *Amaru*, 105.

V. **Atādṛśi guṇībhūtavyaṅgyam.**

3. Grāmataruṇam. *Rudraṭa*, vii, 39.
4. Svacchandocchalat°.
5. Vinirgataṁ mānadam. *Hayagrīvavadha* (so Durgāprasād).

Chap. II.

I. **Syād vācako lākshaṇikaḥ.**

II. **Sarveshāṁ prāyaśo 'rthānām.**

1. Māe gharovaaraṇam.
2. Sāhentī sahi.
3. Ua ṇiccala. *Gāthāsaptaśatī*, i, 4.

III. **Saṅketitaś caturbhedaḥ.**

The supposed quotation from the *Vākyapadīya*, on page 10, is not in that work. For the sense of it, however, see ii, 176, and iii, 1, 33. The latter reference was given by my learned friend Dr. Kielhorn from his own MS. Of the passage attributed to Patañjali on page 11, the last three words only are found on page 19 (line 20) of Kielhorn's edition.

IV. **Mukhyārthabādhe tadyoge.**

V. **Svasiddhaye parākshepaḥ.**

Half of the line quoted on page 14 ("Viśeshyaṁ nābhidhā") is cited on page 16 of the *Locana* also, where we have besides what seems to be the second line.

VI. **Sāṛopānyā tu yatroktau.**

VII. **Bhedāv imau ca.**

The stanza (Abhidheyāvinābhūta) quoted on page 18 is *Tantravārtika*, 1, 4, 22. As to "āyur ghṛtam" see page 299 of this Journal (1897).

VIII. **Vyaṅgyena rahitā rūḍhau.**

4. Mukhaṁ vikasitasmitam.

5. Śrīparicayāj jaḍā api. *Ravigupta* (Subhāsh.).

IX. **Tadbhūr lākshaṇikaḥ.**

X. **Phale śabdaikagamye ca.**

XI. **Lakshyaṁ na mukhyam.**

XII. **Evam apy anavasthā syāt.**

XIII. **Jnānasya vishayo hy anyaḥ.**

XIV. **Anekārthasya śabdasya.**

The two verses (Saṁyogo, etc., and Sāmarthyam, etc.) quoted in the *vṛtti* here are *Vākyapadīya*, ii, 317, 318; but the reading there is "Saṁsargo" instead of "Saṁyogo."

6. Eddahamettatthaṇiā. *Bhoja*, ii, 56.

7. Bhadrātmano duradhirohatanoḥ.

XV. **Tadyukto vyañjakaḥ śabdaḥ.**

CHAP. III.

I. Arthāḥ proktāḥ purā.

II. Prastāvadeśakālādeḥ.

1. Aiviulaṁ jalakumbham.
2. Oṇṇiddaṁ dobballam.
3. Tathābhūtām dṛshṭvā. *Veṇīsaṁhāra*, i, 11.
4. Taiā maha gaṇḍatthala°.
5. Uddeśo 'yaṁ sarasakadalī°.
6. Ṇollei aṇaddamaṇā.
7. Subbai samāgamissadi.
8. Anyatra yūyaṁ kusumāvacāyam.
9. Guruaṇaparavaśa pia.
10. Dvāropāntanirantare mayi.

III. Śabdapramāṇavedyo 'rthaḥ.

CHAP. IV.

I. Avivakshitavācyo yaḥ.

Dhvani.,[1] ii, 1, modified in first line.

1. Tvām asmi vacmi.
2. Upakṛtaṁ bahu nāma.

II. Rasabhāvatadābhāsa°.

The first half of this *kārikā* is clearly *Dhvani.*, ii, 3.

III. Kāraṇāny atha kāryāṇi.

IV. Vibhāvā anubhāvāś ca.

The quotation (Vibhāvānubhāva) from Bharata which follows this *kārikā* is from the prose passage connected with his vi, 32. Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa's exposition of Bharata is quoted somewhat differently in the *Kāvyapradīpa.*

3. Seyaṁ mamāṅgeshu.
4. Daivād aham atra. *Rudraṭa*, vii, 29.

These two stanzas are explained in the *Udāharaṇa-candrikā*, and may therefore be taken as Mammaṭa's

[1] This abbreviation is applied throughout to the *kārikās* of the *Dhvanyāloka*, as to which see Part I of these Notes.

citations. At the same time, it might very reasonably be assumed that they were quoted by Śrīśaṅkuka in support of his definition of Rasa; in which case we should have either to place him after Rudraṭa, or to admit that the latter did not always compose his own illustrations.

5. Viyad alimalināmbugarbhamegham.
6. Parimṛditamṛṇālīmlānam. *Mālatīmādhava*, i, 21.
7. Dūrād utsukam. *Amaru*, 49.

V. Śṛṅgārahāsyakaruṇa°. *Bharata*, vi, 15.

8. Śūnyaṁ vāsagṛham. *Amaru*, 82.
9. Tvam mugdhākshi. *Amaru*, 27.
10. Premārdrāḥ praṇayaspṛśaḥ. *Mālatī.*, v, 7.
11. Anyatra vrajatīti.
12. Sā patyuḥ prathamāparādha°. *Amaru*, 29.
13. Prasthānaṁ valayaiḥ. *Amaru*, 35.
14. Tvām ālikhya. *Meghadūta*, 108.
15. Ākuñcya pāṇim aśucim.
16. Hā mātas tvaritāsi kutra.
17. Kṛtam anumatam dṛshṭaṁ vā. *Veṇīsaṁhāra*, iii, 20.
18. Kshudrāḥ santrāsam. *Mahānāṭaka*, ix, 50.
19. Grīvābhaṅgābhirāmam. *Śākuntala*, i, 7.
20. Utkṛtyotkṛtya kṛttim. *Mālatī.*, v, 16.
21. Citraṁ mahān esha batāvatāraḥ.

VI–X. These *kārikās* are *Bharata*, vi, 17–21.

XI. Nirvedasthāyibhāvo 'sti.

22. Ahau vā hāre vā. *Vairāgyaśataka*, 40.

XII. Bhāvaḥ proktaḥ.

23. Kaṇṭhakoṇa°. Utpala's *Parameśvarastotra*, 13 (so Durgāprasād).
24. Haraty aghaṁ samprati. *Māgha*, i, 26.
25. Jāne kopaparāṅmukhī. *Nidrādaridra* (Subhāsh. and Śārṅga.).
26. Stumaḥ kaṁ vāmākshi.
27. Rākāsudhākaramukhī.

28. Tasyāḥ sāndravilepana°. *Amaru*, 26.
29. Ekasmin śayane. *Amaru*, 22.
30. Utsiktasya tapaḥparākrama°. *Mahāvīra.*, ii, 22.
31. Kvākāryaṁ śaśalakshmaṇaḥ. *Vikramorvaśī*, iv (in some MSS. See S. P. Paṇḍit's edition, p. 122); *Dhvanyāloka*, p. 165.

XIII. **Mukhye rase 'pi te 'ṅgitvam.**

XIV. **Śabdārthobhayaśaktyutthaḥ.**

The second line of this *kārikā* and the first of XV are given as a stanza by Ruyyaka on p. 102.

XV. **Pradhānatvena sa jneyaḥ.**

32. Ullāsya kālakaravāla°.
33. Tigmaruchirapratāpaḥ.
34. Amitaḥ samitaḥ.
35. Nirupādānasambhāram. Nārāyaṇa's *Stavacintāmaṇi* (so Durgāprasād).
36. Panthia ṇa ettha. *Bhoja*, i, 139 (modified).
37. Śanir aśaniś ca.

XVI. **Praudhoktimātrāt.**

Compare *Dhvani.*, ii, 27.

XVII. **Vastvalaṅkāram athavā.**

38. Alasasiromaṇi.
39. Dhanyāsi yā kathayasi. *Vijjakā* (Śārṅga.).
40. Darpāndhagandha°.
41. Gāḍhakāntadaśana°.
42. Kailāsasya prathama°.
43. Kesesu balāmoḍia.
44. Gāḍhāliṅgaṇarahasu°.
45. Jā ṭheram va hasantī.
46. Je laṅkāgiri°. *Karpūramañjarī*, i, 20.
47. Sahi viraiūṇa māṇassa.
48. Ullolakaraa°.
49. Mahilāsahassa°. *Gāthāsaptaśatī*, ii, 82.
50. Atandracandrābharaṇā.

XVIII. **Rasādīnām anantatvāt.**

51. Yasya mitrāṇi mitrāṇi.
52. Khalavavahārā.
53. Lāvaṇyaṁ tad asau.
54. Mugdhe mugdhatayaiva. *Amaru*, 70.
55. Rudhiravisara°.
56. Bhuktimuktikṛt.
57. Sāyaṁ snānam upāsitam.
58. Tadaprāptimahāduḥkha°. *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, 5, 13, 21.
59. Cintayantī jagatsūtim. *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, 5, 13, 22.
60. Kshaṇadāsāvakshaṇadā.
61. Tuha vallahassa.
62. Rāisu candadhavalāsu.
63. Niśitaśaradhiyā.
64. Vārijjanto vi uṇo.
65. So muddhasāmalāṅgo.
66. Ṇavapuṇṇimāmiaṅkassa.
67. Sahi ṇavaṇihuvaṇa°.
68. Pavisantī gharavāram.
69. Vihalaṅkhalaṁ tumam.
70. Johṇāi mahuraseṇa a.
71. Alaṁ sthitvā śmaśāne. *Śāntiparva.*, 5685.
72. Na ceha jīvitaḥ. *Śāntiparva.*, 5686.
73. Ādityo 'yaṁ sthitaḥ. *Śāntiparva.*, 5693.
74. Amuṁ kanakavarṇābham. *Śāntiparva.*, 5740 (modified).

XIX. **Padaikadeśaracanā°.**

75. Raikelihia°. *Gāthāsaptaśatī*, v, 55.
76. Preyān so 'yam. *Vāmana*, 3, 2, 15.
77. Pathi pathi śuka°. [*Ruyyaka*,[1] p. 129.]
78. Likhan āste. *Amaru*, 7.
79. Gāmaruhamhi.
80. Tāṇaṁ guṇaggahaṇāṇam.
81. Re re cañcalalocanā°.
82. Yeshāṁ dorbalam eva.
83. Pradhanādhvani.

[1] See Part I of these Notes.

84. Bhūyo bhūyaḥ savidha°. *Mālatī.*, i, 14.
85. Paricchedātītaḥ. *Mālatī.*, i, 28.
86. Kṛtaṁ ca garbhābhimukham. [*Ruyyaka*, p. 76.]
87. Rāmo 'sau bhuvaneshu. *Mahānāṭaka;* vi, 40; *Rāghavānandanāṭaka* (so Kāvyapradīpa).
88. Taruṇimani kalayati.

XX. **Saṅkareṇa trirūpeṇa.**

89. Khaṇapāhuṇiā deara.
90. Snigdhaśyāmala°. *Mahānāṭaka*, v, 7.

CHAP. V.

I. **Agūḍham aparasyāṅgam.**

II. **Vyaṅgyam evaṁ guṇībhūta°.**

1. Yasyāsuhṛtkṛtatiraskṛtiḥ.
2. Unnidrakokanada°.
3. Atrāsīt phaṇi°. *Bālarāmayaṇa*, x, 20, and *Mahānāṭaka*, ix, 117.
4. Ayaṁ sa rasanotkarshī. *Dhvanyāloka*, p. 169. Paṇḍit Durgāprasād ascribes it to *Droṇaparva* (?).
5. Kailāsālayabhālalocanarucā.
6. Atyuccāḥ paritaḥ sphuranti.

The Bombay edition (1889) attributes this to a poet named *Pañcākṣharī* on the authority of Jayantabhaṭṭa.

7. Vandīkṛtya nṛpa.
8. Aviralakaravālakampanaiḥ.
9. Sākaṁ kuraṅgakadṛśā.
10. Asoḍhā tatkālollasat.
11. Paśyet kaścit cala.
12. Janasthāne bhrāntam. *Bhaṭṭa Vācaspati* (so Kshemendra in his *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa*).
13. Āgatya samprati.
14. Bhramim aratim alasahṛdayatām. *Dhvanyāloka*, pp. 97, 166.
15. Gacchāmy Acyuta.
16. Adṛshṭe darśanotkaṇṭhā.
17. Haras tu kiñcit. *Kumārasambhava*, iii, 67.

18. Brāhmaṇātikramatyāgah. *Mahāvīra.*, ii, 10.
19. Mathnāmi Kauravaśatam. *Venīsaṁhāra*, i, 14.
20. Vāṇīrakuḍaṅguḍḍīṇa°. *Dhvanyāloka*, ii, 34.

The verse (Vyajyante) quoted just below this, on page 108, is *Dhvani.*, ii, 32.

III. Sālaṅkārair dhvaneḥ.

The verse "Saguṇībhūtavyaṅgyaiḥ" (on page 109) is *Dhvani.*, iii, 44; and the two ("Śabdavṛddhābhidheyān" and "Anyathānupapatyā") on page 111 are from Kumārila's *Ślokavārtika*, 1, 1, 5 (*The Paṇḍit*, vol. iii, p. 537). For the quotation (on page 115) "Yatparaḥ śabdaḥ sa śabdārthaḥ," and for the simile of the arrow, see *Locana*, page 18, line 6 from bottom. With reference to the text "Lohitoshṇīshā ṛtvijaḥ pracaranti" (page 117), compare Āśvalāyana's *Śrautasūtra*, 9, 7, 4, and that of Lāṭyāyana, 8, 5, 8. The expression "Yad eva vidheyam," on the same page, has not been traced; but the passage (dvayaṁ gatam) cited on page 120 is *Kumārasambhava*, v, 71.

21. Matsaryam utsārya. *Śṛṅgāraśataka*, 13.
22. Kathan avanipa darpaḥ.
23. Kassa va ṇa hoi. *Dhvanyāloka*, p. 23.

The prose quotation (Ayam eva hi) which follows this is untraceable.

24. Attā ettha ṇimajjai. *Dhvanyāloka*, p. 20.
25. Viparīarae lacchī.

I cannot trace the verse (Akhaṇḍabuddhi) quoted on page 125.

26. Bhama dhammia. *Gāthāsaptaśatī*, ii, 75.

CHAP. VI.

I. Śabdārthacitraṁ yat pūrvam.

1. Rūpakādir alaṅkāraḥ.
2. Rūpakādim alaṅkāram.
3. Tad etad āhuḥ sauśabdyam.

} In Bombay edition (p. 288) these are said to have been ascribed to *Bhāmaha* by the commentator Sarasvatītīrtha.

4. Prathamam aruṇacchāyah. *Bhoja*, i, 87.

The last *pāda* occurs in the same position in *Śṛṅgāratilaka*,* i, 44 (Pischel's edition), so that one of the two must be an example of *samasyāpūraṇa*.

5. Te dṛshṭimātrapatitā api.

CHAP. VII.

I. **Mukhyārthahatir doshaḥ.**

II. **Dushṭam padam śrutikaṭu.**

III. **Sandigdham apratītam.**

1. Anaṅgamaṅgalagṛhāpāṅga°.
2. Etan mandavipakva°.
3. Yathāyam dāruṇācāraḥ.
4. Tīrthāntareshu snānena.
5. Yāvakarasārdrapāda°.
6. Tapasvibhir yā sucireṇa.
7. Utphullakamala°. *Nāgānanda*, i, 13.
8. Abandhyakopasya. *Kirātārjunīya*, i, 33.
9. Hā dhik sā khila tāmasī.
10. Jaṅghākāṇḍorunālaḥ.
11. Sādhanam sumahat yasya.
12. Līlātāmarasāhataḥ. *Amaru*, 72.
13. Mṛdupavanavibhinnaḥ. *Vikramorvaśī*, iv, 10.
14. Āliṅgitas tatrabhavān.
15. Samyagjnānamahājyotir°.
16. Rākāvibhāvarīkānta°.
17. Śaratkālasamullāsi°.

The quotation ("Nirūḍhā lakshaṇāḥ") in connection with this verse is *Tantravārtika*, 3, 1, 8 (p. 700 of Benares edition).

18. Atrilocanasambhūta°.
19. Mūrdhnām udvṛttakṛttā°. *Mahānāṭaka*, ix, 15.
20. Srastām nitambāt. *Kumāra.*, iii, 55.
21. Vapur virūpāksham. *Kumāra.*, v, 72.
22. Ānandasindhuḥ.

23. Navajaladharaḥ. *Vikramorvaśī*, iv, 1.
24. Jugopātmānam. *Raghu.*, i, 21.
25. Sudhākarakarākāra°.
26. Cirakālapariprāpti°.
27. Na trastaṁ yadi. *Mahāvīra.*, ii, 28.
28. Gor api yad vāhanatām.
29. Sā dūre ca sudhāsāndra°.

IV. **Apāsya cyutasaṁskāram.**

30. So 'dhyaishṭa vedān. *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, i, 2.
31. Sa rātu vo duścyavanaḥ.
32. Sāyakasahāyabāho.
33. Kuvindas tvaṁ tāvat.
34. Prābhrabhrāṭ.
35. Nṛpater upasarpantī.
36. Te 'nyair vāntam.
37. Pitṛvasatim aham vrajāmi.
38. Surālayollāsaparaḥ.
39. Tasyādhimātropāyasya.
40. Tāmbūlabhṛtagallo 'yam.
41. Vastravaidūryacaraṇaih.
42. Dhammillasya na kasyā. *Vāmana*, 2, 1, 22.
43. Nyakkāro hy ayam eva me. *Mahānāṭaka*, ix, 14.
44. Apāṅgasaṁsargi.
45. Kātaryam kevalā nītiḥ. *Raghu.*, xvii, 47.
46. Dvayaṁ gataṁ samprati. *Kumāra.*, v, 71.
47. Utkampinī bhayapariskhalitā°. *Dhvanyāloka*, iii, 4.
48. Sādhu candramasi.
49. Ye nāma kecid iha. *Mālatī.*, i, 6.
50. Asau maruccumbita°. *Mahānāṭaka*, vi, 4.
51. Karavālakarāla°.
52. Yo 'vikalpam idam. Utpala's *Parameśvarastotra*, xiii (so Durgāprasād).
53. Yat tad ūrjitam. *Veṇīsaṁhāra*, i, 13.
54. Kalyāṇānām tvam asi. *Mālatī.*, i, 3.
55. Kiṁ lobhena vilaṅghitaḥ.
56. Śritakshamā raktabhuvaḥ.
57. Alam aticapalatvāt. *Bilhaṇacarita* (so Durgāprasād).

58. Tad gaccha siddhyai kuru. *Kumāra.*, iii, 18.
59. Yaś cāpsarovibhrama°. *Kumāra.*, i, 4.
60. Ādāv añjanapuñjaliptavapushām.
61. Cāpācāryaḥ. *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, ii, 37.
62. Atipelavam atiparimitavarṇam.
63. Yaḥ pūyate surasarit°.
64. Vinayapraṇayaikaketanam.
65. Kasmin karmaṇi sāmarthyam.
66. Kim ucyate 'sya.

V. Pratikūlavarṇam upahata°.

VI. Arddhāntaraikavācakam.

VII (*a*). Bhagnaprakramam akramam.

67. Akuṇṭhotkaṇṭhayā.
68. Deśaḥ so 'yam. *Veṇīsaṁhāra*, iii, 28.
69. Prāgaprāptaniśumbha°. *Mahāvīra.*, ii, 33
70. Dhīro vinītaḥ.
71. Rājan vibhānti bhavataś caritāni.
72. Tata udita udāra°.
73. Vegād uḍḍīya gagane.
74. Urvyasāv atra tarvālī.
75. Amṛtam amṛtam kaḥ sandehaḥ.
76. Jaṁ pariharium. *Vishamabāṇalīla* (so Bombay edition).
77. Vikasitasahakāra°.
78. Dhanyās[1] tā guṇaratna°.
79. Hā nṛpa hā budha.
80. Tathābhūtāṁ dṛshṭvā. *Veṇīsaṁhāra*, i, 11.
81. Sphaṭikākṛtinirmalaḥ.
82. Idam anucitam akramaś ca puṁsām. *Śṛṅgāraśataka*, 84.
83. Adhikaratalatalpam.
84. Kaḥ kaḥ kutra na.
85. Kreṅkāraḥ smarakārmukasya.
86. Masṛṇacaraṇapūtam. *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, vi, 36; *Mahānāṭaka*, iii, 18.

[1] Other editions read 'Anyās.'

87. Yeshāṁ tās tridaśebhadānasaritaḥ.

Jaimini's *sūtra* (Guṇānāṁ ca), 3, 1, 22, is quoted immediately after this stanza.

88. Tvam evaṁsaundaryā. *Vāmana*, 3, 2, 13; *Bhoja*, i, 87.
89. Saṅgrāmāṅganam āgatena. *Bhoja*, i, 84.
90. Catvāro vayam ṛtvijaḥ. *Veṇīsaṁhāra*, i, 25.
91. Jaṅghākāṇḍorunālaḥ.
92. Aprākṛtasya caritātiśayaiḥ. *Mahāvīra.*, ii, 39.
93. Esho 'ham adritanayā°. *Ushāharaṇanāṭaka* (so Bombay edition).
94. Tvayi nibaddharateḥ. *Vikramor.*, iv, 29.
95. Priyeṇa saṅgrathya. *Kirātār.*, viii, 37.
96. Lagnaḥ kelikacagraha°.
97. Adyāpi ṣtanaśaila°.
98. Kimiti na paśyasi. *Rudraṭa*, vi, 42.
99. Parāpakāraniratāiḥ.
100. Lagnaṁ rāgāvṛtāṅgyā. *Harshadatta* (so Subhāsh.).
101. Mahāpralayamāruta°. *Veṇīsaṁhāra*, iii, 1.

The stanza (Mañjīrādishu) immediately preceding this is a portion of Rudraṭa's definition of *grāmya* (vi, 25).

102. Nāthe niśāyāḥ.

In the comment following this, *Vāmana*, 5, 1, 1 (Naikaṁ padam), is quoted.

103. Udeti savitā tāmraḥ.
104. Yaśo 'dhigantum sukhalipsayā vā. *Kirātār.*, iii, 40.
105. Te Himālayam āmantrya. *Kumāra.*, vi, 94.
106. Mahībhṛtaḥ putravato pi. *Kumāra.*, i, 27.
107. Vipado 'bhibhavantyavikramam. *Kirātār.*, ii, 14.
108. Kācit kīrṇā rajobhiḥ. *Māgha*, xv, 96.
109. Gāhantām mahishāḥ. *Śākuntala*, ii, 40.
110. Akalitatapastejo°. *Mahāvīra.*, ii, 30.
111. Dvayaṁ gataṁ samprati. *Kumāra.*, v, 71.
112. Śaktir nistriṁśajeyam.
113. Rāmamanmathaśareṇa. *Raghu.*, xi, 20.

VII (*b*). **Artho 'pushṭah kashṭaḥ.**

VIII. **Sandigdho nirhetuḥ.**

IX. **Sākāṅksho 'padayuktaḥ.**

114. Ativitatagagana°.
115. Sadā madhye yāsām.
116. Jagati jayinas te. *Mālatī.*, i, 34.
117. Kṛtam anumatam. *Veṇīsaṁhāra,* iii, 20.
118. Astrajvālāvalīḍha°. *Veṇīsaṁhāra,* iii, 4.
119. Bhūpālaratna nirdainyapradāna°.
120. Svapiti yāvad ayam. *Vāmana,* 3, 2, 13 (first half only). Mahendra quotes the third pāda in his ii, 293, and iii, 81, and reads *rūpakam* for *kūrparam.*
121. Mātsaryam utsārya. *Śṛṅgāraśataka,* 13.
122. Gṛhītaṁ yenāsīḥ. *Veṇīsaṁhāra,* iii, 15.
123. Idaṁ te kenoktaṁ kathaya.
124. Uparisaraṁ Godāvaryāḥ. *Indurāja* (so Suvṛttatilaka).
125. Susitavasanālaṅkārāyām.
126. Sadā snātvā niśīthinyām.
127. Ananyasadṛśaṁ yasya balam.
128. Vidhāya dūre keyūram.
129. Ashṭāṅgayogapariśīlanakīlanena.
130. Prāptāḥ śriyaḥ sakalakāmadughāḥ. *Vairāgyaśat.,* 71.
131. Yadi dahatyanalo 'tra kim adbhutam.
132. Yatrānullikhitākhyam eva.
133. Vaktrāmbhojaṁ sarasvatyadhivasati. *Bāṇa* (so Subhāsh.); but, according to *Bhojaprabandha* (page 70 of Calcutta edition of 1872), the verse was repeated to King Vikramārka by the poet Māgadha.
134. Śyāmāṁ śyāmalimānam. *Viddhaśāla.,* iii, 1 (where first word is 'Jyotsnīm').
135. Kallolavellita°. *Bhallaṭa,* 62.
136. Arthitve prakaṭīkṛte. *Mahāvīra.,* ii, 9.
137. Ājñā śakraśikhāmaṇi°. *Bālarāmāyaṇa,* i, 36.
138. Śrutena buddhiḥ.
139. Prayatnaparibodhitaḥ. *Veṇīsaṁhāra,* iii, 29.
140. Vātāhāratayā jagat. *Bhallaṭa,* 87.
141. Are rāmāhastābharaṇa.

142. Lagnaṁ rāgavṛtāṅgyā. *Harshadatta* (Subhāsh.).
143. Hantum eva pravṛttasya. *Bhoja*, i, 53 (the reading there is "Udyatasya paraṁ hantum").

X. **Karṇāvataṁsādipade.**

The whole of this *kārikā* appears as a *śloka* under *Vāmana's* 2, 2, 19.

144. Asyāḥ karṇāvataṁsena.
145. Apūrvamadhurāmoda°.
146. Vidīrṇābhimukhārātikarāle.
147. Jyābandhanispandabhujena. *Raghu.*, vi, 40.
148. Prāṇeśvaraparishvaṅga°. *Vāmana*, 2, 2, 15.
149. Saundaryasampat.
150. Jagāda madhurāṁ vācam. *Vāmana*, 2, 2, 18.
151. Caraṇatraparitrāṇa°.

XI. **Khyāte 'rthe nirhetor adushṭatā.**

152. Candraṁ gatā padmaguṇān. *Kumāra.*, i, 43.
153. Mṛgacakshusham adrāksham.
154. Dīdhīvevīṭsamaḥ kaścit.
155. Yadā tvām aham adrāksham.
156. Antraprotabṛhatkapāla°. *Mahāvīra.*, i, 26.
157. Mātaṅgāḥ kimu valgitaiḥ.
158. Raktāśoka kṛśodarī kva. *Vikramor.*, iv (in some MSS.; see S. P. Paṇḍit's edition, p. 120, footnote. The *Subhāsh.* ascribes it to Vasunāga).
159. Śīrṇaghrāṇāṅghripāṇīn. *Sūryaśataka*, 6.
160. Yena dhvastamanobhavena. *Dhvanyāloka*, ii, 25; *Bhoja*, ii, 56.

I have not been able to trace the quotation "Dvyarthaiḥ padaiḥ" which follows this on p. 189.

161. Karihastena sambādhe.
162. Uttānocchūnamaṇḍūka°.
163. Nirvāṇavairadahanāḥ. *Veṇīsaṁhāra*, i, 7.
164. Pṛthukārtasvarapātram.
165. Ātmārāmā vihitaratayaḥ. *Veṇīsaṁhāra*, i, 22.
166. Shaḍadhikadaśanāḍīcakra°. *Mālatī.*, v, 1.
167. Phullukkaram. *Karpūra.*, i, 19.

168. Gāḍhāliṅganavāmanīkṛta°. *Amaru*, 40.
169. Tishṭhet kopavaśāt. *Vikramor.*, iv, 2.
170. Yad vañcanāhitamatiḥ. *Dhvanyāloka*, p. 158. Ascribed to *Bhagavattarārogya* in Subhāshitāvali.
171. Vada vada jitaḥ sa śatruḥ. *Rudraṭa*, vi, 30.
172. Sitakarakararuciravibhā.
173. Tālā jāanti guṇāḥ. Ānandavardhana's *Vishamabāṇalīlā*. He tells us this in his *Dhvanyāloka*, ii, 1.
174. Jitendriyatvaṁ vinayasya kāraṇam. *Bhoja*, iii, 20. The *Subhāsh.* attributes it to Bhāravi.
175. Homi avahatthiareho. Several commentators assign this to the same as 173. See Bombay edition, p. 487.

XII. **Vyabhicārirasasthāyibhāvānām.**

XIII. **Pratikūlavibhāvādigrahaḥ.**

XIV. **Aṅgino 'nanusandhānam.**

176. Savrīḍā dayitānane. *Bhāsa* (?). See Peterson's Note to *Subhāsh.*, 78.
177. Tām anaṅgajayamaṅgalaśriyam.
178. Ālokya komalakapola°.
179. Samprahāre praharaṇaiḥ.
180. Karpūradhūlidhavala°.
181. Pariharati ratiṁ.
182. Prasāde vartasva. *Candaka* (Subhāsh. and Śārṅga.). The last *pāda* is found in *Śṛṅgāratilaka*, i, 43 (Pischel's edition); so one of the two stanzas must be a *samasyāpūraṇa*.
183. Ṇihuaramaṇammi.
184. Krodhaṁ prabho saṁhara. *Kumāra.*, iii, 72.

The verse "Anaucityād ṛte," which is ascribed to the *Dhvanikṛt* on page 202, forms part of the *Dhvanyāloka* in the Bombay edition (p. 145).

XV. **Na doshaḥ svapadenoktāv api.**

185. Autsukyena kṛtatvarā. *Ratnāvali*, i, 2.
186. Kvākāryam. See chap. iv, 31.
187. Pāṇḍu kshāmaṁ vadanam. *Dhvanyāloka* and *Locana*, p. 166.

188. Satyaṁ manoramā rāmāḥ. *Dhvanyāloka*, iii, 30.[1] Kshemendra, in his *Aucityavicāracarcā*, ascribes it to Vyāsa.

XVI. **Āśrayaikye viruddho yaḥ.**

The quotation ("Aho gītam") on page 205 is the prose which follows i, 13 in *Nāgānanda*.

189. Bhūreṇudigdhān.
190. Saśoṇitaih kravyabhujām. } *Dhvanyāloka*, iii, 27.
191. Vimānaparyaṅkatale.

XVII. **Smaryamāṇo viruddho pi.**

192. Ayaṁ sa rasanotkarshī. *Dhvanyāloka*, iii, 20.
193. Dantakshatāni. *Dhvanyāloka*, iii, 44 (p. 229).
194. Krāmantyaḥ kshata°. *Dhvanyāloka*, iii, 20 (p. 169).
195. Ehi gaccha patottishṭha. *Dhvanyāloka*, iii, 20 (p. 166); *Hitopadeśa*, ii, 20.
196. Kshipto hastāvalagnaḥ. *Amaru*, 2; *Dhvanyāloka*, ii, 5.

The verse cited on page 209, viz. "Guṇaḥ kṛtātmasaṁskāraḥ," is also quoted in the *Locana* (p. 171), preceded by the words "Yathāha tatrabhavān." I cannot trace it further. Doubtless, Mammaṭa took it from Abhinavagupta's work.

CHAP. VIII.

I. **Ye rasasyāṅgino dharmāḥ.**

II. **Upakurvanti taṁ santam.**

1. Apasāraya ghanasāram. *Kuṭṭanīmata*, 102.
2. Manorāgas tīvraṁ visham iva. *Mālatī.*, ii, 1.
3. Citte vihaṭṭadi. *Karpūra.*, ii, 4.
4. Mitre kvāpi gate.

The quotation "Kāvyaśobhāyāḥ," on page 214, is *Vāmana*, 3, 1, 1, 2; but that on the preceding page, "Samavāyavṛttyā," is untraceable.

5. Adrāv atra jvalaty agniḥ.
6. Svargaprāptir anenaiva.

[1] See this *kārikā* in order to understand Mammaṭa's comment on page 204.

III. **Mādhuryaujaḥprasādākhyāḥ.**

IV. **Karuṇe vipralambhe tat.**

V. **Bībhatsaraudrarasayoḥ.**

VI. **Vyāpnoty anyat.**

VII. **Kecid antarbhavanty eshu.**

In the *vṛtti* following this *kārikā* there are references to six of the *sūtras* in *Vāmana*, 3, 1; and the verse "Padārthe vākyaracanam" is from his 3, 2, 2. This is followed by references to seven *sūtras* from the latter chapter.

VIII. **Tena nārthaguṇā vācyāḥ.**

IX. **Mūrdhni vargāntyagāḥ.**

7. Anaṅgaraṅgapratimam.

X. **Yoga ādyatṛtīyābhyām.**

XI. **Śrutimātreṇa śabdāt tu.**

8. Parimlānaṁ pīnastana°. *Ratnāvali*, ii, 13.

XII. **Vaktṛvācyaprabandhānām.**

9. Manthāyastārṇavāmbhaḥ°. *Veṇīsaṁhāra*, i, 22.

10. Prauḍhacchedānurūpo°. *Yaśovarman*[1] (Śārṅga.).

CHAP. IX.

I. **Yad uktam anyathā vākyam.**

1. Nārīṇām anukūlam ācarasi.

2. Aho kenedṛśī buddhiḥ. [*Ruyyaka*, p. 176.]

3. Gurujanaparatantratayā. [*Ruyyaka*, p. 175.]

II. **Varṇasāmyam anuprāsaḥ.**

4. Tato 'ruṇaparispanda°. *Vālmīki* (Subhāsh.).

III. **Mādhuryavyañjakair varṇaiḥ.**

5. Apasāraya ghanasāram. *Kuṭṭanīmata*, 102.

IV. **Keshāñcid etā Vaidarbhī°.**

[1] For an account of this poet see Peterson's Introduction to *Subhāsh.*, p. 95.

V. **Padānāṁ sa padasyāpi.**

6. Yasyā na savidhe dayitā.
7. Vadanaṁ varavarṇinyāḥ.
8. Sitakarakararuciravibhā.

VI. **Arthe saty arthabhinnānām.**

9. Sannārībharaṇomāyam. *Rudraṭa*, iii, 5.
10. Vināyamenaḥ. *Rudraṭa*, iii, 15.
11. Sa tvārambharataḥ. *Rudraṭa*, iii, 18.
12. Sattvārambharataḥ. *Rudraṭa*, iii, 19.
13. Anantamahima°. Ānandavardhana's *Devīśataka.*, 1.
14. Yadānato 'yadānataḥ. *Devīśataka.*, 49.
15. Sara svatiprasādam. *Devīśataka.*, 50.
16. Sasāra śākaṁ darpeṇa. *Rudraṭa*, iii, 35.
17. Madhuparāji°. *Haravijaya*, iii, 2.

VII. **Vācyabhedena bhinnā yat.**

18. Alaṅkāraḥ śaṅkākara°. [*Ruyyaka*, p. 157.]
19. Pṛthukārtasvarapātram.
20. Bhaktiprahvavilokana°. [*Ruyyaka*, p. 159.]

The *Subhāshitāvali* attributes this to Amṛtadatta; but it would be quite impossible to identify him, as suggested by Dr. Peterson, with a poet of that name who flourished in the middle of the fourteenth century!

21. Mahadesurasandhamme. *Devīśataka.*, 76.
22. Ayaṁ sarvāṇi śāstrāṇi.
23. Rajaniramaṇamauleḥ.
24. Sarvasvaṁ Hara sarvasya.

VIII. **Bhedābhāvāt prakṛtyādeḥ.**

25. Yo 'sakṛt paragotrāṇām.
26. Svayaṁ ca pallavātāmra°. *Udbhaṭa*, iv, 26.
27. Stokenonnatim āyāti.

The second quotation on page 243, namely "Sakalakalaṁ puram," etc., appears also in *Ruyyaka*, p. 99. That which follows from *Rudraṭa* ("Sphuṭam," etc.) is his, iv, 32.

28. Deva tvam eva pātālam. *Bhoja*, p. 94 (where the reading is "Tvam eva deva").

The line "Abindusundarī nityam," etc., on page 245, is *Udbhaṭa*, iv, 28*b*.

29. Sadvaṁśamuktāmaṇiḥ.
30. Nālpaḥ kavir iva svalpaślokaḥ.
31. Anurāgavatī sandhyā. *Dhvanyāloka*, i, 13 (p. 37).
32. Ādāya cāpam acalam.
33. Mārāriśakra°. } *Rudraṭa*, v, 6, 7.
34. Mātā natānām. }
35. Saralā bahulārambha°. *Rudraṭa*, v, 19.
36. Bhāsate pratibhāsāra. [*Ruyyaka*, p. 25.]
37. Rasā sārarasā sāra. *Rudraṭa*, v, 20.

IX. **Punaruktavadābhāsaḥ.**

38. Arivadhadehaśarīraḥ.
39. Cakāsaty aṅganārāmāḥ.
40. Tanuvapur ajaghanyo 'sau.

CHAP. X.

I. **Sādharmyam upamā bhede.** [Upamā.]

1. Svapne 'pi samareshu.
2. Cakitahariṇalolalocanāyāḥ.
3. Atyāyatair niyamakāribhiḥ.
4. Avitathamanoratha°.
5. Gāmbhīryagarimā tasya.

II. **Tadvad dharmasya lope syāt.**

6. Dhanyasyānanyasāmānya°.
7. Ākṛshṭakaravālo 'sau.
8. Karavāla ivācāraḥ.
9. Saalakaraṇaparavīsāma°.

III. **Vāder lope samāse sā.**

10. Tataḥ kumudanāthena. *Droṇaparva.*, 8408 (clxxxiv, 46).
11. Asitabhujagabhīshaṇāsipatraḥ.
12. Paurair sutīyati janam.
13. Mṛdhe nidāghagharmāṁśudarśam.
14. Savitā vidhavati.
15. Paripanthimanorājyaśatair.

IV. **Dharmopamānayor lope.**

16. Ṭuṇṭuṇṇanto marihisi. *Locana*, p. 116. (It reads "Ḍhuṇḍhullanto.")
17. Arātivikramāloka°.
18. Taruṇimani kṛtāvalokanā.
19. Anayeneva rājyaśrīḥ.
20. Jyotsneva nayanānandaḥ.
21. Anavaratakanakavitaraṇa°.
22. Matiriva mūrtir madhurā.

V. **Upamānopameyatve ekasyai°.** [Ananvaya and Viparyāsa.]

23. Na kevalam bhāti nitāntakāntiḥ.
24. Kamaleva matir matir iva kamalā.

VI*a*. **Sambhāvanam athotprekshā.**

25. Unmesham yo mama na sahate.
26. Limpatīva tamo 'ṅgāni. *Mṛcchakaṭika.*, i, 34.

b. **Sasandehas tu bhedoktau.**

27. Ayam mārtaṇḍaḥ kim. [*Ruyyaka*, p. 43.]
28. Induḥ kim kva kalaṅkaḥ. [*Ruyyaka*, p. 43.]
29. Asyāḥ sargavidhau. *Vikramorvaśī*, i, 9.

VII. **Tad rūpakam abhedo yaḥ.**

30. Jyotsnābhasmacchuraṇadhavalā. [*Ruyyaka*, p. 52.]

Paṇḍit Durgāprasād, the editor (in *Kāvyamālā* for 1886) of Kshemendra's Kalāvilāsa, thought that i, 35 in that poem was an imitation of the verse here quoted.

VIII*a*. **Śrautā ārthāś ca te.**

31. Jassa raṇantaürae kare.
32. Kuraṅgīvāṅgāni stimitayati.

The opening words of this verse are quoted in *Locana*, p. 211. Abhinavagupta ascribes it to "some poet or other" ("kasyāpi kaveḥ").

b.[1] **Mālā tū pūrvavat.**

33. Saundaryasya taraṅgiṇī.

[1] See Maheśacandra's note as to identity of the *kārikākāra* and *vṛttikāra*.

IX. **Niyatāropaṇopāyaḥ.** [Paramparita.]

34. Vidvan mānasahaṁsa. [*Ruyyaka*, p. 38.]
35. Ālānaṁ jayakuñjarasya. *Bhaṭṭa Syāmala* (so Suvṛttatilaka).
36. Alaukikamahāloka°.
37. Niravadhi ca nirāśrayaṁ ca. *Vāmana*, 4, 3, 31.
38. Kisalayakarair latānām. *Rudraṭa*, viii, 50.

X*a*. **Prakṛtam yan nishidhyānyat sādhyate.** [Apahnuti.]

39. Avāptaḥ prāgalbhyam.
40. Bata sakhi kiyad etat paśya.
41. Amushmin lāvaṇyāmṛta°. *Rāma* (Subhāsh.); [*Ruyyaka*, p. 52.]

b. **Śleshaḥ sa vākye.**

42. Udayam ayate.

XI*a*. **Paroktir bhedakaiḥ ślishṭaiḥ.**

43. Lahiūṇa tujjha.

b. **Nidarśanā.**

44. Kva sūryaprabhavo vaṁśaḥ. *Raghu.*, i, 2.
45. Udayati vitatordhvaraśmi°. *Māgha*, iv, 20.
46. Dorbhyāṁ titīrshati.

XII*a*. **Svasvahetvanvayasyoktiḥ.**

47. Unnataṁ padam avāpya.

b. **Aprastutapraśaṁsā sā.**

XIII. **Kārye nimitte sāmānye.**

48. Yātāḥ kim na milanti. *Amaru*, 10.
49. Rājan rājasutā na pāṭhayati. *Bhoja*, iv, 80.

Dr. Peterson[1] thinks this verse "wears every appearance" of belonging to Parimala's lost poem, from which stanzas are quoted by Kshemendra.

50. Etat tasya mukhāt kiyat. *Bhallaṭa*, 94.
51. Suhṛdvadhūbāshpajalapramārjanam.

[1] See his paper, read in 1885 before Bombay Branch of R.A.S., on the *Aucityālaṅkāra*.

52. Puṁstvād api pravicalet. *Bhallaṭa*, 79.
53. Yenāsyabhyuditena candra.
54. Ādāya vāri paritaḥ. *Indurāja* (so Aucityavicāra.); *Śuka* (Śārṅga.).
55. Abdher ambhaḥsthagita°.
56. Kas tvaṁ bhoḥ kathayāmi. *Dhvanyāloka*, p. 219; *Dhanika*, p. 141.
57. So 'pūrvo rasanāviparyayavidhiḥ. *Bhallaṭa*, 18.

XIV. **Nigīryādhyavasānaṁ tu.**
XV*a*. **Kāryakāraṇayor yaś ca.** } [Atiśayokti.]

58. Kamalam anambhasi. *Śaṅkaragaṇa* (Subhāsh.); *Bhoja*, iv, 49.
59. Aṇṇaṁ laühattaṇaam. [*Ruyyaka*, p. 67.]
60. Rākāyām akalaṅkaṁ cet.
61. Hṛdayam adhishṭhitam. *Kuṭṭanīmata*, 96.

XV*b*, XVI*a*. **Prativastūpamā tu sā.**

62. Devībhāvam gamitā.. *Vāmana*, 4, 3, 2.
63. Yadi dahaty analaḥ.

XVI*b*. **Dṛshṭāntaḥ punar.**

64. Tvayi dṛshṭa eva. *Rudraṭa*, viii, 95.
65. Tavāhave sāhasakarma°.

XVII. **Sakṛdvṛttis tu dharmasya.** [Dīpaka.]

66. Kibaṇāṇam dhaṇam. [*Ruyyaka*, p. 73.]
67. Svidyati kūṇati.

XVIII*a*. **Mālādīpakam ādyaṁ cet.**

68. Saṅgrāmāṅganam āgatena. *Bhoja*, i, 84.

b. **Niyatānāṁ sakṛddharmaḥ.** [Tulyayogitā.]

69. Pāṇḍu kshāmaṁ vadanam. *Dhvanyāloka* and *Locana*, p. 166.
70. Kumudakamalanīlanīrajāliḥ.

XIX, XX*a*. **Upamānād yad anyasya vyatirekaḥ.**

71. Kshīṇaḥ kshīṇo pi. *Rudraṭa*, vii, 90.
72. Asimātrasahāyasya.
73. Asimātrasahāyo pi.

74. Iyaṁ sunayanā dāsīkṛta°.
75. Jitendriyatayā samyak.
76. Akhaṇḍamaṇḍalaḥ śrīmān.
77. Haravan na vishamadṛshṭiḥ.
78. Nityoditapratāpena.
79. Svacchātmatāguṇa°.

XX*b*, XXI*a*. **Nishedho vaktum ishṭasya.** [Ākshepa.]

This definition, except the first two words, is found in *Locana* (p. 36); but Abhinavagupta clearly took it from *Udbhaṭa's* ii, 2*a* and 3*a*, modifying the latter as it stands here.

80. E ehi kim bi kīe bi kae.
81. Jyotsnā mauktikadāma.

XXI*b*. **Kriyāyāḥ pratishedhe pi.** [Vibhāvanā.] Cf. *Udbhaṭa*, ii, 20.

82. Kusumitalatābhir ahatāpy adhatta.

XXII*a*. **Viśeshoktir akhaṇḍeshu.**

83. Nidrānivṛttāv udite.
84. Karpūra iva dagdho pi. *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, iii, 11.
85. Sa ekas trīṇi jayati. *Locana*, p. 38.

b. **Yathāsaṅkhyaṁ krameṇaiva.**

86. Ekas tridhā vasasi.

XXIII. **Sāmānyaṁ vā viśesho vā.** [Arthāntaranyāsa.]

87. Nijadoshāvṛtamanasām.
88. Susitavasanālaṅkārāyām.
89. Guṇānām eva daurātmyāt. *Bhoja*, iv, 56.
90. Aho hi me bahvaparāddham. [*Ruyyaka*, p. 111.]

XXIV, XXV*a*. **Virodhaḥ so 'virodhe pi.**

91. Abhinavanalinīkisalaya°.
92. Girayo 'py anunnatiyujaḥ.
93. Yeshāṁ kaṇṭhaparigraha°.
94. Sṛjati ca jagad idam.
95. Satataṁ musalasaktāḥ.
96. Peśalam api khalavacanam.
97. Krauñcādrir uddāmadṛshaddṛḍhaḥ.
98. Paricchedātītaḥ. *Mālatī.*, i, 28.

99. Ayaṁ vārām eko nilayaḥ. *Bhallaṭa*, 108.
100. Samadamataṅgaja°.

XXV*b*. **Svabhāvoktis tu ḍimbhādeḥ.**
101. Paścād aṅghrī prasārya. *Harshacarita*, iii.

XXVI*a*. **Vyājastutir mukhe nindā.**
102. Hitvā tvām uparodha°.
103. He helājitabodhisattva.

b. **Sā sahoktiḥ sahārthasya.**
104. Saha diasaṇisāhim. *Karpūra.*, ii, 9.

XXVII*a*. **Vinoktiḥ sā vināṇyena.**
105. Arucir niśayā vinā śaśī.
106. Mṛgalocanayā vinā.

b. **Parivṛttir vinimayaḥ.**
107. Latānām etāsām udita°.
108. Nānāvidhapraharaṇair nṛpa.

XXVIII*a*. **Pratyakshā iva yadbhāvāḥ.** [Bhāvika.] *Udbhaṭa*, vi, 12 (modified).
109. Āsīd aṇjanam atreti.

b. **Kāvyaliṅgaṁ hetor.**
110. Vapuḥprādurbhāvāt.
111. Praṇayisakhīsalīla. *Mālatī.*, v, 30.
112. Bhasmoddhūlana bhadram astu.

XXIX*a*. **Paryāyoktaṁ vinā vācya°.**
113. Yaṁ prekshya. *Hayagrīvavadha* (so Durgāprasād [1]).

b. **Udāttaṁ vastunaḥ sampat.**
114. Muktāḥ kelivisūtrahāra°. [*Ruyyaka*, p. 184.]
115. Tad idam araṇyam yasmin. *Rudraṭa*, vii, 104.

XXX. **Tatsiddhihetāv ekasmin.** [Samuccaya.]
116. Durvārāḥ smaramārgaṇāḥ. *Śaṅkuka* (Subhāsh. and Śārṅga.).
117. Kulam amalinam. [*Ruyyaka*, p. 161.]
118. Śaśī divasadhūsaraḥ. *Nītiśataka*, 56.

[1] See, too, Peterson's Preface to *Subhāsh.*, s.v. Meṇṭha.

119. Vidalitasakalārikulam. *Rudraṭa*, vii, 28.
120. Ayam ekapade tayā viyogaḥ. *Vikramor.*, iv, 3.
121. Kalushaṁ ca tavāhiteshva°.

The quotations "dhunoti cāsim" and "kṛpāṇapāṇiś ca" are untraceable. That which follows (Vyadhikaraṇe) is *Rudraṭa*, vii, 27.

XXXI*a*. **Ekaṁ krameṇānekasmin Paryāyaḥ.**

122. Nanvāśrayasthitir iyam. *Bhallaṭa*, 4.
123. Bimbaushṭha eva rāgas te. *Navasāhasāṅka.*, vi, 60.
124. Tat tāṇam siri°. *Vishamabāṇalīlā* (see *Dhvanyāloka*, ii, 30).
125. Madhurimāruciraṁ vacaḥ.
126. Tad gehaṁ natabhitti. *Dhvanyāloka*, p. 158.

b. **Anumānaṁ tad uktaṁ.**

127. Yatraitā laharī°. [*Ruyyaka*, p. 147.]

XXXII*a*. **Viśeshaṇair yat sākūtair.** [Parikara.]

128. Mahaujaso mānadhanāḥ. *Kirātār.*, i, 19.

b. **Vyājoktiś chadmanodbhinna°.**

129. Śailendrapratipādyamāna°. [*Ruyyaka*, p. 174.]

XXXIII. **Kiñcit pṛshṭam apṛshṭaṁ vā.** [Parisaṅkhyā.]

130. Kim āsevyaṁ puṁsām. [*Ruyyaka*, p. 154.]
131. Kiṁ bhūshaṇam. [*Ruyyaka*, p. 153.]
132. Kauṭilyaṁ kacanicaye. *Rudraṭa*, vii, 81.
133. Bhaktir bhave na vibhave. [*Ruyyaka*, p. 154.]

XXXIV. **Yathottaraṁ cet pūrvasya.** [Kāraṇamālā.]

134. Jitendriyatvaṁ vinayasya kāraṇam. *Bhoja*, iii, 20.

The quotation ("Hetumatā saha") at the top of p. 328 is from *Rudraṭa*, vii, 82; and "Āyur ghṛtam" is from Namisādhu's comment on the stanza (Aviralakamala) which follows, and which is Rudraṭa's vii, 83.

XXXV*a*. **Vastunor janane 'nyonyam.**

The last *pāda* of XXXIV forms part of this definition.

135. Haṁsāṇam sarohim.

XXXV*b*, XXXVI*a*. Uttaraśrutimātrataḥ. [Uttara.]

136. Vāṇiaa hatthidantā kuto.

137. Kā visamā devagaī. [*Ruyyaka*, p. 173.]

XXXVI*b*, XXXVII*a*. Kuto pi lakshitaḥ. [Sūkshma.]

138. Vaktrasyandisvedabindu°.

139. Saṅketakālamanasam. *Dhvanyāloka*, ii, 26.

XXXVII*b*. Uttarottaram utkarshaḥ. [Utkarsha.]

140. Rājye sāraṁ vasudhā. *Rudraṭa*, vii, 97.

XXXVIII. Bhinnadeśatayātyantam. [Asaṅgati.]

141. Jassea vaṇo tassea veaṇā.

XXXIX*a*. Samādhiḥ sukaraṁ kāryam.

142. Mānam asyā nirākartum. *Daṇḍin*, ii, 299.

***b*. Samaṁ yogyatayā yogaḥ.**

143. Dhātuḥ śilpātiśaya°.

144. Citraṁ citraṁ bata bata. [*Ruyyaka*, p. 162.]

XL. Kvacid yad ativaidharmyāt.
XLI. Guṇakriyābhyāṁ kāryasya. } [Vishama.]

145. Śirīshād api. *Navasāhasāṅka.*, xvi, 28.

146. Siṁhikāsutasantrastaḥ.

147. Sadyaḥ karasparśam. *Navasāhasāṅka.*, i, 62.

148. Ānandam amandam. *Rudraṭa*, ix, 47.

149. Vipulena sāgaraśayasya. *Māgha*, xiii, 40.

XLII. Mahator yan mahīyāṁsau. [Adhika.]

150. Aho viśālaṁ bhūpāla. *Daṇḍin*, ii, 219.

151. Yugāntakāla°. *Māgha*, i, 23.

XLIII. Pratipaksham aśaktena. [Pratyanīka.]

152. Tvaṁ vinirjitamanobhavarūpaḥ.

153. Yasya kiñcid apakartum. *Māgha*, xiv, 78.

XLIV. Samena lakshmaṇā vastu. [Mīlita.]

154. Apāṅgatarale dṛśau. [*Ruyyaka*, p. 168.]

155. Ye kandarāsu nivasanti. [*Ruyyaka*, p. 169.]

XLV. **Sthāpyate 'pohyate.** [Ekāvalī.]

156. Purāṇi yasyāṁ savarāṅganāni. *Navasāh.*, i, 22.
157. Na taj jalam. *Bhaṭṭikāvya.*, ii, 19.

XLVI*a*. **Yathānubhavam arthasya.** [Smaraṇa.]

158. Nimnanābhikuhareshu.
159. Karajuagahia.

b. **Bhrāntimān anyasaṁvit.**

160. Kapāle mārjāraḥ payaḥ. *Bhoja*, iii, 38. *Bhāsa* (Śārṅga.).

XLVII. **Ākshepa upamānasya.** [Pratīpa.]

161. Lāvaṇyaukasi. [*Ruyyaka*, p. 166.]
162. E ehi dāva. [*Ruyyaka*, p. 166.]
163. Garvam asaṁvāhyam. *Rudraṭa*, viii, 78.
164. Aham eva guruḥ. [*Ruyyaka*, p. 167.]

XLVIII. **Prastutasya yad anyena.** [Sāmānya.]

165. Malayajarasaviliptatanavaḥ. *Vāmana*, 4, 3, 10.
166. Vetratvacā tulyarucām.

XLIX. **Vinā prasiddham ādhāram.**
L. **Anyat prakurvataḥ kāryam.** } [Viśesha.]

167. Divam apy upayātānām. *Rudraṭa*, ix, 6.
168. Sā vasai tumha hiae.
169. Sphuradadbhutarūpam.
170. Gṛhiṇī sacivaḥ sakhī. *Raghu.*, viii, 67.

The stanza ("Saishā sarvatra") quoted immediately after this is ascribed to *Bhāmaha* by Ānandavardhana (*Dhvanyāloka*, iii, 37).

LI. **Svam utsṛjya guṇam.** [Tadguṇa.]

171. Vibhinnavarṇāḥ. *Māgha*, iv, 14.

LII*a*. **Tadrūpānanuhāraś cet.** [Atadguṇa.]

172. Dhavalo si jahavi sundara. *Gāthāsapta.*, vii, 65.
173. Gāṅgam ambu. [*Ruyyaka*, p. 171.]

LIII*b*, LIII*a*. **Tad yathā sādhitam.** [Vyāghāta.]

174. Dṛśā dagdham. *Viddhaśāla.*, i, 2.

LIII*b*. **Saishā saṁsṛshṭiḥ.**

175. Vadanasaurabha°. *Māgha*, vi, 14.
176. Limpatīva tamo 'ṅgāni. *Mṛcch.*, i, 34.
177. So ṇatthi ettha gāme.

LIV. **Aviśrāntijushām.** [Saṅkara.] Line 2 (p. 355) is from *Udbhaṭa*, v, 20.

178. Ātte sīmantaratne.
179. Jaṭābhābhir bhābhiḥ. *Bhartṛsārasvata* (Subhāsh.).
180. Rājati taṭīyam. *Haravijaya*, v, 137.
181. Jaha gahiro.
182. Nayanānandadāyīndoḥ.
183. Saubhāgyaṁ vitanoti.
184. Vaktrendau tava saty ayam. *Ratnāvalī*, iii, 13*b*.
185. Rājanārāyaṇaṁ lakshmīḥ.
186. Pādāmbujaṁ bhavatu. *Pañcastavī*, iii, 1*b*.

LV. **Sphuṭam ekatra vishaye.**

187. Spashṭollasatkiraṇa°. *Haravijaya*, xix, i.

LVI. **Eshāṁ doshā yathāyogam.**

188. Cakrī cakrārapaṅktim. *Sūryaśataka*, 71.
189. Bhaṇa taruṇi ramaṇamandiram. } *Rudraṭa*, ii, 22, 23.
190. Anaṇuraṇan maṇimekhalam. }
191. Bhujaṅgamasyeva maṇiḥ.
192. Cāṇḍālair iva yushmābhiḥ. } *Vāmana*, 4, 2, 9.
193. Vahnisphuliṅga iva bhānuḥ. }
194. Ayaṁ padmāsanāsīnaḥ. *Nami.*,[1] xi, 24; *Bhoja*, i, 51.
195. Pātālam iva te nābhiḥ. *Vāmana*, 4, 2, 11.
196. Sa munir lañchitaḥ. *Vāmana*, 4, 2, 9.
197. Sa pītavāsāḥ pragṛhītaśārṅgaḥ. *Nami.*, xi, 24; *Bhoja*, i, 122.

[1] From what Nami says here regarding the older writer *Medhāvin*, it may perhaps be inferred that the numerous citations in this part of his commentary are taken from some treatise on Poetics by him.

198. Cintāratnam iva cyuto 'si.
199. Saktavo bhakshitā deva. *Namisādhu*, xi, 24.
200. Guṇair anarghaiḥ prathitaḥ.
201. Tadvesho 'sadṛśo 'nyābhiḥ.
202. Atithiṁ nāma kākutsthāt. *Raghu.*, xvii, 1.
203. Pratyagramajjana°. *Ratnāvalī*, i, 21.
204. Grathnāti kāvyaśaśinam. *Vāmana*, 4, 2, 16.
205. Nipetur āsyād iva. *Namisādhu*, xi, 24.
206. Udyayau dīrghikāgarbhāt.
207. Divākarād rakshati yaḥ. *Kumāra.*, i, 12.
208. Spṛśati tigmarucau kakubhaḥ. *Haravijaya*, iii, 37.
209. Svayaṁ ca pallavātāmra°. *Udbhaṭa*, iv, 26.
210. Āhūteshu vihaṅgameshu. *Bhallaṭa*, 69.

APPENDIX I.

INDEX TO EXAMPLES AND MINOR QUOTATIONS.[1]

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[1] The figures in parentheses indicate the pages in the Calcutta edition.

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Rāghavānandanāṭaka, iv, 87 (?).
Rājaśekhara (early in tenth century):—
Karpūramañjari, iv, 46; viii, 3; x, 104.
Bālarāmāyaṇa, v, 3; vii, 61, 86, 137; x, 84.
Viddhaśālabhañjikā, vii, 134; x, 174.
Rāma, x, 41.
Rudraṭa:
Kāvyālaṅkāra, i, 3; iv, 4; vii, 98, 101, 171; ix, 9–12, 16, 27, 33, 34, 37; x, 38, 64, 71, 115, 119, 121, 132, 134, 140, 148, 163, 167, 189, 190.
Ruyyaka:—[See Part I of *Notes*, p. 306.]
Alaṅkārasarvasva, iv, *kār.* xiv, 77, 86; ix, 2, 3, 18, 20 27, 36; x, 27, 28, 30, 34, 59, 66, 90, 114, 117, 127, 129-131, 133, 137, 144, 154, 155, 161, 162, 164, 173.
Vāmana, iv, 76; vii, 42, 88, 102, 120, *kār.* x, 148, 150; viii, 4, *kār.* vii; x, 37, 62, 165, 192, 193, 195, 196, 204.
Vālmīki, ix, 4.
Vijjakā, iv, 39.
Vishnupurāṇa, iv, 58, 59.
Veṇīsaṁhāra, iii, 3; iv, 17; v, 19; vii, 68, 80, 90, 101, 117, 118, 122, 139, 163, 165; viii, 9.
Śaṅkaragaṇa, x, 58 (?).
Śaṅkuka, x, 116.
Śīlā Bhaṭṭārikā, i, 1.
Śrī Harshadeva (?):—
Nāgānanda, vii, 7, *kār.* xvi.
Ratnāvalī, vii, 185; viii, 8; x, 184, 203.
Śūryaśataka, vii, 159; x, 188.
Stavacintāmaṇi, iv, 35.
Hayagrīvavadha, i, 5; x, 113.
Haravijaya (ninth century), ix, 17; x, 180, 187, 208.
Harshadatta, vii, 100, 142.
Hitopadeśa, vii, 195.

ART. XVIII. — *The Eighteen Lohan of Chinese Buddhist Temples.* By T. WATTERS, M.R.A.S.

WHEN you enter the chief hall of a Buddhist temple in China you cannot fail to notice two rows of large yellow figures—one along the east and the other along the west wall. These figures, which are usually numbered and labelled, are called the Eighteen Lohan, and if you ask your guide what they are he will probably reply "belong joss." This answer may not be deemed satisfactory, but further inquiry will only elicit the information that these are images of Buddha's eighteen great disciples. The names, however, show that this information is not quite correct, some of them being unknown to the original Buddhist canon. If you go on to Korea and visit the curious old Buddhist temples in that country, you will find that Buddha's Hall has rows of similar figures, but sixteen in number. If you continue your journey and visit Japan, you will find there also Sixteen Rakan lining the side walls of the Buddhist temples. Lohan and Rakan are for A-lo-han, the Chinese way of expressing the Sanskrit word Arhan for Arhat. Suppose you could go back and travel to Lhassa, there also you would find Sixteen Arhats, or as they are called there, Sthaviras, in the Chief Hall of Buddha's temples. Tibet, however, seems to have also its Eighteen Lohan, imported from China apparently in modern times.

When we examine the Buddhist literature preserved in the libraries of the great monasteries in China, we find in it mention of only sixteen great Arhats, the number eighteen being apparently unknown even to the comparatively modern native treatises. As for the pictures

and images of these sixteen, they are mainly derived from the works of one or two painters of the T'ang dynasty. About the year 880 an artist named Kuan Hsiu (貫休) made pictures of the Sixteen Lohan, which were given to a Buddhist monastery near Ch'ien-t'ang in the province of Chekiang. These became celebrated, and were preserved with great care and treated with ceremonious respect. In the reign of Kien-lung of the present dynasty an official, while on duty in the district, had copies of these pictures made by competent artists and sent them to the emperor. His Majesty had further copies made, and ordered them to be printed and distributed. It was found that wrong names had been given to several of the figures, so the emperor ordered that all the names should be compared with the original and correctly transcribed according to the new system. But the question remains, who are these Arhats? and the answer is to be found in the Buddhist scriptures. They are patrons and guardians of Sakyamuni Buddha's system of religion and its adherents, lay and clerical.

An early mention of spiritual protectors of Buddha's religion after his decease is found in the "Sūtra of Śāriputra's Questions," No. 1,152 in Mr. Bunyio Nanjio's Catalogue. We do not know when or by whom this book was translated or when it was brought to China, but its translation has been referred to the fourth century of our era. In this treatise the Buddha is represented as committing his religion to the protection of Śakra and the four Devarājas. He also entrusts the propagation of his system after his death to four "Great Bhikshus." The names of these are given as Mahākāsyapa, Piṇḍola, Kun-tê-pan-t'an, and Rāhula. These men were to remain in existence and not experience final Nirvāna until the advent of Maitreya as Buddha. Three of these names are well known, and the unknown one is apparently the Kun-t'ou-p'o-han (君頭波漢) of the "Tsêng-i-a-han-ching" (ch. 23). These characters evidently represent the Pali name Kuṇḍo-vahan, which means *Mungoose-bearing*, a name

to be remembered in connection with what follows. The composition of this sūtra may probably be referred to the end of the last century B.C. Then in a śāstra, the name of which is restored as "Ārya-Vasumitra-bodhisattva-saṅgitī-śāstra," Nanjio, No. 1,289, we find mention of sixteen "Brahmans" over whom Buddha is lord. These are probably the Sixteen Arhats, although a note added to the text gives the name of the second one as Ajita-Maitreya. This treatise, which was probably composed in the first century of our era, was translated in the year 384.

In another treatise called the "Ju-ta-shêng-lun," the "Mahāyānāvatāraka-śāstra" of Nanjio, No. 1,243, we have further mention of guardians of Buddhism. Here we have ninety-nine *lakhs* of "great arhats" and also sixteen called "Great Śrāvakas." Of these only two names are given, Piṇḍola and Rāhula, the reader being supposed to be acquainted with the sūtras from which the author quotes. These guardians of Buddha's religion are dispersed over the world, the names of some of their spheres being given. Among these are Pūrva-Videha, the Wheat (Godhūma) region, the Chestnut (Priyaṅgu) region, the Lion (Siṁha) region, and the "Bhadrika place." This śāstra was composed by the learned Buddhist Sthiramati, and translated into Chinese by Tao-t'ai and others about A.D. 400.

The text, however, from which all our knowledge of the names of the Sixteen Arhats or Lohan of Buddhist temples in China, Japan, and Korea may be said to be derived is that entitled "Ta-A-lo-han-Nan-t'i-mi-to-lo-so-shuo-fa-chu-chi." This means "The record of the duration of the law, spoken by the great Arhat Nandimitra." The treatise, which was translated by the celebrated Yuan-chuang (Hiouen Thsang), is No. 1,466 in Nanjio's Catalogue. The name of the author is not known, but he must have lived long after the time of Nandimitra, and apparently he was not a native of that arhat's country. There seems to have been also a previous translation of the same or a similar original, and to it Yuan-chuang and other writers appear to have been indebted.

The book begins with the statement that according to tradition within 800 years from Buddha's decease there was an arhat named Nandimitra at the capital of King Shêng-chün (勝軍) in the Chih-shih-tzŭ (執師子) country. Nanjio took Shêng-chün to be Prasenajit and Chih-shih-tzŭ to be Ceylon according to the Chinese notes in the "Hsi-yü-chi." But Prasenajit's capital was Śrāvasti in Kosala, and we do not find any king with that name in the annals of Ceylon. The "Chih-shih-tzŭ" country of this passage is probably the Shih-tzŭ-kuo which we know from the 16th chapter of the "Tsêng-i-a-han-ching" was in the Vrijjian territory. The original home of the Aryan immigrants into Ceylon was not far from this district, and the name Siṁhala-dvīpa may have been derived from this Lion-country. The words *Shêng-chün* may stand for either Prasenajit or Jayasena.[1]

The sūtra then proceeds to narrate how the great Arhat Nandimitra answered the questions of his perplexed and desponding congregation about the possible continued existence of Buddhism in the world. He tells his hearers that the Buddha when about to die entrusted his religion to sixteen great Arhats. These men are to watch over and care for the religious welfare of the lay-believers and generally protect the spiritual interests of Buddhism. They are to remain in existence all the long time until Maitreya appears as Buddha and brings in a new system. Then, according to Nandimitra, the Sixteen Arhats will collect all the relics of Sakyamuni and build over them a magnificent tope. When this is finished they will pay their last worship to the relics, rising in the air and doing pradakshina to the tope. Then they will enter an igneous ecstasy and so vanish in remainderless nirvāna. At his hearers' request Nandimitra gives the names of these Protectors of the Faith, their homes

[1] The "Chih-shih-tzŭ-kuo" of this sūtra and the "Shih-tzŭ-kuo" of the "Tsêng-i-a-han-ching" are probably the *Siṁhadvīpa* of Schiefner's "Tāranātha," S. 83. This last cannot be Ceylon, and the mention of the *Lusthain* in it reminds us of the *garden* in the Shih-tzŭ-kuo. In the Sarvata Vinaya Yao-shih, ch. 8, we have mention of a Shih-tzŭ district which lay between Srāvasti and Rājagriha.

or spheres of action, and the numbers of their retinues. These Arhats are the Sixteen Rakan of the Japanese and Koreans and constitute sixteen of the Eighteen Lohan of the Chinese. They have incense burnt before their images, but generally speaking they are not worshipped or consulted like the gods and P'usas of the temples.

The names of the Sixteen Arhats or Lohan, together with their residences and retinues, are now given according to this sūtra of the Duration of the Law and in the order in which that work gives them. Variations as to the names which have been noticed in other lists and in different temples are also given. But as to the pictures and images of the Sixteen we must remember that these, whether merely works of art or consecrated to religion, are not supposed to be faithful representations of the men indicated by the names attached. The pictures and images are to be taken merely as symbols or fanciful creations.[1]

1. Pin-tu-lo-Po-lo-to-shê (賓度羅跋囉惰闍), Piṇḍola the Bhāradvāja.

He has a retinue of 1,000 arhats, and his place is the Godhānga region in the west.

Sometimes the name of this arhat is transcribed Pin-t'ou (頭)-lo, and sometimes he is styled Bhāradvāja simply.

Piṇḍola was one of Buddha's great disciples, became an arhat, and was distinguished as a successful disputant and defender of orthodoxy, with a voice like the roar of a lion.[2] But he had a weakness for exhibiting his magical powers before all sorts of people, and sometimes for unworthy objects. On one occasion, according to the Pali and other editions of the Vinaya, in order to show his superhuman powers, he rose in the air, took a sandal-wood

[1] For illustrations and details of the Lohan see Anderson's "Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum"; Pandar's "Das Pantheon d. Tschangtscha Hutuktu," S. 83 f.; Hsiang-chiao-p'i-pien (象教皮編), ch. 2.

[2] Tsêng-i-a-han-ching, ch. 3 (Bun., No. 543, tr. A.D. 385); Fo-shuo-a-lo-han-chü-tê-ching (Bun., No. 897, tr. about 900).

bowl off a very high pole, and floated about with it for a time over the heads of an admiring crowd. This proceeding brought a severe rebuke from the Master, and was the occasion of a rule prohibiting the use of sandal-wood bowls.[1] The Buddha also on this occasion announced to Piṇḍola that he was not to "take Nirvāna," but was to remain in existence and protect Buddha's system until the coming of Maitreya.[2] We read also of Piṇḍola working a miracle with a hill in order to go to a breakfast given by Sudatta's wife, and some make this to be the occasion on which Buddha rebuked him and told him he was to remain in existence to foster Buddhism until the advent of Maitreya to bring in a new system.[3] But Piṇḍola sometimes wrought miracles for good purposes, and his exhibition of magical powers at Rajagriha led to the conversion of an unbelieving lady.[4]

Piṇḍola has been living ever since Buddha's time, and he has appeared on several occasions to pious workers for Buddhism. In India it was once the custom for lay believers when giving an entertainment to the Buddhist monks to "invite Piṇḍola." The arhat could not be seen, but the door was left open for him, and it was known by the appearance of the flowers or the condition of the mat reserved for him whether he had been present.[5] When King Asoka summoned his great assembly Piṇḍola was living on the Gandhamāli (or Gandhamādana) mountain with a company of arhats 60,000 in number. Called to the assembly, he flew swan-like to the place of meeting, and on account of his undoubted seniority he was chosen president. He was then a very old man with white hair and long eyebrows, which he had to hold back with his hands in order to see.[6] As he often has very long eyebrows in his pictures and images, the Chinese have come

[1] Vinaya Texts, iii, p. 79.
[2] Ch'ing-Pin-t'ou-lu-ching (or -fa) (Bun., No. 1,348, tr. 457).
[3] Tsa-a-han-ching, ch. 23 (Bun., No. 544, tr. between 420 and 479).
[4] Tsêng-i-a-han-ching, ch. 20.
[5] Ch'ing-Pin-t'ou-lu-ching.
[6] Divyāvadāna, p. 402; Burnouf, Introd., p. 397; Tsa-a-han-ching, l.c.

to know him popularly as the "Ch'ang-mei-sêng" or "Long-eyebrowed Monk." But Lohans with other names also have this characteristic in the fancy portraits which adorn temples and pictures.

In the seventh century Piṇḍola came to China and appeared to Tao-hsüan (道 宣), the great Vinaya doctor, and signified his approval of the work which that zealous monk had been doing.[1]

We find the name Piṇḍola explained in Chinese commentaries as meaning *Pu-tung* or Unmoved, but this cannot have been intended for a translation of the word. The Tibetans give "Alms-receiver" as the equivalent, connecting the name with piṇḍa, but it may have been derived from the name of a place transcribed Pin-t'ou in Chinese. This was a town or village in the Kosala country in Buddha's time. In a far-back existence Piṇḍola had been a bad son and a cruel man, and owing to his bad Karma he had to suffer in hell for a very long period. Here his food was "tiles and stones," and even when he was born to be a pious arhat of wonderful powers, he retained a tendency to live on "tiles and stones."[2] We cannot wonder that he was thin and ribbed.

Some pictures and images represent Piṇḍola sitting and holding a book in one hand and his alms-bowl in the other; others have him holding a book reverently in both hands; and sometimes we find him with an open book on one knee and a mendicant's staff at his side.

2. Ka-no-ka-Fa-tso (迦 諾 迦 伐 蹉), Kanaka the Vatsa.

This arhat is appointed to Kashmir with a retinue of 500 other arhats. He was originally a disciple of Buddha, and it was said of him that he comprehended all systems good and bad.[3] The Tibetans, in their usual manner, have translated the name literally "Gold calf."

[1] Ta-Sung-sêng-shi-liao (大 宋 僧 史 略), ch. 2.

[2] Kên-pên-shuo-i-ch'ie-yu Vinaya Yao-shi, ch. 16 (tr. by I-ching about 710).

[3] Fo-shuo-a-lo-han-chü-tê-ching.

3. Ka-no-ka-Po-li-tou-shê (迦 諾 迦 跋 釐 惰 闍), Kanaka the Bhāradvāja.

This arhat's station is in the Pūrva-Videha region and he has 600 arhats under his authority. He is sometimes pictured as a very hairy old man, and some paintings give him a small disciple at his side.

4. Su-p'in-t'ê (蘇 頻 陀), Subhinda.

His sphere of action is the Kuru country in the north, and he has a retinue of 800 arhats.

This name does not occur in several of the lists, but it is found in the temples in China, Korea, and Japan. Instead of it we find occasionally Nandimitra, and the new recension and the Tibetan give A-pi-ta (阿 必 達), which may be for Abhida. The Tibetan translation of the name is *inseparable* or *indissoluble*, and this seems to point to an original like Abhinda or Abhida.

This arhat appears as a venerable sage with a scroll in his right hand, or as sitting in an attitude of meditation. He is also represented as sitting with an alms-bowl and an incense-vase beside him, holding a sacred book in the left hand, while with the right he "cracks his fingers." This gesture is indicative of the rapidity with which he attained spiritual insight.

5. No-kü-lo (諾 矩 羅), Nakula.

The sphere of this arhat's action is Jambudvipa, that is, India, and his retinue is composed of 800 arhats.

This name is found in the Chinese, Korean, and Japanese temples, but in some lists instead of it we find Pa-ku-la (巴 古 拉) or P'u-kü-lo (薄 拘 羅), that is, Vakula. This was the name of one of Buddha's great disciples, often mentioned in the scriptures. Vakula became an arhat, but he led a solitary, self-contained life; he never had a disciple and he never preached a word. He was remarkable for his wonderful exemption from bodily ailments and for the great length of life to which he attained. When

King Asoka visited his tope and showed his contempt for Vakula by offering a penny, the arhat was equal to the occasion and refused the coin.[1]

We must, however, go by Yuan-chuang's text and read Nakula. This word means *Mungoose*, and we remember the arhat called Kuṇḍo-vahan or Mungoose-bearer already mentioned. We read also of a Nakula's father, in Pali Nakula-pitā, who became a devoted lay adherent of Buddha's teaching. Nakula was a Vrijjian resident at Uruvilva, but we do not find much about him in the scriptures. He may be the same person with Nakulapitā converted when he was 120 years old, but made young and happy by Buddha's teaching.[2]

Nakula is often represented, as in the Tibetan picture, with a mungoose as his emblem, and sometimes instead of that animal he has a three-legged frog under his left arm. Sometimes he is represented as meditating or as teaching with a little boy by his side.

6. Po-t'ê-lo (跋 陀 羅), Bhadra.

This arhat was appointed to T'an-mo-lo-Chow, that is, Tāmra-dvīpa or Ceylon, and he was given a retinue of 900 other arhats. We sometimes find him called Tāmra Bhadra, apparently from the name of his station.

The Bhadra of the Buddhist scriptures was a cousin of the Buddha and one of his great disciples. He was a good preacher, and could expand in clear and simple language the Master's teaching. Hence he is often represented as expounding the contents of a book which he holds in one hand. He took his profession very seriously and aimed at spiritual perfection.

Bhadra often appears in pictures and images accompanied by a tiger which he soothes or restrains, but he is also represented without the tiger and in an attitude of worship.

[1] Tsêng-i-a-han-ching, chs. 3, 23.
[2] Tsa-a-han-ching, ch. 5; A-lo-han-chü-tê-ching.

7. Ka-li-ka (迦 理 迦), Kālika or Kāla.

This arhat has 1,000 other arhats under him and resides in Sêng-ka-t'a (僧 伽 茶). This has been supposed to be Ceylon, but it is evidently the name of some other region. The Chinese characters may stand for Simhatā, and something like this may have been the name of the "Lion country" in the Vrijjian territory already mentioned.[1]

This arhat is apparently the great disciple called "Lion King Kāla" (師 子 王 迦 羅), who attained arhatship and was honoured by King Bimbisara.[2] He is represented as studying a scroll or sitting in meditation, or holding a leaf of a tree, or he has extremely long eyebrows which he holds up from the ground.

8. Fa-shê-lo-fuh-to-lo (伐 闍 羅 弗 多 羅), Vajraputra.

He has 1,100 arhats and resides in the Po-la-na (鉢 剌 拏) division of the world, that is, in Parṇa-dvīpa perhaps.

In some temples and lists of the Lohan the name is given as Vajriputra. This may be the Vajjiput of the village of the same name who became a disciple and attained to arhatship.[3] He is represented as very hairy, or as very lean and ribbed.

9. Shu-po-ka (戍 博 迦), Supāka perhaps.

This arhat is stationed on the Gandhamādana mountain and has an establishment of 900 arhats.

Instead of the character for Shu we find in some places Kie (戒), that is Ka, making the name Kapaka, but this is evidently wrong. In the new transcription we have Kuo-pa-ka, that is, Gopaka. The Tibetans have the two Chinese transcriptions Kapaka and Supāka, but their translation is Sbed-byed, which requires the form Gopaka (or Gopa), meaning *protector*. We do not know of any disciple

[1] In the Sarvata Vinaya Yao-shih, ch. 8, we find mention of the "Lion Town" which lay between Srāvasti and Rajagriha.

[2] Sarvata Vinaya Yao-shih, ch. 17.

[3] Tsa-a-han-ching, ch. 29.

of Buddha named Supaka, but we read of one named Gopaka, a sthavira at Pataliputra.

The representations of this arhat often show him with a small figure of a saint above his right shoulder or close to his side, but he also appears with a book or a fan in his hand.

10. Pan-t'o-ka (半 託 迦), Panthaka or Pantha.

This arhat's sphere is the Trayastrimśat Heaven, and he is attended by 1,300 arhats.

He is sometimes called simply Pantha or Panthaka, and sometimes Ta (大) or Mahā-Panthaka, Great Panthaka, to distinguish him from his young brother, who is No. 16 of this list. The name is explained as meaning *way* or *road*, or "born on the road," and a legend relates how it was given to the two boys because their births occurred by the roadside while their mother was making journeys.[1] But we find the name also explained as meaning "continuing the way," that is, propagating Buddhism, and the Tibetan translation gives "doctrine of the way" as its signification. But this explanation belongs rather to the younger brother, who also is frequently styled simply Pantha or Panthaka. We occasionally find in books Pa (or Sa)-na-ka for Panthaka, apparently a copyist's error. Pantha is also found transcribed Pan-t'a (般 咃), and for the second syllable we find *t'u* (兎) or *t'ê* (特).

Panthaka was distinguished as among the highest of Buddha's disciples, who "by thought aimed at excellence."[2] He was also expert in solving doubts and difficulties in doctrine for weaker vessels, and he had extraordinary magical powers.[3] He could pass through solids and shoot through the air, and cause fire and water to appear at pleasure. He could also reduce his own dimensions little by little until there was nothing left of him.[4] These

[1] Fên-pie-kung-tê-lun, ch. 5 (Bun., No. 1,290, tr. perhaps about 200).
[2] Abhidharma pa-kan-tu-lun, ch. 27 (Bun., No. 1,273, tr. 383).
[3] A-lo-han-chü-tê-ching.
[4] Tsêng-i-a-han-ching, ch. 3.

magical powers were called into request by Buddha when he made his expedition to subdue and convert the fierce dragon-king Apalāla.[1]

The various pictures and images represent Panthaka as sitting under a tree or teaching from an open book, or as holding a scroll, or as sitting in profound meditation with his arms folded. He is also frequently depicted in the act of charming a dragon into his alms-bowl.

This Panthaka is not to be confounded with the Upasaka of the same name who accompanied Mahinda in his mission for the conversion of Ceylon.

11. Lo-hu-lo (囉 怙 羅), Rāhula.

To Rāhula was assigned the Priyañgu-dvīpa, a land of aromatic herbs,[2] and he had a suite of 1,100 arhats.

Rāhula, the son of Buddha, was distinguished as a disciple for his diligent study of the canon and his uncompromising thorough strictness in carrying out the rules of his profession. He is often represented in pictures and images as having the large "umbrella-shaped" head, prominent eyes, and hooked nose which some books ascribe to him. But in many cases he is apparently represented without any distinctive features or attribute. It is his lot to die and return to this world as Buddha's son for several times, and he is not to pass finally out of existence for a very long time.

12. Na-ka-si-na (那 伽 犀 那), Nāgasena.

This arhat was appointed to the Pan-tu-p'o or Pāṇḍava Mountain in Magadha, with a retinue of 1,200 arhats.

Nāgasena is, I think, the disciple called Seni (斯尼) in the "Tsêng-i-a-han-ching" and the "Fên-pie-kung-tê-lun." In the former this bhikshu is selected for praise as an orthodox expounder of the principles or essentials of Buddhism. The latter treatise also calls him first in exposition. It adds that he was a bhikshu thirty years before he attained arhatship, because he made the laying

[1] Fên-pie-kung-tê-lun, l.c.

[2] But the Chinese pilgrims were taught that *priyañgu* was the Indian name for the chestnut.

down of dogma the one chief thing postponing to this release from sin, that he was skilled in analysis and the logical development of principles, and that he left a treatise embodying the results of his studies.[1]

Now this Se-ni is, I think, the Nāgasena who composed the original work which was afterwards amplified into the "Questions of Milinda." In the "Tsa-pao-tsang-ching" we have this Nāgasena, called also Se-na, a man of commanding presence, proud and learned, subtle-minded and ready-witted, and he is put through a severe ordeal by a king called Nan-t'ê or Nanda.[2] Then these Nanda and Nāgasena are evidently the Min-lin-t'ê and Nāgasena of one translation of the "Abhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā-śāstra" and the Pi-lin-t'ê and Lung-chün, *Dragon-host* of the other translation.[3] They are also the Mi-lan and Na-hsien of the "Na-hsien-pi-chiu-ching"[4] and the Milinda and Nāgasena of the "Questions of Milinda."[5]

This Nāgasena was, or was taken to be, a contemporary of the Buddha and Śāriputra, although he is also supposed to be living long after Buddha's time. He is called *arhat* by the author of the introduction to the "Questions," but in the body of the book he is not an arhat. In this treatise he defends against his cross-examiner the unity and consistency of Buddha's teachings, and explains and expands hard doctrines with great learning and richness of illustration. He became the head of the Church in Milinda's country to watch over and maintain Buddhist orthodoxy. His treatise must have existed in various lands and in different forms from a comparatively early period. The "Abhidharma-kośa-śāstra" and the "Tsa-pao-tsang-ching" quote from a text which is neither the "Na-hsien-pi-chiu-ching" nor the "Questions," and these two last differ very much.

[1] Tsêng-i-a-han-ching, ch. 3; Fên-pie-kung-tê-lun, ch. 5.
[2] Tsa-pao-tsang-ching, ch. 9 (Bun., No. 1,329, tr. 472).
[3] Abhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā-śāstra, ch. 22 (Bun., No. 1,269, tr. 665); Abhidharma-kośa-śāstra, ch. 30 (Bun., No. 1,267, tr. 652).
[4] Na-hsien-pi-chiu-ching (Bun., No. 1,358, tr. between 317 and 420).
[5] "The Questions of King Milinda," translated from the Pāli by T. W. Rhys Davids.

13. Yin-kie-t'ê (因 揭 陀), Añgida.

This arhat's station is the mountain called Kuang-hsie or Broad-side, that is, Vipulapārśva, and he has a retinue of 1,300 arhats. In one place I have seen *Mu* (目) instead of *Yin*, and the Tibetans have Añgija, but all other transcriptions are apparently either Añgida or Añgila.

One of Buddha's great disciples was named Añgaja, and he was noted for the cleanness and fragrance of his body.[1] Another great disciple was Añgila, who was described as being perfect in all things.[2] These two names may possibly indicate only one person.

The Lohan called Añgida is sometimes the fat, jolly creature who is supposed to be Maitreya or his incarnation. Other pictures or images make him a lean old monk with a staff and a book containing Indian writing. This latter is the old traditional representation handed down from the period of the T'ang dynasty.

14. Fa-na-p'o-ssŭ (伐 那 婆 斯), Vanavāsa.

A Korean temple has Fa-lo-p'o-ssŭ, giving Varavāsa, but all the other transcriptions seem to have Vanavāsa.

This arhat, who has a retinue of 1,400 other arhats, is stationed on the K'o-chu (可 住) or Habitable Mountain. He is sometimes represented sitting in a cave meditating with eyes closed, or his hands make a *mudra*, or he nurses his right knee.

15. A-shih-to (阿 氏 多), Asita or Ajita.

These characters do not represent Yuan-chuang's ordinary transcription either for Asita or Ajita, and it is probable that here he adopted the transcription of a predecessor. The new authorized reading gives Ajita, and it is so in the Tibetan. But Ajita is Maitreya, and that Bodhisattva, according to all accounts, remains in Tushita Paradise until the time comes for him to become incarnate on this earth.

[1] Tsêng-i-a-han-ching, ch. 3.
[2] A-lo-han-chü-tê-ching.

So he cannot properly be a guardian of Sakyamuni's system, which must have passed away before he can become Buddha.

This arhat, whom we may call Asita, resides on the Gṛidhrakūṭa Mountain, and has 1,500 arhats in his suite. It cannot be that he is the old seer Asita who came from his distant home to see the newly-born infant who was to become Buddha. The images and pictures generally represent the arhat as an old man with very long eyebrows, nursing his right knee or absorbed in meditation.

16. Chu-ch'a(t'a)-Pan-t'o-ka (注 荼 半 託 迦), Choṭa-Panthaka.

The first part of the name is also given as Chou-li (周 利) or Chu-li (祝 or 朱 利). These transcriptions stand for the Sanskrit Kshulla and Pāli Chulla (or Chūla), and Choṭa is a dialectic form still preserved in the vernacular. The words mean *little, small,* and this Panthaka received the above name in order to distinguish him from his elder brother already noticed. He is also called Hsiao-lu or Little Road, the elder brother being Ta-lu or Great Road.

Choṭa-Panthaka has a household of 1,600 arhats, and his station is the Īshādhara Mountain, a part of the great range of Sumeru.

As a disciple Little Pantha was at first and for a long time exceedingly dull and stupid, the result of bad Karma. He could not make any progress in the spiritual life, being unable to apply his mind or commit to memory even one stanza of doctrine.[1] He was accordingly slighted by the Brethren and their lay patrons, but the Master always had pity and patience. On one occasion the King invited Buddha and the disciples to breakfast, but Little Pantha was excluded. When Buddha discovered this he refused to sit down to breakfast until the despised disciple was

[1] Tsêng-i-a-han-ching, ch. 11; Fên-pie-kung-tê-lun, ch. 5; Sarvata Vinaya Yao-shih, ch. 17. Compare the account of Chulla-Panthaka in Jātaka (Chalmers), p. 14, and see note at p. 20.

bidden to the feast.[1] And when Little Pantha was expelled by his elder brother as being incorrigibly dull and stupid, Buddha brought him back and would not allow him to be expelled. He comforted the sorrowing disciple and gave him the words "Sweeping broom" to repeat and keep in mind. In the effort to do so the intellectual faculties of the poor dullard were stimulated, and he came to see that the two words meant that all attachment to things of this world was defilement and to be swept away by the broom of Buddha's doctrine.[2] Having entered on the good way he went on towards perfection, and became noted as one of the first disciples in "mental aiming at excellence"; he was chiefly occupied with the mind and mental contemplation.[3] By his determined perseverance he attained a thorough insight into religious truths, and expounded these with such power and eloquence that even giddy nuns, who came to laugh and mock, remained to be impressed and edified.[4] In process of time Little Pantha attained arhatship, with the powers of flying through the air and of assuming any form at pleasure. He had also other miraculous powers, and on one occasion he produced 500 strange oxen and proceeded to ride one of them.[5]

This arhat is sometimes pictured as an old man sitting under and leaning against a dead tree, one hand having a fan and the other held up in the attitude of teaching. He is also represented as a venerable sage sitting on a mat-covered seat and holding a long staff surmounted by a hare's head.

17 and 18. There does not seem to be any historical account of the first introduction of the Lohan into the Halls of Buddhist temples, nor can it be ascertained when the

[1] Fa-chü-pi-yü-ching, ch. 2 (Bun., No. 1,353, tr. about 300); Ch'u-yao-ching, ch. 19 (Bun., No. 1,321, tr. 399).
[2] Tsêng-i-a-han-ching, l.c.
[3] Abhidharma-pa-kan-tu-lun, ch. 27 (Bun., No. 1,273, tr. 383); Abhidharma-fa-chih-lun, ch. 18 (Bun., No. 1,275, tr. about 660).
[4] Fa-chü-pi-yü-ching, l.c.
[5] Tsêng-i-a-han-ching, chs. 3 and 22.

number of these guardians was raised from sixteen to eighteen in Chinese temples. In some of these, down to the present time, the number of the Lohan is still sixteen, e.g. in the Pao-ning-ssŭ, near Mount Omi, visited by Mr. Baber.[1] Some Chinese have supposed that there were formerly eighteen gods regarded as protectors of Buddhist temples, and that the Lohan took their places. But we know nothing about these gods, and the supposition need not be taken into consideration. Another suggestion, and one which seems not improbable, is that the Buddhists in this matter imitated a certain Chinese institution. When we read the history of the reigns of T'ang Kao Tsu and T'ai Tsung, we find the record of an event which may have given the idea of grouping the Lohan in the Chief Hall of a temple and of raising their number to eighteen. In the year 621 T'ai Tsung instituted within the palace grounds a very select college composed of eighteen members. These dons were officials of high standing, of sound learning and good literary attainments, and faithful adherents and personal friends of the founder. Among them were such famous men as Tu Ju-mei and his friend Fang Hsüan-ling; Yü Chĭ-ming, learned scholar and loyal statesman, who wrote the preface to Yuan-chuang's "Hsi-yü-chi"; Lu Tê-ming, and K'ung Ying-ta. The members took their turns in batches of three in attending on duty, and while in the college they were liable to be visited and interrogated by the emperor. He had portraits of the members made for the college, and each portrait was furnished with a statement of the name, birthplace, and honours of the original. The merits of each were described in ornate verse by one of the number, Chu Liang. These favoured men were called the Shih-pa-hsüe-shih (十八學士) or Eighteen Cabinet Ministers, and they were popularly said to have *têng-ying-chou* (登瀛洲), to have become Immortals. It is this Hall of the Eighteen which I think may have led to the installation of the Eighteen

[1] "Travels and Researches in Western China," p. 31.

Arhats in Buddha's Hall. The names of these venerable ones are given, and sometimes their stations and retinues are added. There are also temples in which the Lohan are arranged in groups of three.

But these Eighteen Lohan have never received authoritative recognition, and they are not given even in the modern accepted Buddhist treatises. We find them, however, occasionally in modern Chinese works of art. The South Kensington Museum has a pair of bowls on which they are painted, and the British Museum has them on an incense-vase. This vase is remarkable for departing so far from the established doctrine of the Lohan as to represent three of the eighteen as boys or very young men. The modern Chinese artist, followed by the Japanese, apparently takes the Lohan to be Immortals, and he shows them crossing to the Happy Land of Nirvāna or leading lives of unending bliss among the pines of the misty mountain-tops.

As to the persons who should be admitted as guardian Lohans of Buddha and his religion, there has been a great diversity of opinion, and consequently different worthies have been added in different places. In many old temples we find the 17th and 18th places given respectively to Nandimitra and a second Piṇḍola. This Nandimitra, in Chinese Ch'ing-yu (慶友), is the arhat already mentioned as describing the appointment and distribution of the Sixteen Arhats. As one of the additional Lohans we sometimes find the well-known Imperial patron of Buddhism, Liang Wu Ti (A.D. 502 to 550), or Kumārajiva, the great translator who flourished about A.D. 400. In some temples we find Maitreya or his supposed incarnation the Pu-tai-ho-shang, or Calico-bag (cushion) Monk. This monk is said to have lived in the sixth century A.D., but he was not honoured as a Lohan until modern times. He is the special patron of tobacco-sellers, and his jolly fat little image often adorns their shop-fronts. Another interesting person sometimes found among the Eighteen Lohan is the Indian Buddhist Dharmatara (or Dharmatrata), in Chinese

Fa-Chiu (法 救). This is perhaps the Dharmatara who was a great master of Dhyāna and learned author, and lived about the middle of the first century of our era probably. He is sometimes called a great Upāsaka, and is represented as receiving or introducing the Sixteen (or Eighteen) Lohan. Writing about Lhassa the learned Mr. Chandra Das has the following: "In the Na-chu Lha Khang Chapel erected by one of the Sakya Lamas named Wang Chhyug Tsondu, were the most remarkable statue-like images of the Sixteen Sthaviras called Natan Chudug, arranged to represent the scene of their reception by Upashaka Dharma Tala, one of the most celebrated and devout Buddhists of ancient China."[1] In Tibet the Sixteen Arhats are called Sthaviras, and "Natan Chudug" means *Sixteen Sthaviras*. Then "Dharma Tala" is for Dharmatara, who was Indian, not Chinese. He is also now one of the Eighteen Lohan in Tibet as in China. Another illustrious personage installed as one of these Lohan in many temples is Kuanyin P'usa. He appears as such in his capacity as Protector of Buddhism and Buddhists.

[1] "Narrative of a Journey to Lhasa," p. 145.

ART. XIX.—*Al-Muzaffariyé: containing a Recent Contribution to the Study of 'Omar Khayyām.* By E. D. Ross, Ph.D.

UNDER the above Arabic title there has just appeared in St. Petersburg a *Festschrift* to Baron Victor Rosen, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his professional activity. It contains articles extending over a wide range of subjects by eleven of his former pupils, who are most of them at present professors or lecturers at the University of St. Petersburg.

Baron Rosen (who is an honorary member of this Society) enjoys an esteem and an affection from all who are connected with the Oriental Faculty of his University, such as falls to the lot of few men. He has been the teacher and constant adviser of many of Russia's most distinguished Orientalists of the last two decades, and this collection of articles goes to prove what a brilliant group of young scholars he has round him at the present time. Nor has Baron Rosen's kindly aid been confined to his Russian colleagues: we feel sure that many scholars on the Continent owe him a debt of gratitude, and we know that some of us in England have learned to appreciate his kindness, whether direct or indirect.

The title *Muzaffariyé* is a play on the Christian name of Victor, the word *muzaffar* meaning in Arabic 'victorious.'

The eleven articles and their authors are as follows:—

1. Hāfiz-i-Abrū and his Works. By V. Barthold.
2. Popular Beliefs of the Turks of Chinese Turkestan in reference to Natural Phenomena. By N. Katanoff.
3. A Hieratic Papyrus, from the Collection of V. Golenischeff, containing an Account of the Journey of Unu-Amon to Phoenicia. (With two plates.) By V. Golenischeff.
4. Concerning one of Tabarī's Sources. By N. Médnikoff.

5. "Khiton Gospoden" (the Seamless Garment of the Saviour) in the Written Legend of the Armenians, Georgians, and Syrians. By N. Marr.
6. The Commentary of Tankhum of Jerusalem on the Book of the Prophet Jona. By P. Kokovtsoff.
7. Extracts from the Dīvān of Nābigha. By Baron D. Günzburg.
8. Concerning the Persian Prose Version of the "Book of Sindbād." By Serge d'Oldenburg.
9. Traditions concerning the Prophet Sālih from the Ḳiṣaṣ-ul-Anbíyā of Rubghūzī. By P. Melioranski.
10. The Application of the System of *fikh* in Arabic Grammar. By A. Schmidt.
11. 'Omar Khayyām and the "Wandering" Quatrains. By V. Schukovski.

It is a matter of regret that the space at our disposal will not allow us to give an epitome of each of the articles enumerated above. The last on the list, however, we propose to treat fully. Considering the popularity of its subject in this country, and also the important and quite new light it throws on the author of the now famous *Rubā'iyāt*, it seems a pity this paper should remain for ever hidden from the eyes of those admirers of 'Omar who knew no Russian.

The present paper is for the most part a translation of Professor Schukovski's Russian, except in the case of the biographical extracts, in which the original (Persian or Arabic as the case may be) has been followed.

One may say with absolute certainty that in the whole range of Persian literature no poet is to be found who has held so singular a position, nor one who up to the present time has attracted so much attention, or called forth so many various and sharply conflicting appreciations and criticisms as 'Omar Khayyām.

He has been regarded variously as a freethinker, a subverter of Faith; an atheist and materialist; a pantheist and a scoffer at mysticism; an orthodox Musulman; a true

philosopher, a keen observer, a man of learning; a *bon vivant*, a profligate, a dissembler, and a hypocrite; a blasphemer—nay, more, an incarnate negation of positive religion and of all moral beliefs; a gentle nature, more given to the contemplation of things divine than to worldly enjoyments; an epicurean sceptic; the Persian Abū-l-'Alā, Voltaire, and Heine.[1] One asks oneself whether it is possible to conceive, not a philosopher, but merely an intelligent man (provided he be not a moral deformity) in whom were commingled and embodied such a diversity of convictions, paradoxical inclinations and tendencies, of high moral courage and ignoble passions, of torturing doubts and vacillations? And if not, whence are such radical differences of opinion to be traced?

It seems to us that they are not to be traced to 'Omar himself (although nothing human would have been strange to him), but to that collection of what we call *his* Quatrains, which is given to us in rare manuscripts and numerous Oriental [and Occidental] editions.

This collection, though by no means free from objection, nevertheless, without any justification of, or attempt to explain its glaring inconsistencies, has hitherto afforded the material for all estimates of the poet.

Apart from this, attempts to fathom Khayyām's nature have been beset by yet another obstacle, namely, that up to the present time we have remained in almost entire ignorance of the history of his outer life, of the *milieu* in which he moved, and of the people with whom he came in contact. Everyone who has ever had anything to do with 'Omar Khayyām has considered it his duty to repeat the story of the three talented school friends—Khayyām, Nizām-ul-Mulk, and Ḥasan Sabbāḥ—a story full of obvious anachronisms and drawn from apocryphal sources.

All doubts might be set at rest by the discovery of the autograph copy of Khayyām's Quatrains, and of his philosophical treatises, which have unfortunately not come down

[1] The writer has in view the well-known criticisms of Hammer, Renan, Ethé, Nicolas, Garcin de Tassy, Whinfield, Aug. Müller, and others.

to us. There is, however, but little hope of their being discovered, for soon after Khayyām's death his native town, Nīshāpūr, repeatedly underwent all the horrors of rapine and fire at the hands of the wild hordes, first of the Ghūz and then of the Mogols. Our only means, therefore, of somewhat dissipating the mist which envelops the personality of our poet-thinker, is the careful study of his collected quatrains and the indication of fresh biographical notices referring to him. Such is the method adopted in the present article.

We will begin by calling attention to some accounts of 'Omar's life.

The earliest reference to 'Omar Khayyām dates from the middle of the seventh century of the Ḥijra. Moḥammad Shahrazūrī, author of a little-used history of learned men, bearing the title Nuzhet-ul-Arwāḥ, devotes to Khayyām the following passage[1]:—

"'Omar Al-Khayyāmī was a Nīshāpūrī by birth and extraction. He [may be regarded as] the successor of Abū 'Alī (Avicenna) in the various branches of philosophic learning; but he was a man of bad character and disliked entertaining (*ṣayyiḳ al-'aṭan*). While he was in Ispahan he perused a certain book seven times and then knew it by heart. On his return to Nīshāpūr he dictated it [from memory], and on comparing this with the original copy, it was found that the difference between them was but slight. He was averse both to composition and to teaching. He is the author of a handbook on natural science, and of two pamphlets, one entitled *Al-Wujūd* (or Real Existence) and the other *Al-Kawn wa'l Taklīf*.[2] He was learned in the law, in classical Arabic (*al-lughat*), and in history.

[1] Here (in the original article) follows the Arabic text [Berlin Library Or. MSS., 217 (B.)], while in a parallel column is printed a Persian translation, taken from a (presumably) unique MS. in the Imp. Asiatic Mus. of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences [No. 574, Aghii (II)]. Professor Schukovski in his translation has followed the Persian version, which is fuller than the original and seems to us to take liberties with the Arabic in the process of translation. We have followed the Arabic only.—E. D. R.

[2] The translation of this title is hard to determine without any acquaintance with the contents of the pamphlet.—E. D. R.

"One day Al-Khayyām went to see the Vezīr 'Abd-ur-Razzāḳ: the Chief of the Ḳor'ān Readers, Abū-l-Ḥasan Al-Ghazzālī, was with this latter [at the time], and the two were discussing the disagreement of the Ḳor'ān readers in regard to a certain verse. [As 'Omar entered] the Vezīr said, 'Here we have *the* authority,' and proceeded to ask Al-Khayyāmī [for his opinion] on the matter. ['Omar] enumerated the various readings of the Readers, and explained the grounds (*'ilal*) for each one. He also mentioned the exceptional readings (*shawāzz*) and the arguments in favour of each, and expressed his preference for one view in particular.

"Al-Ghazzālī then said: 'May God add such men as thee to the number of the learned! Of a truth I did not think anyone of the Ḳor'ān Readers knew the readings by heart to this extent—much less one of the [secular] philosophers.'

"As for the sciences, he had mastered both mathematics and philosophy. One day 'the Proof of Islām,' Al-Ghazzālī, came to see him and asked him how it came that one could distinguish one of the parts of the sphere, which revolve on the axis, from the rest, although the sphere was similar in all its parts. Al-Khayyāmī pronounced his views, beginning with a certain category (*maḳūla*); but he refrained from entering deeply into discussion—and such was the wont of this respected Sheykh. [Their conversation was interrupted by] the call to midday prayer, whereupon Al-Ghazzālī said, 'Truth has come in, and lying has gone out.' 'Omar arose and went to visit Sulṭān Sanjar. The latter was [at the time] a mere child, and was suffering from an attack of small-pox. When he came away the Vezīr asked him, 'How did you find the child, and what did you prescribe for him?' 'Omar answered, 'The child is in a most precarious state.' An Ethiopian slave reported this saying to the Sulṭān, and when the Sulṭān recovered he became inimical to 'Omar, and did not like him. Melik-shāh treated him as a boon companion; and Shams-ul-Mulk honoured him greatly, and made him sit beside him on his throne.

"It is related that ['Omar] was [one day] picking his teeth with a toothpick of gold, and was studying the chapter on Metaphysics from [Avicenna's] Book of Healing (الشفا). When he reached the section on 'The One and the Many' he placed the toothpick between the two leaves, arose, performed his prayers, and made his last injunctions. He neither ate nor drank anything [that day]; and when he performed the last evening prayer, he bowed himself to the ground and said as he bowed: 'Oh God! verily I have known Thee to the extent of my power: forgive me therefore. Verily my knowledge of Thee is my recommendation to Thee.'[1] And [so saying] he died: may God have pity on him!

"He wrote beautiful verses both in Arabic and in Persian, of which the following may serve as examples."

Here follow in the article three short Arabic ḳasīdas, in the place of which, however, the Persian translation quotes two Persian quatrains, namely, Whinfield, Nos. 193 and 230.

Again, in the seventh century we find a mention of Khayyām in the تاريخ الحكما, or "History of Learned Men," by Ibn-al-Ḳifty, who died in 646 A.H. This extract was printed by Woepcke, from the Paris Codex, in his "L'Algèbre d'Omar Alkhayyami," p. or: translation, pp. v and vi. Professor Schukovski reprints the text, partly on account of its importance, and partly because he has been able to collate it with the MSS. of Berlin, Vienna, and Munich.

"'Omar Al-Khayyām, Imām of Khorāsān, and the most learned man of his day, was versed in the science of the Greeks. He encouraged the search after the One Judge, by means of the purification of the inclinations of the flesh for the sake of the elevation of the human soul. He pointed out the necessity of studying political science according to the principles of the Greeks. The later Sūfis

[1] اللهمّ إنّى عرفتك على مبلغ إمكانى فاغفر لى فإنّ معرفتى إيّاك وسيلتى إليك

have found themselves in agreement with some of the exterior (i.e. literal) meanings of his verses and have introduced them into their system, and discuss them in their public and private gatherings. But their inner meaning is a stinging serpent to the *Sharī'a* . . . .[1]

"But since the people of his day reviled him for his religion, and exposed to view the secrets he had veiled from them, he feared for his blood, and reined the bridle of his tongue and pen. He performed the Pilgrimage, not out of piety, but from fear [of men], and revealed a secret from among his impure secrets. When he came to Baghdād men of his way of thinking in the ancient science beset him, but he shut on them his door, with the shutting of repentance and not of companionship. And when he returned from the Pilgrimage to his town he used to go morning and evening to the place of worship, and concealed his secret thoughts, which, however, perforce revealed themselves. He was without an equal in the sciences of astronomy and philosophy, and he became proverbial in these branches. If only he could have safeguarded his good name!

"By him there are fugitive verses whose hidden meaning penetrates their veil of concealment, and whose fount of conception is troubled by the turbidness of their secret intent."

Here are quoted four lines of Arabic verse.

The next notice is taken from the آثار البلاد of Zakhariyya Ḳasvīnī (d. 682), finished nearly forty years later. Here we read (see Wüstenfeld's Edition, p. 318) as follows:—

"Among the learned men of Nīshāpūr was 'Omar Khayyām. He was a man versed in all branches of philosophy, especially in Mathematics. He lived in the reign of Melik Shāh the Seljūḳ, who gave him much money for the purchase of astronomical apparatus and observation of the stars—but the Sultan died before their completion. They relate that

[1] The following sentence is somewhat obscure; it reads—

مجامع لاغلال جوامع

'Omar, while staying in a certain *rabaṭ*, noticed that the inhabitants complained of the abundance of the birds, whose pollutions defiled their clothes. He thereupon made a bird out of clay and placed it on the highest point of the building. [After this] the birds kept away from the *rabaṭ*. It is also related that one of the doctors of the law used to come daily before sunrise to read philosophy under him, but used to denounce him to the people. So 'Omar called to his house all the drummers and trumpeters, and when the doctor of the law came as usual for his lesson, 'Omar ordered the men to beat their drums and blow their trumpets, and thus collected round himself people from every quarter. He then addressed them, saying: 'Men of Nīshāpūr; here is your teacher. He comes every day at this hour to me, and studies science with me, but to you he speaks of me in the manner you know. If I am really as he says, then why does he come and study with me? and if not, then why does he abuse his teacher?'"

The author of a little-known historical work, entitled فردوس التواريخ, composed in 808 A.H., communicated the following facts about 'Omar:—

"*Khayyām.*—'Omar, the son of Ibrāhīm Khayyām. He surpassed his contemporaries in most sciences, and especially in astronomy. He is the author of world-renowned and incomparable treatises. Among his poems [is the following quatrain]:—

هر ذرّه که در روی زمینی بوذست
خور شیذرخی زهره جبینی بوذست
گرد از رخ نازنین بیآزرم فشان
کان هم رخ و زلف نازنینی بوذست[1]

[1] This quatrain does not occur in any of the known editions of 'Omar; but in the *Haft Iḳlīm* it is (with slight variation) attributed to Ḥakim Sanāī (d. A.H. 525 or 535).

[*Translation.*]

'Every atom which has been on the face of the earth
Was once a sun-faced, Venus-browed [beauty];
Blow away the dust from a beauty's cheek with delicacy,
For that too was once the cheek and ringlet of a beauty.'

"*Anecdote.*—Abū-l-Ḥasan al-Beyhaḳī says: 'In the year 505 I was present at a gathering at the house of the Imām 'Omar, and he asked me to explain the following verse from the Ḥamāsa[1]:—

. . . . . .'

"Sultan Melik Shāh, the Seljūḳ and the Khalif . . . .[2] were his contemporaries. Concerning his death the Imām Moḥammad of Baghdād says:—'He was reading [the chapter] on Metaphysics in the Book of Healing, and on reaching the section on "The One and the Many," he placed something between the leaves [at the place where he was] reading, and said to me, "Call the people, that I may give them my last injunctions." And when his friends had assembled round him, he stood up in the manner prescribed [by ritual] and began to pray. Ignoring all else [از غیر اعراض کرد], he performed the evening prayer, and having placed his forehead on the ground he said: "Oh God! verily I have known Thee to the extent of my power: forgive me therefore. Verily my knowledge of Thee is my recommendation to Thee"; and with these words he resigned his soul to God.'

"They say that the last words he uttered in verse were the following:—

سیر آمدم ای خدای از دستئ خویش
از تنک دلی و از تهی دستئ خویش
از نیست جو هست میکنی بیرون آر
زین نیستیم بحرمت هستئ خویش

[1] Here follows the Arabic verse in question, and a very obscure passage containing a commentary on the same.

[2] The name of the Khalif has disappeared from the MS.

'Oh God, I am weary of my own baseness!
Of my anguish and empty-handedness!
Even as Thou bringest existence out of non-existence, so take
Me from my own non-existence for the honour of Thy existence.'"

The last notice of 'Omar which Professor Schukovski quotes is taken from the abridged edition of the Universal History known as تاريخ الفى.

"'Omar Khayyām, the Wise, belongs to the most learned men of Khorāsān. In philosophy he is considered to rank close to Avicenna. From the history of Fāṣil Moḥammad Shahrazūrī we learn that ('Omar) was born in Nīshāpūr, and that his ancestors were also Nīshāpūrīs. Some maintain that he came from the village of Shamsā' a dependency of Balkh, and that he was born in the village of Basank, a dependency of Astarābād. However this may be, during the greater part of his life Nīshāpūr was his home. By reason of his avarice and parsimoniousness in the spreading of science, he did not produce many works. One of his pamphlets entitled 'The Scales of Wisdom' (Mīzān-ul-ḥukm) —on the testing of the value of objects set with precious stones without removing the stones — gained a certain celebrity; as did another pamphlet entitled 'Needs of Places' (لوازم الامكنة), which deals with the definition of the four seasons [of the year], and the causes of variance of the climatic conditions in the different towns and countries. From most of (his) works it is apparent that 'Omar believed in the transmigration of the Soul.

"It is related that there was in Nīshāpūr an old seminary (*madrasa*). In order that it might be restored, asses brought bricks. The 'Master' was one day walking in the court of the school with some students: one of the donkeys could not manage to enter [the court]: when the Master saw

this he smiled, and, going up to the donkey, said the following impromptu verses:—

ای رفته و باز آمده بـل هـم کشته
نـامـت مـیـان نـامها کـم کشته
ناخن همه جمع آمده و سُم کشته
ریش از پس کون در آمده دمُ کشته

'Thou hast gone and hast returned, and . .
Thy name has disappeared among names.
Thy nails being collected have become a hoof;
Thy beard growing on thy back has become a tail.'

"The donkey then entered. They asked the Master the cause of this. He said: 'The soul which is attached to the body of this ass was formerly in the body of a teacher in this seminary; he was therefore unable to enter, but now that he knows that his colleagues have recognized him, he cannot help but enter . . . .'"

Here follows a short version of the famous story of the three schoolfellows.

Passing to the compilation of the Quatrains of 'Omar Khayyām, Professor Schukovski recalls the well-known fact that the older the edition the smaller is the number of quatrains therein contained; and gives a list of the MSS. contained in the public libraries of Europe, noting the number of quatrains found in each.[2]

Whinfield mentions in his preface (p. xvi) that a lady,[3] having compared all (?) the 'Omar MSS. in Europe, found a total number of 1,200 different *rubā'y*. This lady came

[1] No one has yet arrived at a satisfactory translation of the end of this line. It probably refers to some game: cf. Vullers' Lexicon, ii, 1,463.

[2] A still more complete list is to be found in Mr. Heron Allen's edition. The oldest MS., the Bodleian [which in this edition has been reproduced in facsimile], bears the date of 865 A.H. and contains 154 quatrains. Mr. Allen calls attention to the MS. of Bankipur, recently discovered, which, though it bears the early date of 961 A.H., contains as many as 603 quatrains.—E. D. R.

[3] Mrs. Jessie E. Cadell (Fraser's Magazine, May, 1879).

to the conclusion—upon what grounds we do not know—that from 250 to 300 ought to be regarded as genuine, and that the remainder are falsely attributed to 'Omar. Naturally it is difficult to prove such a conclusion—to select from 1,200 pieces those that may be ascribed definitely to the pen of 'Omar—seeing that we have the criterion neither of language nor of thought to go upon. Whinfield embodied only 500 quatrains into his edition, and was only able to indicate five instances where the verses were to be met with in other authors. In so doing he was on the right way, although not fully equipped. He casts a doubt upon the genuineness of this or that quatrain; but his observations lose half their value from the fact that in no one of the five examples does he give the source to which they may be traced. Such observations, in fact, can only have a real value when in each individual case the source which throws doubt on the originality of Khayyām is indicated in an exact manner; and their value increases proportionally to the antiquity of the source and its copy. Finally, they may prove of decisive signification in reference to the oldest known copy of 'Omar should they bear a date prior to this latter, namely 865 A.H.[1]

Professor Schukovski tells us he has long been engaged in inquiring into the genuineness of various quatrains attributed to 'Omar. This inquiry suggested itself to him in the first place during his stay in Persia in 1884, when he happened to come across the quatrain beginning:

من بندهٔ عاصیم رضای تو کجاست

(Nicolas, 91; Whinfield, 93), in the Indian lithograph of the مناجات of 'Abd-Allah Anṣarī. Since that time he began carefully to note down in his copy of "Nicolas" all such "wandering" quatrains, and up to the present time he has discovered eighty-two. These quatrains have been found "wandering" among various anthologies, divans, and

[1] This refers to the Bodleian MS. See note above.

histories—both MSS. and printed books—and comprise a list of thirty-nine different authors.

The writer of the article next proceeds to enumerate the various MSS. in which he has found the "wanderers."

I. مرصاد العباد, written by Nejm-en-Dīn Abū Bakri Rāzī (d. 654 A.H.) in the year 620 A.H.

The MS. he consulted was copied in the year 735 A.H., and is therefore 130 years older than the Bodleian 'Omar. This work is of importance to such as are interested in the present question; for quite apart from the early date of its compilation and the antiquity of this MS. it deserves our fullest attention, and has a wide significance in that the author speaks of 'Omar as "an unhappy philosopher and materialist," and with such views he most certainly could not have introduced in support of his Sufistic doctrines verses which obviously belonged to 'Omar.

Here is the passage in which this scathing judgment on our poet occurs. (Here follows in the article the Persian text, of which we give an English translation.)

"And it is well known what was the wisdom of setting the pure, elevated, and spiritual soul in a mean and dark earthy form, and again separating them and cutting off the soul from the surrounding mould; and the reason (is also known) of the destruction of the body, and again scattering the mould on the day of resurrection and investing the soul (with life)—namely, that he (man) might escape from the 'hint' (رمزة) given in the Ḳoran (Sura 7, v. 178), 'They are like flocks, nay, they are even more erring,' and attain the degree of humanity, and that they might be brought out from behind the veil of negligence, expressed in the words of the Ḳoran (Sura 30, v. 6), 'They know the outward appearance of this present life, but they are careless as to the life to come,' and that he should set the foot of taste and passion upon the 'true way.' But those unfortunate philosophers and materialists who are shut out from both these blessings, are bewildered and have gone astray with a certain man of letters (فاضل), who is famous

among them for his talent, his wisdom, his sagacity, and his learning. And that man is 'Omar Khayyām. To form an estimate of his utter shamelessness and corruption, it is only necessary to read the following verses composed by him.

در دایرهٔ کامدن و رفتن ماست
آنرا نه بدایت نه نهایت پیداست
کس می نزند دمی درین عالم راست
کین آمدن از کجا و رفتن بکجاست [1]

دارنده چو ترکیب طبیایع آراست
باز از چه قِبَل فکنده اندر کم و کاست
کرزشت آمد بس این صور عیب کراست
ور نیک آمد خرابی از بهر چراست [2]

'To this circle, which comprises our entry and our exit,
Neither end nor beginning is evident.
No one in the world tells us truly
Whence we come nor whither we go.

'Our Creator, when He settled the course of Nature,
Why did He subject it to diminution and decay?
If it turned out ugly, who was answerable for the form?
If it turned out fair, why was it allowed to perish?'"

II. MSS. of 'Aṭṭār of Nīshāpūr. Two copies of his كلّيات. A copy of the مختار نامه, not dated, but, to judge by paper and orthography, *very old.*

III. Dīvān of Jelāl-ud-Dīn Rūmī.

IV. Dīvān of Kemāl-i-Isfahānī. 933 A.H.

V. Dīvān of Hāfiz.

[1] See Lucknow edition, p. 8, and Teheran ed., p. 14.
[2] See Whinfield, No. 126.

VI. MSS. of 'Abd-Allah Anṣarī.
VII. MSS. of Anverī.
VIII. MSS. of هفت اقليم of Amīn Rāzī.
IX. MSS. of آتش كده.
X. Various collections in MS.

It is evident that among the authors above cited for the history of the "wandering" quatrains, special attention should be paid to the works of Rāzī, 'Aṭṭār, and Jelāl-ud-Dīn Rūmī.

Professor Schukovski here prints the 82 "wandering" quatrains, stating after each in what other works he has found them, and to whom each is attributed. We will limit ourselves here to enumerating the quatrains according to the numbers they bear in the editions of Nicolas (N.), Whinfield (W.), and Bodleian MS.*(B.), numbered according to Mr. Heron Allen's edition. It may be remarked that Professor Schukovski derived his information concerning B. from the footnotes to Whinfield's text. We have added a few further references to the Bodleian MS., and these we have marked with an asterisk.

1. N. 1, W. 1.
2. N. 3, W. 2.
3. N. 8, W. 7, B. 5.
4. N. 9, W. 8.
5. N. 10, W. 9.
6. N. 18, W. 21.
7. N. 24, W. 28, B. 11.*
8. N. 38, W. 42, B. 19.
9. N. 47, W. 50.
10. N. 49, W. 52.
11. N. 54, W. 57.
12. N. 55, W. 58.
13. N. 59, W. 62.
14. N. 63, W. 66.
15. N. 69, W. 72.
16. N. 70, W. 73.
17. N. 74, W. 76.
18. N. 76, W. 78.
19. N. 79, W. 81.
20. N. 89, W. 91.
21. N. 91, W. 93.
22. N. 94.
23. N. 96, W. 97.
24. N. 110, W. 140.
25. N. 113, W. 142.
26. N. 116, W. 144.
27. N. 182, W. 197, B. 75.
28. N. 120, W. 147.
29. N. 130, W. 156.
30. N. 141, W. 164.

31. N. 143, W. 166.
32. N. 144.
33. N. 146, W. 168.
34. N. 152, W. 173.
35. N. 155.
36. N. 158, W. 177.
37. N. 165, W. 183.
38. N. 168, W. 185.
39. N. 179, W. 194, B. 77.
40. N. 183, W. 198.
41. N. 184, W. 199.
42. N. 187, W. 202.
43. N. 193, W. 206.
44. N. 199, W. 243.
45. N. 202, W. 246.
46. N. 203, B. 87.*
47. N. 224, B. 96.*
48. N. 225, W. 264.
49. N. 226, W. 265.
50. N. 229, W. 268, B. 1.
51. N. 230, W. 269, B. 99.
52. N. 236, W. 276.
53. N. 238, W. 278.
54. N. 255, W. 295.
55. N. 260, W. 300.
56. N. 263, W. 306.
57. N. 265, W. 308.
58. N. 266, W. 309.
59. N. 274, W. 317.
60. N. 290, W. 330, B. 116.
61. N. 294, W. 332, B. 118.
62. N. 296, W. 333.
63. N. 301, W. 357.
64. N. 309.
65. N. 324.
66. N. 328, W. 369.
67. N. 337, W. 376.
68. N. 348, W. 390, B. 129.
69. N. 350, W. 392.
70. N. 351, W. 393, B. 130.
71. N. 353, W. 395.
72. N. 361, W. 406.
73. N. 379, W. 420.
74. N. 370, W. 414, B. 135.
75. N. 374, W. 417.
76. N. 387, W. 430.
77. N. 394, W. 436, B. 145.
78. N. 396, W. 438.
79. N. 426, W. 463.
80. N. 438.
81. N. 444, W. 476.
82. N. 450, W. 490, B. 157.*

If we attempt to divide into groups the above 82 quatrains (of which 11[1] are contained in the Bodleian MS.) according to their contents, we shall find that about 33 per cent. are devoted to Love, Wine, and Self-Indulgence (= in B. 3 quatrains); about 43 per cent. give expression to complaints against Fate, the world, and man; his frailty, helplessness, and folly (= in B. 4 quatrains); about 7 per cent. contain appeals to God (= in B. 1 quatrain); about the same percentage deal with mysticism (= in B.

[1] We have seen above that 15 is the number.

1 quatrain); about 6 per cent. fall under the head of philosophic utterances and rules of conduct; and finally, about 4 per cent. treat of freethinking and Musulman religious speculation (= in B. 2 quatrains). Thus the great majority of the "wandering" quatrains enter into the province of Omarian epicureanism, scepticism, and pessimism.

If we allow that these groups in a complete collection of 'Omar Khayyām's Quatrains would be represented in the same proportion, we shall be forced to the conclusion that in forming an estimate of our poet it will be safest to regard those quatrains which belong to the last four groups as less debatable material: that is to say, we must look upon 'Omar as a deeply learned man, following his own convictions, who, tortured with the questions of existence, and finding no solution to life in Musulman dogmas, worked out for himself a regular conception of life (*Weltanschauung*) based on Sufistic mysticism; a man who, without altogether discarding belief, smiled maliciously at the inconsistencies and peculiarities of the Islam of his time, which left many minds dissatisfied in the fourth and fifth centuries, needing as it did "vivification," and finding this in the person of Ghazzālī, who in this movement assigned the proper place to the mystic element. 'Omar was a preacher of moral purity and a contemplative life: one who loved his God and struggled to master the eternal, the good, and the beautiful. In this manner also is 'Omar portrayed in the biographical notices we have published: a defender of "Greek Science," famous for his knowledge of the Koran and the Law, and at the same time a "stinging serpent" to the *Sharī'a*; a wit and a mocker, a bitter and implacable enemy of all hypocrisy, a man who, while curing others of the wounds of worldly triviality, impurity, and sinful vanity, himself only with almost his last breath closed the philosophic book "Healing" and turned with a touching prayer to the One God, the Infinite, whom he had been striving to comprehend with all the strength of his mind and heart. Khayyām's lively protests and his heated words in freedom's cause brought upon him many

bitter moments in his life and exposed him to numerous attacks at the hands of the clergy, and especially of the Shiite community. Besides these, then as now (apart from hypocrites), persons were not wanting who, failing to understand 'Omar, regarded him as an unbeliever, atheist, and materialist. But in the course of centuries the people of Persia and India, realizing, perhaps instinctively, the injustice of former reproaches, have taken to publishing and reading 'Omar Khayyām in collections side by side with Abu Saīd, 'Abd-Allah Anṣarī, and 'Aṭṭār—that is to say, with mystic Sufīs of the purest water, men whose moral and religious reputations were spotless.

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. Water (Watura) in Sinhalese.

Dear Professor Rhys Davids,—As you have, on page 198 of the January number of the Journal, mentioned the suggestion, to which I gave expression in a note to my paper on Knox's Sinhalese Vocabulary in the Ceylon B.R.A.S. Journal for 1896, that the ordinary Sinhalese word for water, *diya* or *diyara*, was ousted by *watura* through the influence of the Dutch (and English) *water*, I shall be glad if you will allow me to give my reasons for this suspicion.

First, however, let me say that I never imagined or suggested that *watura* was *derived* from *water*; though one of my Ceylon critics has fathered this absurdity upon me. The mere fact that the *Amāwatura* was written long before the Dutch or even the Portuguese visited Ceylon is sufficient proof to the contrary. (*En passant*, I may mention that a learned German scholar, some years ago, fell into the not unnatural error of deriving *Amāwatura* from the Sanskrit *ātma* + *avatāra*: the fact being, that *amā* = *amṛita*.)

The *Nāmāwaliya*, a poetical vocabulary of Sinhalese synonyms, written by Nallurutun in 1421 A.D., gives ten words meaning 'water,' among which is *diya*, but not *watura*. The latter word it duly records, but, with *oga*, explains as meaning 'flood.' Clough's Sinhalese Dictionary translates *watura* by 'water,' and *waturu* by 'flood, flow

of water; rainy cloud; squall.' That these last, and not 'water' pure and simple, were the original meanings of *watura* is certain. In Elu poetry *diya* is the almost universal word for 'water.'

The late Dr. Paul Goldschmidt, in his "Notes on Ancient Siṁhalese Inscriptions," in the Ceylon B.R.A.S. Journal for 1879, in a note on an inscription of the tenth century A.D. at Mahākalattāwa, has the following remarks:—

"*Diy*, 'water,' from udaka, daka. This is the ancient word for 'water' which in modern times had to yield its place to *watura* (but diya is still used in literature and in some compounds). I take the opportunity here of giving the interesting history of *watura*. This is derived from Skt. wâtula (or an older form vâtura), 'windy, inflated.' This first was used as a substantive for 'rain cloud,' as proved by its Hindî equivalent *bâdala* (see Beames, 'Comparative Grammar,' ii, 145); then it came to mean 'a shower of rain' or any violent flood, which is its signification in ancient and still in literary Siṁhalese (see Nâmavaliya 82, where it is given as a synonyme for ogha); at last, in very modern times, it acquired the signification of 'water' in general, instead of diya."

Dr. Eduard Müller also, in his "Notes on Ancient Sinhalese Inscriptions," in the Ceylon B.R.A.S. Journal for 1883, in a note on the Dambulla inscription (end of twelfth century) says of *diya*: "This word disappeared from the language shortly after the time of this inscription, and was replaced by *watura* (so already at Gp. and Thúp.)." These last contractions refer to the Gaḷpota and Thūpārāma inscriptions (both of the reign of Niççaṅka Malla, 1187–1196 A.D.). In the former we are told that "When he [the king] traversed a dry desert and wished for water, an unexpected cloud instantly poured down an abundant shower." Now the word here used for 'water' is *pæn* (Pāli *pānīyaṁ*), and the 'abundant shower' is *maha-waturu*. In the other inscription we read of 'a rain of gifts,' *maha dan watura*. It will be seen that in neither of these cases does *watura* mean 'water' in the general sense.

As I have pointed out, in my note to which you have referred, *watura* seems to have been unknown to Knox, at any rate in the sense of 'water,' *diyara* (*deura*) being the word he gives in all cases. In the manuscript *Arte e grammatica da lingoa Chingala*, written by the Rev. Father Pero Borgoim in 1645, I find *diaura*, *diora*, 'agoa,' but nothing like *watura*. Christoph Schweitzer, also, who was in Ceylon from 1676 to 1682, gives the Sinhalese for 'water' as *diwere*. In a manuscript Dutch-Sinhalese dictionary in my possession (a copy of that of 1756 or 1759?) I find, however, *waater* explained by *watura*, *diyawara*, *jalaya*.

James Alwis, in his paper "On the Origin of the Sinhalese Language," in the Ceylon B.R.A.S. Journal for 1867–70, connects *watura* with Pāli *vāri*; while Professor E. Kuhn, in his paper "On the Oldest Aryan Element of the Sinhalese Vocabulary" (translated by me in the *Ind. Ant.*, xii), says: "*vatura*, whose Aryan origin appears to me by no means impossible, in spite of an etymology being still wanting." I think, however, that Dr. Goldschmidt's explanation, quoted above, is the correct one. In that case its root is VĀ (blow), and not UD (wet); and *watura* and *water* are entirely unconnected, the curious similarity of the words being purely accidental; while, on the other hand, *diya* and *water*, though so unlike in form and sound, are actually cognates.—Yours very truly,

DONALD FERGUSON.

Croydon, Jan. 20, 1898.

2. THE CONQUESTS OF SAMUDRAGUPTA.

The Allahabad inscription mentions, among the Kings of the South, Damana of Eraṇḍapalla, which place has not yet been identified (see this Journal, 1897, p. 871).

Eraṇḍapalla is evidently the modern Ēraṇḍōl, the chief town of a subdivision of the same name in the Khāndēsh District, Bombay Presidency. And, in now pointing this out, I can only express my surprise at not recognizing the identification when I edited the record, or at any rate

when I was taking through the press the second edition of my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (see the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. I, part II, p. 277 ff.), and had occasion to quote the Allahabad record in some introductory passages.

J. F. FLEET.

22nd January, 1898.

3. THE LANGUAGE OF ṢOMĀLĪ-LAND.

SIR,—As an old resident of Ṣomālī-land, I read with some interest Dr. R. N. Cust's article on "The Language of Somáli-land" in the January number of the Journal of the R.A.S., and should like to make a few observations on it.

Though I have had exceptional opportunities of studying the Ṣomālī language, I regret to say that my knowledge never went much beyond the elementary stage; but in the course of my political duties under the Aden Residency I have visited all the principal ports on the coast, from the Gulf of Tajūrah to Cape Girdifo (Guardafui), and have conversed with representatives of most of the principal tribes and sub-tribes throughout the country, either in their own homes or in Aden. The Eesa and Gadabürsī are the tribes I know best, as I lived in their country for two years (1884–86) as British Agent and Vice-Consul at Zayla, but I have always thought the Mijjertheyn (who occupy the extreme north-east horn of the country) to be the most civilized and intelligent of the tribes.

Not having seen the Ṣomālī Grammar and Dictionary mentioned by Dr. Cust, I am unable to give any opinion on those books, but am glad to hear that some of the Roman Catholic Missionaries have made such good use of their time; for in my day those who were in the Zayla mission seemed to interest themselves more in local politics than in linguistic studies. At that time Father Francis had a small mission for Ṣomālī boys at Shekh 'Uthmān, near Aden. He acquired a good knowledge

of the language, and used to converse fluently with his boys in their own tongue. I believe he rendered some assistance to Colonel Hunter when the latter was engaged in writing his Grammar and Vocabulary. Monseigneur Taurin Cahaigne, who was then Bishop of Harrar and Vicar Apostolic of the Galla Country, translated a number of religious pamphlets into the Galla language, and had them printed in Roman character. He was for years engaged in compiling a Grammar and Dictionary of the Galla language, but I never heard whether he published the result of his labours.

My endeavours in this line were chiefly devoted to making Ṣomālī a written language, in order that any natives of the country acquainted with the Arabic characters should be able to read their own language. The partial result of my labours will be seen in a series of papers entitled "Ṣomālī as a Written Language," published in the *Indian Antiquary* between August, 1887, and April, 1889. On one occasion, when returning to Bombay from Aden, there were some intelligent Mijjertheyn Ṣomālīs as deck passengers in the same steamer; and finding that some of them were able to read and write Arabic, I explained my alphabet to them as far as it differed from the Arabic, and then showed them a number of colloquial sentences, Ṣomālī songs, which I had previously written from dictation, and a short story which I had translated into Ṣomālī from the "Thousand Nights and a Night." They understood every word perfectly, and nothing could exceed their astonishment when they found themselves for the first time in their lives reading their own language.

If this idea were followed up, and Ṣomālī pupils in the schools at Aden taught to read and write their own language, I feel sure that it would soon have the effect of throwing much light upon its grammar and etymology.

In seeking an origin for the name Berbera, I would suggest the probability of its being simply the Arabic word *barbarah* (which, according to the dictionary, means "talking much, shouting. Sounds, clamours, mixed

noises"). Those who have ever come in contact with Ṣomālīs will recognize the appropriateness of the name as applied to any of their ports. It may be a comparatively modern nickname given to it by Arabs, and the original name forgotten. An example of such a change is noticeable in the name Zel'a (Zayla), which is Arabic; the true Ṣomālī name being Audal. The derivation of Būlhār, mentioned by Sir R. Burton, shows how a nickname given in derision sometimes sticks to a place permanently.

The origin of the name 'Ṣomālī' will probably never be ascertained; but it certainly cannot be what Major Abud suggests, for the Ṣomālī word *s'o*, 'move' (corresponding to the Arabic *amshī* and the Hindustani *chal*), is rightly spelled with the letter *'ain*, which does not occur in the word *Ṣomāl*. The latter is the name of the nation, and *Ṣomālī* the adjective, of which Somalis is simply the English plural, and I fail to see what connection there can be between the latter and the Ṣomālī word *lis*, which is the verb 'to milk.' The phrase 'Go and bring milk' would be translated *S'o wa āno ī-ken*.

Being myself totally ignorant of all the Dravidian languages, I will not venture to contradict what the Rev. Frère Evangeliste de Larajasse says in the concluding paragraph of his Notes, but I think it extremely improbable. Philologists, however, might easily determine the point by adopting the system of comparative vocabularies, which I did in my paper on "The Aborigines of Sokotra" (*Indian Antiquary*, July, 1890).

Whatever be the origin of the Ṣomālī race, it is certain that their country, or at least the extreme western portion, was at some remote period occupied by a Christian race; for in the year 1885 I discovered, at a place near the coast and about half-way between Zayla and Rās Jibūtī, traces of substantial stone buildings and numerous graves marked by well-cut stone crosses three or four feet high; and on each cross were cut a number of circular concave marks about two or three inches in diameter, and arranged in straight lines; sometimes two parallel rows. What the

meaning of these is I am unable to imagine. In the immediate neighbourhood were many large mounds of sea-shells, indicating that the ancient inhabitants had subsisted largely on shellfish.—Yours faithfully,

J. S. KING, Major.

9, *Salisbury Road, Southsea.*
February 7, 1898.

To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

4. TWO PROPOSED CORRECTIONS IN THE "CATALOGUE OF PERSIAN MSS. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM" OF DR. C. RIEU.

As the admirable work of Dr. Rieu must at some time or other appear in a second edition, it seems worth while to place on record anything that is likely to render it even more free from error than it is already. I therefore send the following note on two points which have cropped up in my reading, as I think they should be considered by Dr. Rieu in preparing any future edition.

I. *Kūkaltāsh Khān.*

In vol. i, p. 62, in the article on Add. MS. No. 16,868, *Tuḥfat-ul-Hind*, Dr. Rieu tells us that the work was written by desire of Kūkaltāsh Khān for the use of Prince Mu'izz-ud-dīn, Jahāndār Shāh. Dr. Rieu identifies this nobleman with the Kūkaltāsh Khān (Mīr Malik Ḥusain) who was made Khān Jahān, Ẓafar Jang, in 1086 H. (*Maʾāṣir-i-ʿĀlamgīrī*, 142), and died in 1109 H., aged eighty-four (lunar) years (*Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī*). His biography appears in *Maʾāṣir-ul-umarā*, i, 798–813, and in it there is nothing to show that he ever served at Multān or had anything to do with Jahāndār Shāh.

I suggest that the patron of the author of the *Tuḥfat-ul-Hind* is to be found in another nobleman with the same titles, who was Jahāndār Shāh's foster-brother and intimately connected with him, not only while that prince

was governor of Multān, but during his short reign. This man's name was 'Alī Murād, his first title was Kūkaltāsh Khān, and he was Mu'izz-ud-dīn's right-hand man at Multān in the last years of 'Ālamgīr's reign (1107–1118 H.): see, for example, *Tabṣarat-un-nāẓirīn*, year 1117 H., 'Abd-ul-Jalīl Bilgrāmī's letter from that place. On the prince's accession to the throne (Ṣafar, 1124 H.), Kūkaltāsh Khān was raised to the higher titles of Khān Jahān, Ẓafar Jang, being appointed at the same time First *Bakhshī* and *Amīr-ul-umarā*. He was killed in the battle of Āgrah on the 13th Ẓū'l Ḥijjah, 1124 H. (*Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī*). His biography is in the *Ma'āṣir-ul-umarā*, i, 817–819, but the year of death given there (1123 H.) is wrong.

If my view is correct, the date of the *Tuḥfat-ul-Hind* would lie between 1107 and 1118 H., instead of before 1086 H.

II. *Khūshḥāl Chand.*

On p. 1,080*b* and in the Index, p. 1,162, Dr. Rieu identifies the Rāe Khūshḥāl Chand, Kāyath, who died at Dihlī in 1155 H. (on the 6th Muḥarram according to the *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī*), as the Khūshḥāl Chand, Kāyath, author of the *Nādir-uz-Zamānī* (p. 128*a*). I think there is good reason for holding this to be impossible.

The fragments of that history given in Oriental MS. No. 1,844 (Elliot MSS.), fols. 109–200, contain references to events some years subsequent to 1155 H. For instance, on fol. 198*b* we find the appointment of Isḥaq Khān as *Dīwān*, vice Yaḥyā Khān, *Mīr Munshī*, deceased. Now Yaḥyā Khān died on the 20th Rajab, 1160 H. (*Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī*). Then, again, the Berlin copy, MS. No. 495 (Pertsch, p. 476), though it does not go so far as B.M. Oriental No. 1,844, gives the complete text up to the 28th year (1158–9 H.), with absolutely no break in the style or character of the narrative. The whole narrative from 1131 H. on to 1161 H. must be the production of one mind. Furthermore, on fol. 1,063*a* of this Berlin copy

the author, when writing of the 13th and 14th years of Muḥammad Shāh, states the then year to be the 28th of the reign (1158–9 H.); and on fol. 1,132*a* he tells us that on the 26th Shawwāl of the 25th year (1155 H.) he lost his infant son, Chaman L'al (also known as Madan L'al), whereas Rāe Khūshḥāl Chand had died on the 6th Muḥarram, nine months before that date.

Thus it seems impossible that the Khūshḥāl Chand, author of the *Nādir-us-Zamānī*, was the man of that name who died on the 6th Muḥarram, 1155 H.

WILLIAM IRVINE.

February 3, 1898.

5. A MALAY PARALLEL TO THE CULLA-PADUMA-JĀTAKA.

DEAR SIR,—May I be allowed to observe that the modern version which appeared in the October number of the J.R.A.S. (1897, pp. 855–857) follows very closely the story of the *untrue woman*, as told in the well-known fable of the *Pañcatantra*, iv, 13; in fact, in one or two points it throws light on the somewhat concise ancient narrative (thus the words *sāpi kuṭumbena samaṃ pratidinaṃ kalahaṃ kurvāṇā* are, as it were, illustrated by the phrase "so fair was she, that all the women of her family envied her"). About the other Asiatic and European forms which this tale underwent by its migration from East to West, see Benfey's masterwork, I, § 186. I only wish to add that the same story, with but slight variations (easily to be accounted for), has found its way among the Malays, like so many other tales of the same origin, which are now extant in the Malay *Kalilah dan Daminah*. A translation of this version will appear in the next volume (XI) of the *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*; the text is to be found also in Seidel's "Grammatik der malayischen Sprache," pp. 99–110.

P. E. PAVOLINI.

Florence.

February 8, 1898.

6. Malay Terminology of Chess.

February 4, 1898.

Dear Professor Rhys Davids,—At the recent discussion on the game of Chess, nothing was said as to the terminology of the game as played by the Malays, and as this appears to me to illustrate particularly well both the wide extension of the game and the singular purity with which Sanskrit words have been preserved in the Malay language to this day, it seems worth while to enumerate the principal words used in this connection.

The game itself is called *chator* (چاتور), and the names of the pieces are—

(1) *raja* (راج).
(2) *mantri* (منتري).
(3) *gajah* (گاجه).
(4) *kuda* (كودا).
(5) *ter* (تير), and
(6) *bidak* (بيدق).

Most of these are obviously of Sanskrit derivation, and Nos. 1 to 4 are also the ordinary colloquial Malay words for 'king,' 'minister,' 'elephant,' and 'horse.'

The two last, on the other hand, are (so far as I know) exclusively chess terms. For *ter* ('rook' or 'castle') there seems to be a vernacular alternative *chĕmor* (چمور). The etymology of both these words is apparently unknown, though Crawfurd attributes *ter* to a Dravidian source.

The other words used in the game are *shah* (شه) (usually pronounced *sah*) for 'check to the king,' *mor* (مر) for 'check to the queen' (or rather, 'minister'), and *mat* (مت) for 'mate': these three are presumably of Persian origin, and introduced since the contact of Malays with the Muhammadan traders from Arabia and the Persian Gulf.

The fact that the words for the 'bishop' and 'knight' are the ordinary words for 'elephant' and 'horse' seems to me to be some evidence that those pieces were fashioned to represent these animals when the game was introduced into the Malay-speaking countries; while the unintelligible name of the 'rook' seems in the same way to show that even at that time its original meaning had been forgotten. The game is, I believe, played by Malays according to the rules prevailing in India; but on that point I cannot speak as an expert.

It may be worth while to add that chess is referred to in the well-known *Sajarah Malayu*, a historical compilation of the early years of the seventeenth century, which, however, embodies traditions, and possibly records, of considerably older date. In the eighteenth chapter of that work mention is made of the visit of one Tan Bahra of Pasei (in Sumatra) to Malacca, and the record adds: "Now this Tan Bahra was a very skilful chess-player, and one that was unequalled at the game in that age, and he played at chess with the men of Malacca . . . . and beat them all: but Tan Pakarma, son of the Bandahara Paduka Raja, was able to make some resistance . . . . and if Tan Bahra threw away a pawn at the corner, then he was beaten by Tan Pakarma." The passage is of some interest as indicating that the practice of giving odds in this way was known centuries ago to Eastern players, though as "a pawn at the corner" would presumably be a rook's pawn, the method seems to have differed in detail from the modern practice.—I am, yours sincerely,

C. Otto Blagden.

7. Palk's Bay and Strait.

Dear Sir,—In Sir W. W. Hunter's "Imperial Gazetteer of India" (xi, 11) "Palk's Bay and Straits" are described as a "gulf and channel between the mainland of India and the north part of Ceylon, named by the Dutch after

Governor Palk." That the strait and bay were called after Sir Robert Palk, who was Governor of Madras from 1763 to 1767, is doubtless correct; though when the naming took place I have failed to discover. (The earliest English map of India in which I have found the name is one of 1773.) But what had the Dutch to do with the conferring of Palk's name on the strait and bay? They had no cause for gratitude towards the authorities at Madras; for the latter had had the meanness to despatch secretly, in 1762, an ambassador to the King of Kandy, who was then at war with the Dutch in Ceylon, to endeavour to gain from that potentate some concession to their own advantage and to the prejudice of the Hollanders, with whom they were supposed to be on terms of amity. When the Dutch took Kandy in 1765 they discovered there documentary evidence of the treachery of their good friends and neighbours, in the shape of a letter to the king from Sir George Pigot, the former Governor of Madras.

The Geographical Glossary in the Schlagintweits' "Results of a Scientific Mission to India and High Asia" (iii, 231) has the astounding entry: "Palk, a strait between the Karnátik and the north-western end of Ceylon. Singhal. '*The whirl.*'" This has been copied into Dr. J. J. Egli's "Etymologisch-geographisches Lexikon," on the authority of Hermann Schlagintweit. I cannot imagine whence the latter obtained his derivation. 'Palk' is certainly not Sinhalese; and there is no word like it in that language meaning 'whirl.' In Portuguese times the Gulf of Mannār was known as the *Baixos de Chilão* ('shallows of Chilaw'); the Sinhalese name of Chilaw is Halāwata; and *halāwa* in Sinhalese means a whirlpool or eddy. This may explain Schlagintweit's erroneous statement.

DONALD FERGUSON.

Croydon.
February 12, 1898.

8. The Indian Boomerang.

Sir,—At the Oriental Congress in Paris, in the course of a paper read before the Indian Section, I alluded to the use of the boomerang among both the ancient and modern Dravidian tribes of the south of India, and hazarded the suggestion that this weapon was not known in the north. I was promptly corrected by several members present, and from what I could then gather its use seems to have been known, at least in modern times, to the Bhîls and other pre-Aryan tribes. There remains the question of its antiquity. Professor Ludwig stated that the boomerang was mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata*. He has now favoured me with the reference, and I think it may be of interest to your readers if published. The passage is found in Nîlakaṇṭha's Commentary on the *Mahâbhârata* (V, 155, 9), where he explains *ṛṣṭi—Draviḍeṣu prasiddham hasta kṣepyam vakram kâṣṭhaphalakam* (a small board, flat and crooked, to be thrown out of the hand, well known amongst the Draviḍas). Dr. Ludwig writes: "Other arms, partly of a similar sort, are explained before; for instance, *pâçâḥ samîpagatasya gale prakṣepârtham*, etc." (a noose to be thrown around the neck when near); and he then expresses his conviction that the above is the only passage in Nîlakaṇṭha's commentary relating to the term *ṛṣṭi*. Nîlakaṇṭha was a southron, and alludes frequently to Mârâṭhi expressions.

R. Sewell.

9. The Text of the Mahâbhârata.

Sir,—I send you an extract from a letter received by me from Professor Ludwig, after obtaining his permission. It relates to the various recensions of the text of the Mahâbhârata, and is of considerable interest.

"I have now compared a few thousand strophes of the Madras Mahâbhârata, and have found to my astonishment that it is nearly identical with the Mahâbhârata of the Calcutta

edition. Not absolutely identical, however; but what appears to me most strange is, that the Madras edition coincides in many instances with what one would consider as misprints in the Calcutta edition. As it is impossible to suppose that the editors of either should have merely transcribed the text of the other (the coincidence being far from complete), it is clear that the evidently faulty readings have in both editions been taken from manuscripts. It becomes therefore exceedingly difficult to decide what is only a misprint in either of the editions. Faulty readings which no one would suppose to be derived from manuscripts are common to all three editions, ex. gr.: I, 49, 27 B., *edam* instead of *ainam*; I, 51, 4, *tathâ* instead of *yathâ*; Calc., 14, 649, *hitvâ karân*; M. 17, 15, *jitvâ karân*; B., *jitvâ jayyân*, where the reading of the Calcutta edition seems to me decidedly preferable. II, 74, 4, *satrusâdagamayad* C., °*sâdyamayad* B., °*sâdagamad* M. Nevertheless the Madras edition is indispensable, because in not a few places it has readings decidedly preferable to those of the Calcutta and sometimes even of the Bombay edition. So III, 147, 1, *amitra karśaṇam* instead of °*śana*; 146, 62, *siddhagatim* instead of *siddhigatim*; I, 804, *jaghanyajas Takśakasya* instead of *j*° *Takśakaçcha*. Some errors may be more easily explained by the Telugu than by the Devanâgarî writing; so the frequent interchange of *v* and *p*, *t* and *l*; with others this is not the case."

R. SEWELL.

10. GAṆĒŚA IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA.

SIR,—I mentioned above, p. 147, that the legend of Gaṇēśa acting as a scribe for Vyāsa is omitted both in the Grantha MS. of the Mahābhārata and in Kṣēmēndra's Bhāratamañjarī. Dr. Bühler kindly draws my attention to the fact that the legend must have been known to *Rājaśēkhara*, a poet who wrote a drama on the story of the Pāṇḍavas—the *Bālabhārata* or *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava Nāṭaka*—ca. 900 A.D. In an introductory scene of this drama, Vālmīki and Vyāsa are introduced, complimenting each other on their works.

The renowned author of the Rāmāyaṇa, after saying some flattering words about the Mahābhārata, enquires about the progress of Vyāsa's work. And Vyāsa relates to him how he had entered on his difficult task with the help of Gaṇēśa as his scribe, and how he had outwitted the god:

vināyakō yaḥ śivayōr apatyam ardham pumān ardham ibhaś ca dēvaḥ |
sa vartatē bhāratasaṃhitāyāṃ vṛtas tapōbhir mama lēkhakō 'tra ||

tēna ca chalayitum aham upakrāntaḥ | yad uta bāḍham ahaṃ tē lipikāraḥ kim punar yēna raṃhasā likhēyaṃ tēna yadi (na) saṃdṛbhasē tat tē vighnaḥ syāt | tatō mayāpi praticchalitaḥ | ōm ity astu | kim punar bhavatā bhāvayatā likhitavyam iti | ataḥ kāvyakaṣṭē 'bhiniviṣṭō 'smi ||

This is, no doubt, the same legend as that told in the Mahābhārata (I, 1, 75–79), although there is in Rājaśēkhara's drama no mention of *Brahman*, who, according to the Mahābhārata, advised Vyāsa to address himself to Gaṇēśa. According to Rājaśēkhara, Vyāsa succeeded in securing the services of Gaṇēśa by means of austerities (*tapōbhiḥ*). On the other hand, the words of Vyāsa, *ōm ity astu*, in the Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava, look almost like a reminiscence of the phrase (used, however, of Gaṇēśa) *ōm ity uktvā* in the Mahābhārata, I, 1, 79.

But if Rājaśēkhara knew the legend of Gaṇēśa—even if there should be a *slight* verbal agreement between the two narratives—does this prove that he knew it *from* the Mahābhārata? Such a legend must have been current for a long time before it was inserted in the Mahābhārata. It is true, the Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava was intended by Rājaśēkhara as a kind of epitome of certain Parvans of the Mahābhārata. But this epitome begins only with the next scene, when the five Pāṇḍavas appear on the stage. The interview between Vālmīki and Vyāsa is Rājaśēkhara's invention, and in this introductory scene he might well have inserted the story of Gaṇēśa, even if it did not occur in his text of the Mahābhārata itself.

For the present, I should therefore prefer to say that the legend of Gaṇēśa was *known* already about 900 A.D. (and may have been known long before that date), but that even in Kṣēmēndra's time, about 150 years later, it was probably not yet a part of the Mahābhārata. It seems to me highly improbable that Kṣēmēndra should have omitted such a characteristic story, if he had found it in *his* Mahābhārata, especially as he could easily have condensed the whole story into one or two verses. Professor Kirste[1] is no doubt right in warning us against attaching too much importance to omissions occurring in Kṣēmēndra's Bhāratamañjarī. But if one and the same passage is omitted by Kṣēmēndra *and in the South Indian recension*, we are, I believe, more than justified in suspecting it of being an interpolation, especially as the same agreement between Kṣēmēndra and the South Indian text occurs again. The story of Rāhu also (see above, p. 148) is omitted, *both* by Kṣēmēndra[2] *and* in the Grantha MS.

Yet, I think, we ought to reserve our final judgment until we know more about the South Indian recension, and until the *whole* of the Bhāratamañjarī has been carefully collated with the text or texts of the Mahābhārata.

It is, however, worth mentioning that (as far as I am able to see) it is very doubtful whether the elephant-headed god can claim a place in the Epic Pantheon.

Considering the great popularity of Gaṇēśa in Paurāṇic mythology and in modern worship, it is certainly surprising that (apart from the one legend in the Northern recension of the Mahābhārata) we do not meet with this god in either of the two epics. He has no place in the Vēdic pantheon, and his worship is only alluded to in such modern Smṛtis as the Yājñavalkyasmṛti. In the Mānavagṛhyasūtra,[3] indeed, we meet with the worship, or rather propitiation, of the *Vināyakas*, a class of malevolent spirits who are

[1] See "Indian Studies," by G. Bühler and J. Kirste, No. ii, pp. 30, 34.
[2] See Professor Kirste, l.c., p. 30.
[3] II, 14. See also P. v. Bradke in ZDMG., 36, 426–432; Stenzler, Yājñavalkya, p. ix; J. Jolly, Recht und Sitte (Bühler's Grundriss, II, 8), p. 20.

also mentioned in the Mahābhārata[1] by the side of Rākṣasas, Piśācas, and Bhūtas. In Yājñavalkya's Smṛti[2] these Vināyakas have become one Vināyaka who is identified with Gaṇēśa, and who is said to have been appointed as ruler over the Gaṇas and remover of obstacles by Rudra and Brahman. The Vināyakas seem to be originally the causers of evil dreams, and whether they have anything to do with the Gaṇēśa of the Purāṇas is at least doubtful. It is just possible that there may be a similar connection between the modern Gaṇēśa and the old Vināyakas, as there is between the modern Śiva and the ancient Rudra.

In the Purāṇas we meet with numerous legends of Gaṇēśa; especially the story of his birth is often told. But I have not been able to find the legend of Gaṇēśa acting as a scribe for Vyāsa either in the Gaṇēśa-Upapurāṇa or in the Gaṇēśa-Khaṇḍa of the Brahmavaivartta-Purāṇa. This may be due to the fact that in these works Gaṇēśa is worshipped as a deity of such high importance—in the Gaṇēśa-Upapurāṇa he is actually the highest god, superior to Brahman and all the rest—while in the legend of the Mahābhārata Gaṇēśa plays a somewhat subordinate rôle. There is also a Gaṇēśa-Khaṇḍa of the Skanda-Purāṇa. From an index to this work (in the Bodleian MS. Mill 79) I see that it contains the usual Paurāṇic legends about the birth of Gaṇēśa, his elephant head, his single tusk, his connection with the rat, etc., but there is no mention of the Mahābhārata legend.

The history of the worship of Gaṇēśa has still to be written. But apart from Yājñavalkya's Vināyakaśānti mentioned above, we find allusions to actual worship of the god only in modern Smṛtis, e.g. the Kātyāyanasmṛti (I, 11–14), where Gaṇēśa is worshipped together with the Mothers. It is interesting to find that Gaṇēśa is invoked in certain late Sanskrit Buddhist tracts,[3] but in the Pāli

[1] XII, 284, 131; Harivaṃśa, 184 (10,697).
[2] I, 271–294.
[3] See H. H. Wilson, Works, II, pp. 21, 28, 33, 356.

Buddhist literature he seems to be unknown.[1] It would be interesting to know what M. Barth[2] means by 'early' when he says that we meet with Gaṇēśa "*early* as the god of arts and letters."

However, I should certainly not venture to banish Gaṇēśa from the epic pantheon, if it were not for the omission of the Gaṇēśa legend in the South Indian recension. This shows, at any rate, how closely even questions of mythology and worship are interwoven with the hard and dry facts of textual criticism.

M. WINTERNITZ.

Oxford, March 1, 1898.

11. A NOTE ON THE KINGS OF PRĀGJYOTIṢA.

Göttingen, 4 *March*, 1898.

DEAR PROFESSOR RHYS DAVIDS,—I have studied with great interest Dr. Hoernle's paper on the Gauhaṭī plates of Indrapālavarman of Prāgjyotiṣa (Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, vol. lxvi, pt. 1, p. 113 ff.), and hope that Dr. Hoernle will soon give us the other grants of the same family, of which hitherto we have known so little. In the meantime, I would propose two alterations in the text of the inscription already published by him.

In line 4, instead of *Bhagadatta-vatsa-mātā*, the Earth, "the mother of him (i.e. Naraka), whose son is Bhagadatta," I take the reading of the photo-etching to be *Bhagadatta-vansa-mātā* (*Bhagadatta-vaṁśa-mātā*), the Earth, "the mother of Bhagadatta's family." *Vaṁśa* is spelt *vansa* also in other inscriptions. The circumstance that the family of the kings of Prāgjyotiṣa is thus called the *Bhagadatta-vaṁśa* is of some importance. It shows that

[1] [He is not mentioned in the Piṭakas, nor (so far as is known) in the commentaries on them, by any of his names. He may be in the later Pāli books written in Ceylon after the revival of Sanskrit studies in the twelfth century. But very little is known of them, and he is not in the Abhidāna Padīpikā, 1150 A.D.—RH. D.]

[2] "The Religions of India," p. 197.

that Harṣa of Gauḍa, Uḍra, Kaliṅga, etc., whose daughter Rājyamatī, "born in the *Bhagadatta-rājakula*," was married by Jayadeva-Paracakrakāma of Nepāl (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. ix, p. 179), was almost certainly a king of Prāgjyotiṣa. In fact, he most probably was the Hariṣa (or Harṣa) of the Tejpur grant (Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, vol. ix, p. 767), who would be thus placed in the first half of the eighth century A.D.[1]

Besides, in line 13, instead of *Kaumr-ānvaya*, the photo-etching suggests the reading *Bhaum-ānvaya*. *Kaumra* is an impossible word, which could not be derived from *Kumāra*. On the other hand, as the family derived its origin from Viṣṇu and the Earth, it may well have been called the *Bhauma-vaṁśa*, either after the Earth herself or after her and Viṣṇu's son Naraka (Bhauma), the father of Bhagadatta, just as in the *Harṣa-carita* it is called the *Vaiṣṇava-vaṁśa* after Viṣṇu.[2]

In the admirable English translation of the *Harṣa-carita*, the prince of Prāgjyotiṣa who sends a messenger to Harṣa is called "Bhāskaradyuti, otherwise named Bhāskaravarman," and is described as heir-apparent (*kumāra*). But I still believe that Kumāra was the prince's name, and that he was surnamed Bhāskaravarman, because, as the poet says, he possessed the sun's splendour (*bhāskara-dyuti*).

F. KIELHORN.

12. TATHĀGATA.

Wakefield.
March 7, 1898.

DEAR SIR,—In connection with Mr. Chalmers' article on the term 'tathāgata,' in the January number of the Journal, the Tibetan rendering of the title may be noticed. It is

[1] Jayadeva-Paracakrakāma's inscription is dated in (Harṣa)-saṁvat 153, i.e. about A.D. 758. The known inscriptions of the kings of Prāgjyotiṣa are not dated, except in regnal years.

[2] The Pāla dynasty belonged to the solar, the Sena dynasty to the lunar race.

de-bz'in gs'egs-pa. The verb gs'egs-pa is highly honorific, and is constantly used in books, rarely colloquially, of the great saints and Buddhas. It signifies both to 'come' and to 'go,' and as far as its grammatical form is concerned might be taken in the title as either past, present, or future. de-bz'in means 'according to that' or 'according to those.' Jaeschke renders the phrase as 'he that walks in the same ways (as his predecessors),' but it could also mean 'he that has walked.' bde(-bar) gs'egs(-pa) is the regular translation of 'sugata.' The Tibetan term evidently covers the first and second of Buddhaghosa's interpretations, to the exclusion of all others.

Dr. Waddell enumerates seven medical tathāgatas, with whom Gautama is associated as the eighth. This is a rather striking parallel to Buddhaghosa's eighth explanation; but it is probably merely an accidental coincidence, since none of the Tibetan words have the slightest connection with any term signifying 'physic' or 'physician.'

Of course the Tibetan form cannot in any way claim to be authoritative, but it clearly shows what meaning was attached to the term by the scholars who made the translation (about the eighth century A.D.), and as such it seems interesting enough to be mentioned.—I am, yours truly,

F. B. Shawe.

13. Samudra Gupta.

Dear Sir,—Under date the 11th February, Hofrath Professor Bühler writes to me as follows:—

"I would call your attention to an important point connected with Hariṣeṇa's *Praśasti* on the Allahabad Pillar.

"This document is *not* a *posthumous* eulogy of Samudra Gupta, as Fleet asserts, following Prinsep and Mill. His translation of the passage (towards the end) about the wanderings of Samudra Gupta's *Fama* is against the rules of Sanskrit grammar.

"The poet merely says that, when the king's *Fama* had filled the whole earth and could not proceed any further, she found an easy and pleasant path by ascending to heaven and continuing her wanderings there.

"The idea is very common in the so-called *cāṭus* addressed by the court poets to their patrons, and is often expressed in still more extravagant and quaint terms. Thus, a Kashmirian assures us that the *Fama* of his patron, 'having caught a cold by bathing in the four oceans, hastened into the sphere of the sun in order to warm her frozen limbs.'

"Eight or nine years ago I explained this point very fully in my German essay 'Ueber die indischen Inschriften und die Kāvyalitteratur,' published in the *Sitzungs berichte* of the Vienna Academy . . . .

"There is nothing in the whole *Praśasti*, except this one passage, which could give us the idea that the poem was composed after Samudra's Gupta's death; and this passage, I repeat, has been translated wrongly."

Professor Bühler is unquestionably right in making this correction, and I regret that I did not know it when writing recently on the history of the reign and conquests of Samudra Gupta.

V. A. Smith.

Gorakhpur, March 2, 1898.

14. Preliminary Note on a Recently Discovered Śākya Inscription.

Sir,—Together with an interesting letter, dated Jan. 30, 1898, regarding the progress of the Nepalese excavations carried on at Kapilavastu under his superintendence, Dr. Führer forwarded to me an eye-copy of an ancient inscription, taken by Mr. W. C. Peppé, the discoverer of the document, as well as some notes regarding its find-spot. Mr. Peppé, a landholder of Birdpur in the Basti District, excavated in January last a stūpa, now called

Piprāvakoṭ, and situated on his estate half a mile from the Nepalese frontier and fourteen miles south-east of the ruins of Kapilavastu. In its interior stone chamber he found a number of relic vessels—"two stone vases, one small stone casket, one large stone loṭā, and a crystal bowl with a fish-handle"—containing bones, cut stones, stars and square pieces of gold leaf with impressions of a lion (*Śākyasiṃha*). Round the rim of the lid of one of the stone vessels runs an inscription in Brāhma characters of the Maurya type, but without long vowels; of which I sent the following reading and explanation on Feb. 21 to Dr. Führer and Mr. Peppé:—

TRANSCRIPT.

ya salālanidhane Budhasa bhagavata Saki yana Sukitibhatinaṃ sabhaginikana saputadalana.

RESTORATION.

[I]ya sal[ī]lanidhāne Budhasa bhagavata[sa] Sākiyāna Sukitibhātīnaṃ sabhaginikāna saputadālāna.

TRANSLATION.

"This relic-shrine of divine Buddha (*is the donation*) of the Śākya Sukiti-brothers (i.e. either 'of Sukiti's brothers' or 'of Sukiti and his brothers'), associated with their sisters, sons, and wives."

At the same time I asked for a photo and an impression, and begged Mr. Peppé to look if any traces of the required *I* in the first word, of the medial *i* in the second, and of a vowel-mark in the last syllable of *bhagavata* are visible. I also asked Professor Rhys Davids to kindly let me know if a Śākya Sukitti (Sukīrti) is mentioned in the Buddhist scriptures.[1] It was my intention

[1] [The name does not occur in any Pāli text yet published.—RH. D.]

to defer the publication of the inscription until I had received answers to these queries. As I learn from M. A. Barth that he, too, has received a copy of the inscription from Dr. Führer, and that he has laid his reading and explanation, which appear to substantially agree with mine, before the French Academy, I publish my reading and version in confirmation of his results.

As regards the importance of the inscription, it clearly proves that Śākyas resided near Kapilavastu after Buddha's death, in accordance with the statement of the Parinibbāna Sutta, which mentions the Śākyas among the claimants for Buddha's relics and as builders of a stupa. The inscription is the first Śākya document found, and it converts the Śākyas of the tradition into an indisputably historical sub-Himalayan race. I may add that, in my opinion, the inscription is older than the time of Aśoka. But I must defer the discussion of this point until fully trustworthy reproductions of the document are accessible to me.

G. BÜHLER.

March 15, 1898.

15. NOTE ON THE CATRANG-NĀMAK.

DEAR SIR,—In his article on "The Origin and Early History of Chess," Professor Macdonell remarks (p. 128, n. 4, of this volume) that the omission of the elephant and chariot, in the description of the chessmen given in the Pahlavi Catrang-nāmak, must be accidental. There is, undoubtedly, a copyist's omission in the old MS. used by the editor of the Pahlavi text. In a somewhat older MS., written A.D. 1322, the elephant is certainly mentioned; and the chariot, already converted into a *rukh*, appears to exist in both of the old MSS. which I copied and collated in 1875.

The transliterated Pahlavi text and translation of Vajōrg-Mitrō's explanation of Chess, addressed to Takht-rētūs, the

envoy whom the Indian rājā Dēvasārm sent to the shāhān-shāh Khūsrō-ī Anōshak-rūbān, are as follows, according to the MS. of 1322:—

. . . . Dēvasārm denā Catrang pavan cīm-i kārīzār hūmānāk kard; afash hūmānāk 2 sar-khūdāī kard, malkā[1] val mādīgān-i Rukhōn val hōyag va-dashinak, hūmānāk, Far'zīnō val aratēshtārān [sardār][2] hūmānāk, Pīl val pūshtīg-pānān sardār hūmānāk, va-Sūsyā val asūbārānō sardār hūmānāk; Piyādak val zag ham piyādak hūmānāk pēsh-i razm.

TRANSLATION.

. . . . Dēvasārm contrived this Chess for the purpose of representing a battle; and, resembling it, two supreme rulers *are* made like Kings, with the essentials of Rukhs to the left and right, a Counsellor (*far'zīn*) like unto a general of champions, an Elephant (*pīl*) like unto a general of the rear-guard, and a Horse (*sūsyā=asp*) like unto a general of cavalry; *besides* a foot-soldier (*piyādak*) like unto so much infantry in the van of the conflict.

It seems from this text that the Rukhs are really mentioned in this description in both MSS., but have been overlooked, owing to the habit of *free* translation. It would probably be easy to identify the Indian rājā Dēvasārm, but how are we to understand the name of his envoy Takht-rētūs? May it not be a title translated into Irānian? If so, it might be guessed to mean a "priestly counsellor" (Pahl. *rad* = Av. *ratus*) "of the throne" (Pahl. *takht*), which would be a fair description of the chief Brāhman of a Hindū rājā.

E. W. WEST.

[1] *Malkā* is in apposition to *sar-khūdāī*, whose plurality is indicated by the numeral prefixed to it.

[2] This word had probably been already lost from the older MS. which was being copied in 1322, and perhaps the next four words had disappeared before the MS., whose text has been edited, was copied from the same original.

16. Tathāgata.

35, *Lonsdale Road, Barnes.*
February 1, 1898.

Dear Sir,—With reference to my article on "Tathāgata" in the January number of the J.R.A.S., I desire to communicate to the Society the following extract from a letter to me from Professor O. Franke, of Königsberg, dated the 29th ult.:—"I should like to draw your attention to the fact that I gave the interpretation of the title 'One who has come at the real truth' two years ago in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Bd. ix, S. 347, Anm. 1."—Yours faithfully,

Robert Chalmers.

To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

17. Gotama in the Avesta.

Bombay.
March 11, 1898.

To Professor T. W. Rhys Davids, Ph.D., LL.D.,
Secretary and Librarian, Royal Asiatic Society.

Dear Sir,—In my study of the important arguments which have been put forth by the late M. J. Darmesteter to prove his theory of the date of the Avesta, I am able to discover an important identification of the Avestic *Gaotema* with the Vedic *Gotama*. In the Rig-veda, *Nodhas* is Gotama's son, who is called *Nâidhyanghô Gaotemahe* in the Avesta. Hence it is probable that the controversies referred to in the Farvardin Yasht was carried on by Zoroastrians against the Vedic poet *Nodhâs*, and not against *Gaotama Buddha*. The point most important in the arguments of M. J. Darmesteter is that a "passage in the Yashts mentions controversies victoriously carried on by Zoroastrians against the impostor Gaotema." The Avesta passage alluded to by the French savant is contained in the Farvardin Yasht, section 16, in which the mention of the name Gaotema has

led some of the critics on the Avesta to ascribe a late date to the composition of this Yasht, and consequently to that of the entire Avesta. They place it in the epoch of Gotama Buddha. The Avesta text runs thus:—

Aôngham raya hvarenanghacha us nâ zayêitê vyâkhanô vyâkhamô hugûshayat-ukhdhô yô bavaiti khratu-kâtô yô *nâidhyanghô gaotemahê* parô ayâo parshtôit avâiti. "Through their brightness and glory a man is born who is a chief in assemblies and meetings, who listens well to the holy words, who wishes for wisdom, and who returns a victor from discussions with Gaotema, the heretic." (Cf. Darmesteter's English Translation, S.B.E., vol. xxiii, p. 183.) It must be observed that this is the only passage in the extant Avesta where the name *gaotema* occurs. Should we take this Gaotema as a proper noun, he might either be a contemporary of Zarathustra or of the author of the Farvardin Yasht. Now there are two Gotamas who are principally familiar to us in the Vedic and the Buddhistic literature. One is Rishi Gotama and the other Gotama Buddha. The latter is very well known to us as the founder of Buddhism. The former is one of the seven *rishis* or sages mentioned in the Rig-veda. They are (1) *Atri*, (2) *Vasishtha*, (3) *Kashyapa*, (4) *Bharadvâja*, (5) *Gautama* (or *Gotama*), (6) *Vishvâmitra*, (7) *Jamadagni*. In the Rig-veda, the fifth sage Gotama is mentioned in Book i, hymn 62–13; 78–2; 86–11; 116–9; 183–5, etc.; and the Gotamas in Book i, hymn 60–5; 61–16; 63-9; 78–1; 88–4; 92–7, etc. In the Mahâbhârata this Gotama is often alluded to as a preacher in the *Anusâshana Parva*. The Rig-veda hymns 57–62 are ascribed to *Nodhâs*, the son of Gotama. In 62–13 Nodhâs speaks: "O mighty Indra, Gotama's son, Nodhâs, hath fashioned this new prayer to thee eternal. Sure leader, yoker of the tawny coursers. May he, enriched with prayer, come soon and early."

From similar references to Gotama and his son, Nodhâs, in the Vedas, who flourished in the fifteenth century B.C., it is easy to understand clearly the reference in the Avesta to *Nâidhyanghô* (a variant of which is *Nâidhyâonghô* in l. 18) *Gaotemahê*. The Avesta word *Nâidhyanghô* or *Nâidhyâonghô*

is a corruption of the Vedic name of the son of Gotama, viz. *Nodhâs*; so the two proper nouns must mean "*Nodhâh*, the son of Gotama," and not "Gotama, the impostor," as Darmesteter renders them. The Avesta vowels *i* and *u* having a slight difference in shape, the original *Nâodhyanghô* or *Nâudhyâonghô* has been altered to *Nâidhyâonghô* and afterwards to *Nâidhyanghô*.

It has been acknowledged by the critics of the Avesta that "some of the ideas and allusions in the Yashts are certainly older than the Gathas or the oldest Rigs," and we ratify their statement by pointing to the sixteenth passage of the Farvardin Yasht as a reference to one of the poets of the Rig-veda. According to Professor F. Max Müller, the Vedic Rishis flourished about fifteen centuries before Christ. (Vide his "Contributions to the Science of Mythology," vol. ii, pp. 428–446.) It is probable, therefore, that we discover in the Yashts some reference to a Gotama who lived, if not earlier, at least fifteen hundred years before Christ, and this can be confirmed by reason of the primitive stage of civilization in which we find the Iranian nation of the Avesta period. Consequently it is not necessary, or possible, to identify the Goatema of the Avesta with the Gotama Buddha, who flourished about a thousand years later than the Rishi Gotama, viz. in the seventh century B.C. We can easily mark traces of simultaneous development between the Vedic and Avestic ideas, but not between the fundamental Avestic and Buddhistic doctrines. Buddhism prevailed in the sixth century B.C., and if following M. Darmesteter we should concede that the Gotama named in the Farvardin Yasht is Buddha, and not the Rishi Gotama, the question would arise: Why did the Avesta make mention only of a non-Zoroastrian, a Hindoo, of the seventh century B.C., ignoring all the well-known Zoroastrian historical characters of the beginning of the Median period, viz., Cyaxares, Astyages, Akhaemenes, Cyrus (Kurush), Cambyses, and Darius I, the son of Hystaspes? The probable assumption therefore is that we have in the Avesta only names of illustrious persons, male or female, who flourished in or before the age of the Rishi Gotama, i.e. about

the fifteenth century B.C., whereto Zarathushtra's Gathas have been traced by science. As for instance Dr. L. H. Mills, who says: "As is seen, I have made the endeavour to place them (the Avestic Gathas) as late as possible, and at the time of publishing I had reached the conclusion that they may date as late as about 1000 B.C., while also possibly so old as 1500 B.C."—Yours, etc.

DARAB DASTUR PESHOTAN SANJANA.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

LITERARY HISTORY OF INDIA. By R. W. FRAZER, LL.B. 8vo. (London, 1898.)

Why is the interest we feel in Oriental history an interest, generally, of mere curiosity, while Greek and even Roman history beams upon us like a possible reflection of our own past existence? It is that the fulness of Greek social and political life, the copious inventiveness of Greek thought, and the plastic genius of Rome in law and administration, survived, in a latent underground life, by means of a literature, however misinterpreted, and of traditions, however distorted, through all the night of the Middle Ages; and when the barbarian peoples had passed through the indispensable lower phases of social being, seized on their intellectual existence, permeated it, and so blending with the Teutonic tendency to individualism in act and responsibility, produced European civilization of the modern type. There was a fitness in Greek thought and in Roman institutions, as there was a fitness in Hebrew conceptions of morality, for the expanding needs of widespread communities, sprung from various sources and subjected to manifold influences, which furnished to the aggregating peoples here and there a centre of crystallization. The Christian Church was for ages the axis of attraction round which the active forces, the thought, and emotion of reborn humanity grouped themselves. The religion of Europe was interlaced with the law of Rome and the philosophy of Greece. Men were born into this atmosphere; they breathed it as infants; it

pervaded their system; and so through generations of influence formed the character which, in its generalized form, we now find it natural and easy to assume or accept as the standard type of human perfection. Yet it is almost certain that under different circumstances and with different historical accidents, our moral evolution, our political growth, our ways of looking upon man and nature, would have varied widely from all that is most specific in the nineteenth-century European—in the Englishman or German of the present day. The Mahomedan world, as it rushed through conquest to material prosperity and the command of leisure for meditation, was connected with a faith and a philosophy imbued with a quite different spirit from that which prevailed amongst the Christian nations. It absorbed this after-revelation on account of its consonance to the teaching of the Prophet, and of its accord with the physical and mental tendencies of the Arabian people. But once received, the moral system of Abu Hanifa and other Moslem philosophers became a leaven in the mind of Islām which has wrought out a development of character and conceptions as wide apart as possible from the Christian European type. Thus, "In the sea of life enisled, We mortal millions live alone," if not as individuals, yet as groups and aggregates with identities, almost, of thought and feeling, of standards and desires, within a limited sphere; but with an incapacity, more or less pronounced, to be quite at home with the races who through ages of transmitted influence have lived under different conditions, in societies based on different antecedents, and who through all that time have been educated and moulded by a religion and philosophy assuming myriad shapes in detail, yet bound together by an essential unity of origin, and but accidentally coincident at certain points with the dominant forces of European progress in this present era of all-absorbing material expansion.

Yet even as the human mind and character in all the races of mankind started from beginnings essentially the same, so, as the purpose of our being is gradually realized, our aims and sympathies must approximate as "the thoughts

of men are widened with the process of the suns." There is a stage at which, in the moral and political sphere as in the field of physical science, experiment has to be conducted within narrow limits, in order that the results may be free from foreign interference, and may be completely appreciated. There is a later stage at which the teachings gathered from a narrow plot of the boundless expanse of truth are found a means of guidance to the whole, indispensable indeed to its full comprehension.

Amongst the great experiments in anthropology (in its widest sense) which nature and the lapse of time have performed for us, none, it is beginning to be felt, is more instructive and important than that carried on through so many centuries in India. The floodgates of knowledge with respect to human speech were opened a century ago with the study of Sanskrit. The tendencies and potentialities of human intelligence in religion and philosophy could never have been fully appreciated without a lifting of the veil which so long hid the workings of Indian thought from the ken of European scholarship. The origin, growth, and decay of organized societies, the whole philosophy of human progress, gain new illumination from a true historian's view of the facts presented by the long life of the Hindu people, in a field almost wholly severed from that of the general movement of mankind.

The problem of how to make the wholly strange familiar, and to bring Indian history and Indian humanity fairly within the embrace of European fellow-feeling, has been attacked in many different ways—in each way probably with some resulting good. Even the grim censorious volumes of Mill tended to provoke inquiry. The numerous writings of which Colebrooke's admirable essays were a type opened out the inner shrine of Indian existence to those who had just learning enough to approach the entrance. In more recent times a Weber and a Max Müller have given us general histories of the old Hindu literature, whose lack of interest to most of us is perhaps due rather to our own narrowness and ignorance than to any inherent defects of

the works themselves. In his many essays on Indian subjects the Right Hon. Max Müller has done much to popularize Indian topics. He has told us much of what India can teach us. Sir M. Monier-Williams has brought a part, at least, of Indian wisdom within reach of the ordinary reader. The Sacred Books of the East form, now, a whole library, whose very fulness, however, is apt to repel all but professional students of the Oriental religions and philosophies. Mr. Rhys Davids's charming lectures and essays, and the works of other explorers in the vast and alluring field of Buddhism, startle, and almost alarm, us by revealing how old is much that we thought new, and how many of the ideas that we ascribed to necessary inspiration are part, in truth, of the common moral heritage of mankind.

Amongst scholars in recent years there has been an activity, of ever-widening scope and enterprise, by which fresh fields of Oriental learning have been opened and the old ones have been traversed anew. The literature of miscellaneous essays on Hindu subjects has increased and multiplied beyond all precedent: and thus by successive strokes a just conception of the life—at least, of the ancient life—of the East has been impressed on the European mind. In the meantime, the multiplied facilities of communication, and the consequent growth of intercourse and commerce, have made us, in England especially, feel that India has become our near neighbour. The difficulties of administering the country cannot, we see, any longer be put aside. They must be faced and mastered by an imperial people. The first condition of good government is a thorough knowledge of the people to be governed, a knowledge mingled with sympathy, yet not "subdued To what it works in, like the dyer's hand," but master of its materials through an enlarged and elevated mental perspective. As the task of empire has grown more complex and burdensome, so have the means and aids improved by which it is to be achieved with honour to our nation and profit to mankind.

It is at this moment, surely not an inopportune one, that Mr. Frazer comes forward with his "Literary History of

India." Some exception might possibly be taken to the title of this work. In its earlier chapters it is a history, so far as history is possible, of early India drawn from all available sources. In its later chapters it is a review of recent Indian literature. But all through it presents a vivid and, probably, a generally correct picture of the mental life of the Hindu people—of the world of ideas in which they have their being. It has been compiled, with severe and well-judged labour, from a large mass of materials, mostly inaccessible to the general reader. Questions might possibly be raised as to some particular statements. The accounts given of Buddhism and of the philosophical schools may be deemed meagre. The Mahomedan literature of India called for some notice. But allowance must be made for the conditions under which the author wrote. A compendious history cannot be an encyclopaedia; and by omitting many things Mr. Frazer has really made his narrative, not only more pleasing, but more incisive, and therefore more instructive. The principal phases of Hindu national life as reflected in the Hindu literature, from the time when this affords material for authentic history, have been seized and depicted with correctness, in an attractive style, and with a striking effect. Many points in Indian history, even in its chronology, are still subjects of controversy amongst the learned. New researches from time to time disturb or confirm previous beliefs. Over such points Mr. Frazer passes lightly. They are hardly suited for popular appreciation. The main outlines he has traced with a firm and artistic hand, though with a certain looseness of expression, and with some errors of transliteration which he will, no doubt, correct in a second edition.

Perhaps the most surprising thing about the Vedas, viewed as memorials of intellectual progress, is the very early intrusion of the analytic speculative element. The joyous or trembling recognition of higher beings manifesting themselves in the sensible phenomena of nature—the Varuna, Indra, Agni—are soon followed by deifications of comparatively abstract qualities, attributes of the elder gods.

The infant Aryan began, as it were, to philosophize in his cradle; and we pass from glorifications of a tipsy war-god to poetic strivings to realize all that was involved in "speech." The exaltation of many various deities by their special devotees led to the generalization that all were but different manifestations of a central self-existent "One"—Lord of the multiform creation; and a monotheistic conception, never firmly grasped, was yet approached more nearly through the aid of qualitative surnames which, it was seen, could be applied and transferred according to the object and the phase of present adoration. The nomenclature of that early time was less settled in the comprehension of terms, still less in the connotation arising from long literary use, than at a later period; and specious conjectures, suggested by the mistiness of the boundaries between the proper scope of cognate terms and attributes, were met by others equally unsubstantial and illusive. Somewhere, in some One, it was felt or hoped, all must centre and find an objective basis of almighty will and intelligence; but that One, half revealed, was yet, in essence, concealed from man's cognizance by an impenetrable veil. Thus the Vedists beat their wings vainly against the barriers of the infinite in flights of speculation worthy of the most advanced thought. There was, as they reasoned the matter out, a time before even the gods were, a cause precedent to all causes, and comprehending all; such that even the ruler of the universe might know it and yet might not. Were, then, the gods more real than the other things of time? The question was raised, and rather put aside in the growth of fresh imaginations than fairly answered. A moan of baffled helplessness at times arises; and through all attempts to realize things in their aggregate as objective, or to find a universal, an idea standing behind phenomena, "A melancholy undertone was wrought, The appalling wail of lone Eternity."

The main characteristics of Hindu thought in all succeeding ages are thus found stamped upon its earliest speculations. So, too, its want of synthetic and plastic

genius. Nowhere in the Vedas, rarely in later writings, do we find human motives and actions organically grouped and made to live in dramatically conceived characters. Instead of a vivid realism—a creation more true to life than any individual—we have vague exaggeration and extravagance. Strength and intensity, concentrated within the bounds of reasonable appreciation, the maximum of effect with the minimum of displayed exertion, were excellences of Greek art which evaded the really feebler grasp of the Hindu. He at times revelled in the intoxication of nature; but, looking on man, he could not find in his thoughts and works, and manifold life, the joy of imaginative communion, and the satisfying scope for speculation, which made politics possible to the Greek. To the Greek, man was so great that he dwarfed the gods to human dimensions; to the Hindu, the dazzling, bewildering presence of the gods, and the pressure of the infinite, made his view of men indistinct, unsatisfying, unsuggestive. Even in the Vedas we find very few touches of the actual experience of combat such as thrill us in a Scandinavian or even in a Maori battle-song. The achievements of eponymous heroes, of ancestors in the great times of old, traditions of glory bequeathed by bleeding sire to son, are not the themes of the Hindu poet. There are a few animated narratives of action; there are beautiful touches of natural feeling; but in general the sense of proportion is wanting, and the bard's eye being fixed on the remote and superhuman, he fails to satisfy our never-failing interest in human energy such as we can deem cognate to our own.

It is to this same far-off meditative tendency, probably, that we must ascribe the absence of history from the Hindu literature. There must have been many stirring scenes lying ready for the chronicler's hand in the contests by which the Aryans forced their way through the Himalayan passes, and established their domination over Northern India. The gradual consolidation of the Brahmanical polity, though invisible, as a great national movement, to most of those who shared in it, would yet

have won the attention of a Hindu Thucydides or Clarendon. But, first, the tendencies and structure of society, making free growth and variation impossible, were repellant to the born historian, and, secondly, the over-development of the love of the miraculous made ordinary narratives of real events insipid. There is not in all the voluminous mass of early Indian literature a single chapter tracing the events of an era, or a state, to their origin in the necessities of human nature and human relations. There is not a character of a Pericles or a Falkland. The men who, being such, would feel that nothing human could be alien to them, had yet to come. And without history the ennobling sense of a continuous, pervading, unifying, national life cannot exist. As a "political animal," man needs this nurture. Hindu society, as it accepted the divisions of caste, settled down to stagnation as a political community. The theocratic basis of society, with Brahmans as the oracles of the gods — nay, as their controllers — was insufficient and paralyzing. It called forth no great historian, nor was a miraculous birth of one vouchsafed to the race to teach them of what, as mere men, they were capable.

The human soul, however, could not always subsist on the celestial ethereal food placed before it by the mythologists. Krishna and Rama had to be decked with human attributes and attractions to bring divinity, at last, well within the pale of human love and personal devotion. The religious passion thus evoked was mingled with degrading and repulsive elements, but both in preachers and in disciples it was, in a multitude of cases, deeply fervent and sincere. The hunger of the heart for spiritual communion was somehow satisfied; and a personal deity, the embodiment of supernal goodness, being once received into men's living consciousness, faith and love and the exalted freedom of willing duty became by necessary sequence the foundation of holiness, and the conditions of enlargement from the prisonhouse of finite and impure existence for all the higher minds.

Such is the brief review of the progress — essentially a religious progress—of Hindu thought, suggested or recalled by Mr. Frazer's moving picture of its successive phases. The radically pious, contemplative bent of the national mind assigned undue importance to things unseen; the ministers of worship shared in the sacredness of the gods; they multiplied ceremonies with inexhaustible ingenuity, and every rite erroneously performed brought down a curse instead of a blessing. Brahmanism became of necessity a traditional hereditary profession, and then a caste, supported by a general rearrangement of Society as divinely commanded on a caste basis. The minute regulation of mutual relations and employments satisfied the weak Hindu's need for external props to his moral stability; the Brahmanical ministry eased his longing for spiritual communion with the universe that extends beyond the reach of sense. There arose, indeed, from time to time, profound thinkers who saw the essential nothingness of sacrifices and oblations, the worth of conduct and principle, the ultimate identity of the soul of man with the central principle of all being; but between the present and the final state lay an endless series of finite existences, irksome and painful ones not to be escaped, certain to be incurred unless through sacerdotal aid. The ordinary man could not aspire to redemption through contemplative ecstasy: he could take in the purpose of a mystic rite or formula, and placed all his desires and hopes in the hands of the sacrificer who claimed to hold the keys of emancipation.

In the movement of Hindu religious thought from simple nature worship, through metaphysical abstraction, to love and faith as the means of holiness, Buddhism, with all the simple grandeur of its conceptions, was for India but an episode. Buddha adopted from Brahmanism the notion of finite existence as a round of suffering. For him, as for the philosophers, the world was but a scene of desires unceasingly disappointed—where but to live was to be full of sorrow. By a primal necessity, coeval with his creation, each man was attended by his "Karma," the aggregate of

his activities, conceived as subsisting even after his death, and annexed for reward or punishment to his next phase of sentient being, though without any active consciousness of the preceding one. So could the differences in men's characters and capacities, as well as in their situation and their happiness, be accounted for. An eternal principle was substituted for a divine ordinance. Redemption could be gained only by realizing the essential torturing unrest involved in transiency, and by casting off all earthborn desires. It was a doctrine, if not of nihilism, yet of negation. Felicity had to be attained, through a realization in thought of a general infelicity; and though righteousness and self-conquest in act and thought were inculcated, the ideal of life could be satisfied by self-renunciation. And for the future there was not anything even so definite as the union of the soul with the greater soul, the pervading spirit of the universe. Something, indeed, was held out as lying beyond the Dead Sea apples of transitory illusive enjoyment, but something too vague for apprehension. The Hindu, like other human beings, craved for some element of the mundane and transitory in the infinite and eternal, wherein he was to find rest for his soul. The exclusion of anthropomorphism starved human sympathy, and the subsequent partial deification of Buddha himself was really a breach in his system. Ethics without a Heaven or Hell; rewards and punishments without a supreme judge; extinction of desire and will as the *summum bonum*, could not permanently hold out against the emotional attractions, the appeals to the meaner elements of man's nature, assiduously and confidently put forward by Brahmanism. Buddhism looked down on human life and saw its worthless surface; it did not draw human life upward to a participation in a divine scheme, wherein ephemeral suffering might be a necessary element of an immeasurably greater joy in eternity. It ignored the existence of the soul, even as the vital principle or moral resultant of man's powers, and the soul unrecognized turned away. When Buddhism in its decay accepted the corruptions of idolatry, the unnatural union

was as a portent of its unhonoured doom—of effeteness, and death in life, before final dissolution.

Having dwelt so long on the master-influences of Hindu thought as manifested in the "Literary History of India," we have but scant space left for notice of the many other points of interest which Mr. Frazer's work presents. The later philosophy, the epics, the drama, the jurisprudence, to which he introduces his readers, deserve each a detailed treatment which would require a separate article. The highly speculative character of the Hindu mind is stamped even on the great epic the "Mahābhārata"—so much so that an acute and able scholar has recently found it possible to contend that the poem was written to illustrate early legal institutions. It really enshrines fragments of local and family customs, the hold of which on the aborigines, probably also on many of the Aryans in a third or fourth generation—as the Irish customs became those of the English in Ireland—was so strong that Gautama, Manu, and the other rishis were compelled to recognize these customs as a law within the law. The latter was in truth but another collection of customs. "The smritis on vyavahára" says Mitramisra "merely set forth customs recognized by the people," and the binding force of custom as a law has always been maintained by the British Courts. The real danger in this respect is that of customs themselves becoming stereotyped through judicial decisions based on them; but this danger, too, has been seen and guarded against in some important judgments, which reject the notion of immobility, and allow a progress of the customary law answering to the moral progress of the community.

No systems of faith and of religious conceptions would be imagined more antagonistic than those of the Hindu and the Musalman, when the conquering Mahomedans swept down from the mountains over the plains of Northern India. Indigenous genius was silenced or driven into the regions least subjected to Mahomedan influence. Yet the mere presence and neighbourhood of an alien but mighty group of ideas and convictions made itself felt in the poetry of

Kabir. The approach was not followed up. Within the Hindu race itself there was some origination or strengthening of notions of religion, caste, and men's mutual relations, due to Mahomedan example; but for the most part the spirit of the conquered people was driven in upon itself, to brood over problems of universal unity or duality, to seek solace in deeming the world and its hard conditions no more than a dream within a dream, and to dwell with rapturous faith on the perfections of Krishna or Rama.

The narrowness and want of enterprise of the Hindu intellect under the stifling pressure of Mahomedan domination may be compared with the poverty and practical futility of Greek intellectual life in the seven or eight centuries that followed the establishment of Roman ascendancy. There was philosophizing in abundance; each generation produced its crop of accomplished scholars, learned in the wisdom of old, skilled in moulding familiar materials into slightly novel shapes, but devoid of the vitality, of the instinct of expansion, which prompts to enterprise in action, and to creation in art and literature. The exceptions under the rule of Akbar may be ascribed to the larger and more liberal spirit which then prevailed. Renewed oppression and depression drove the timid Brahmanic genius once more in upon itself. It could not find satisfaction or relief in investigating the facts of external nature, or in devising means for the improvement of man's material existence. From such pursuits it was cut off by self-contrived caste barriers of imagined defilement, which shut out the greater part of creation from the touch of experiment and from the intimate knowledge of the one supremely endowed creature who alone could by such means rise towards a god-like intelligence. All wholesome vivifying impulse being thus withdrawn, nought remained for speculative power and activity save a return to brooding introspection, a rummaging of exhausted philosophies resting, each and all, really on some latent or open assumption of the point essential to be proved. Logic was cultivated and abused. Jurisprudence, divorced from

a living attachment to the progress and the ends of the community, became a mere medium for the display of erudition and dialectics. The inductive faculty seemed almost to have perished, nor did the example of Mahomedan chroniclers, though these were pretty numerous, invite any Hindu philosopher to open a new path in history, which is philosophy teaching by examples. In the beginning of the present century Ram Mohan Roy, as Mr. Frazer points out, drew a dismal picture of the waste of time and ability on what he described as "the puerilities of Sanskrit grammar, the viciousness of the doctrines of Māyā and Ignorance, as expounded by the Vedantic philosophy, the inherent uselessness of the Mimāṁsa, and the lack of all improvement to the mind in the study of the Nyáya." In such a review Macaulay could find native evidence to support his own proposals in 1835 for practically superseding Oriental learning by English in the Government colleges, which were then contemplated as the only centres of true light. In the Hindu's, as in the Englishman's, language there was gross exaggeration. It was for the latter a typical instance of intellectual arrogance, for the former the rebound of an aspiring patriotic intelligence from the blank results of theory on theory, and learning piled on learning, without a fresh and fruitful communion with nature.

The nadir, however, had been reached, and Ram Mohan Roy himself allured to brighter worlds and led the way. The diffusion of English opened to multitudes those gateways to modern science, and the teachings of history, through which their precursor gazed at first somewhat dazzled with the sight. The new learning is operating as a modern renaissance in India. The intellectual barrenness and torpor of the past is followed in the present by a time of chaos and ferment, the final outcome of which cannot as yet be foreseen. But this much is evident, that the stagnation of the past was by no means lifelessness. Innumerable minds in India are now assimilating the great lessons of European wisdom, as yet perhaps "moving about in worlds half realized," but fitted and destined to build a new national structure, or to

join in building a nobler universal structure on these infinitely enlarged foundations. Such is the opportunity, the priceless gift, which, in return for present dominion, England has bestowed on India. In personal security and civil freedom the Hindu may now take his place in the march of progress. The English medium through which he views European ideas and institutions affords in itself a training step by step in political development. It necessitates a cultivation of the historic sense of cause and continuity as linked with enterprise and reach of view, in true progress. The great social and political movements of the future, in the greatly changed conditions of modern life, will probably diverge widely from former precedents. New fields are opening for speculative and constructive ability: they are free alike to the genius of the East and West. Thus turning from the dreams, or gathering up the fruits, of the past, the Brahman, worthily claiming that rank in virtue of his powers and his purpose, may step firmly forward and into new realms of effort and conquest, rejoicing in "An ampler ether, a diviner air," where all good influences impel him to share the growing thought of the world, perhaps in time once more to lead it.

After quoting from the poet Bāna a description of the march to war and conquest of the King Harsha Vardhana in the seventh century, Mr. Frazer observes that the incongruous elements of the Indian population were too diverse, the caste restrictions too firmly planted, for a national heart to throb with the one great racial feeling and purpose that make a fatherland. It is for the future to mark how the dividing-lines of caste and creed no longer hold the people asunder. "Then," he continues, "they may combine to demand the ruling of their own national life." Then, we prefer to say, they may have risen to the nobler conception of an approach to universal brotherhood amongst the sons of men, on the basis of an imperial unity amongst all who claim British protection and accept British principles. The fusion in the past of the Aryan race with their rude predecessors in India must at one time have seemed

impossible, yet the thing has been done. Christianity, and the modern humanity which it has enriched with love, disdain the arrogance of Brahmanism. Sooner or later, all subjects of the Crown, all members of the nation, must be gathered within the fold of a common citizenship, united in political feeling and principle, though manifold in capacities and characters; strong in their heterogeneous variety when every gift has free exercise and a satisfying aim. So should the work of imperial education proceed, and India be endowed with the gains of social experience won by England through centuries of hard endeavour, of strife, and blood and tears. When this comes to pass, when this is prized, when this marriage of the East and West takes place, a new and nobler life may spring from the union, dwarfing to insignificance all narrower ambitions and all meaner aims.

R. West.

Zapiski Vostotchnago otdeléniya Imperatorskago Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obshestva. Memoirs of the Eastern Section of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society, vol. x, parts 1–4. (St. Petersburg, 1897.)

This volume contains, besides articles of more or less interest and the usual report of the proceedings of the Section, a summary of contents and index to the first ten volumes of the series as well as a comprehensive index of all books and MSS. referred to. The obituary article on the late Professor J. P. Minaiev is by Sergius Oldenburg, and is accompanied by an excellent portrait of this learned scholar, too early taken from the scientific labours to which he devoted himself. It was his mission in life to make a profound study of the religions of the East, and especially of India, where questions of faith have for ages agitated and occupied men's intelligence. Beginning with the Rigveda, he studied it both as a means of appreciating, at their true value, the works of European writers, as well as for an answer to many questions which presented

themselves to his mind. Having zealously pursued his studies of the Vedas he visited Western Europe, and having obtained access to the treasures contained in the public libraries of London and Paris, he turned his attention to Buddhistic literature. The pessimistic tendency of Buddhism seems to have suited his peculiar temperament, and he threw himself with ardour into the study of Sanskrit, Pali, and Prakrit MSS., made extracts from these, filled notebooks with his observations, edited texts, and then proceeded to India to complete his studies on the spot. As a result of this journey he published, in 1877, his *Indeiskiye Skaski*, "Indian Tales," a collection of tales and legends made by the author in Kumaon in 1875. In his introductory remarks to this work Minaiev invites the attention of his Russian readers to the singular *naïveté* and originality characterizing these popular records, the faithful picture they give of the spiritual life and simplicity of the half savage mountaineer, and the remarkable change that has come over this country and its people under the civilizing influences of British dominion. We find him (i.e. Minaiev), says his biographer, at the sacred tree beneath which the great Buddhist ascetic attained Nirvana, and where, according to the ideas of Buddhists, is the earthly paradise. "But alas!" observes the traveller, "about the tree of knowledge there is desolation, and the last days of its long life are reached. On Buddhist soil nearly everything Buddhistic is in a state of collapse and decay; here another cult has seized the nest; other gods are honoured." And on departing and taking his last look at the ancient Buddhist statues, the gods of the Brahmans according to popular conception, he exclaims, "Wherein consists progress in India?" We next find him in Nepaul, the last stronghold of Buddhism on the Indian Continent, and here he sees a picture of Buddhism as it might have been in India had it assimilated other faiths and borrowed their more vivifying qualities. Superstition and an all-devouring cult—this is what Buddhism in Nepaul has come to; here there are no monasteries filled with

monks learned in holy writ, no philosophical disputes, but simply a light-hearted, good-tempered people, thankful to their innumerable gods and saints for the happiness they enjoy, and in affliction and sorrow offering propitiatory sacrifices. All this is expressed in a little incident of Nepaulese life witnessed by our traveller at the tomb of a great saint, the celebrated Sambhu Natkha, by whose shrine stood a concourse of men and women drunk with vodki and laughter, when suddenly they tuned their voices in unison and sang the following verses:—

1. Trouble not, fair one, for all know that we have lived together. Without me canst thou have no pleasure.
2. Youth is a fresh plant; youth is the moment for enjoyment! Must you and I now part?
3. Days pass, days disappear. Wherefore, then, is youth?

M. Minaiev paid a second visit to India. Several years had elapsed since his first journey, and the political atmosphere was full of alarms, doubts, and fears. He conversed much with Indians, and supplemented his book knowledge with observations taken from life. He is no longer exclusively occupied with religion and Buddhism, but with historical geography and politics. He puts aside his analytical knife and simply lives and works, but his diary shows that this change is only temporary. Towards the end of the eighties he resumes once more his favourite studies, and profits by the opportunity for visiting another Buddhist country—Burmah.

The last years of Minaiev's life were saddened by physical sufferings, the precursor of death. These increased his religious doubts and tormenting self-analysis, but he never relaxed in his efforts; and though he died in the flower of his age, he left many valuable works by which he will be known to posterity.

E. D. M.

BENARES SANSKRIT SERIES. Benares: Braj. B. Das & Co., 1882–1897. Altogether fifty fasciculi of six sheets each.

The following is a list of the parts that have appeared:—

Tantravārtika. A gloss on Śabara Svāmi's Commentary on the Mīmāṁsā-Sūtras. By Bhaṭṭa Kumārila. Fasc. 1–10.

Kātyāyana's Sarvānukramaṇa Sūtras of the White Yajur Veda, with the Commentary of Yājñikānantadeva. Fasc. 1–3.

Kātyāyana's Prātiśākhya of the White Yajur Veda, with Uvaṭa's Commentary. Fasc. 1–6 (complete).

Śaunaka's Prātiśākhya of the Rig Veda, with Uvaṭa's Commentary. Fasc. 1.

Naishkarmyasiddhi. A treatise on Vedānta. By Sureśvarācārya. Fasc. 1–3 (complete).

Vākyapadīya. A treatise on the Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar. By Bhartṛhari. Fasc. 1–3.

A collection of Śikshās. By Yājñavalkya and others. Fasc. 1–5.

Siddhāntatattva-viveka. A treatise on Astronomy by Bhaṭṭa Kamalākara. Fasc. 1–5.

Aphorisms of Vaiśeshika Philosophy. By Kaṇāda. With Commentary of Praśastapāda and Udayanācārya, gloss. Fasc. 1–2.

Śāṅkhyakārikā, with Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha's Candrikā and Gauḍapādācārya's Commentary.

Rasagaṅgādhara. A treatise on the Art of Poetical Composition. By Paṇḍit Jagannātha. With Commentary called Gurumarmaprakāśa by Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa. Fasc. 1–8.

Paribhāshāvṛtti. A treatise on Sanskrit Grammar. By Sīradeva. Fasc. 1–2.

Artha-saṅgraha. Elementary tract on Mīmāṁsā. By Laugākṣi Bhāskara. Edited and translated by Professor Thibaut. (Complete.)

The above series was started with every prospect of success and long life. It had two European Sanskritists of repute at its head, and an editorial staff composed of some of the best scholars in Benares. Yet it proved to be weak on the purely mechanical side of printing and publishing, and this brought about its dissolution after a career lasting less than a decade and a half. All of the works which it took in hand are important, but two stand out as pre-eminently so, and we can only deplore their incompleteness. One is Bhartṛhari's celebrated and oft-quoted *Vākyapadīya*, a treatise in three kāṇḍas. Only two of them have come out in this series, and we are still deprived of the best portion, the *Prakīrṇaka*, as it is called in the *Pāṇini* chapter of Mādhava's *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, where we find quotations from four of its sections under the names *jāti-samuddeśa*, *sambandha-samuddeśa*, *kriyā-samuddeśa*, and *dravya-samuddeśa*. The other work is Kumārila's *Tantravārtika*, a highly esteemed comment on Śabara's *Mīmāṁsā-bhāshya*, commencing with the *second* pāda of the first chapter. The ten fasciculi published in this series merely carry us down to the middle of the third chapter, whereas the entire work contains twelve! It may be added that the comment on the *first* pāda of the *bhāshya* is entirely in verse, and is entitled *Ślokavārtika*. It was brought out in vols. iii. and iv of *The Paṇḍit* (new series). There are numerous citations from this commentary of Kumārila's in the Jaimini, Pāṇini, and Patañjali (Yoga) chapters of Mādhava's aforesaid work. Will not some Benares Paṇḍit give us the remainder of this useful treatise?

It may suffice to add that the *Naishkarmyasiddhi*, by Śaṅkarācārya's famous pupil, consists of an argument in support of Vedānta as against ritual; and that the *Rasagaṅgādhara* is a seventeenth-century treatise on Poetics, and held in much esteem in Western India. Both of these have been brought out in Bombay also; the former in the Sanskrit series of that Presidency, and the latter in the *Kāvyamālā* series. The type employed for these editions is such as has never yet been seen on the banks of the

Ganges; and the imperfect state in which the series has stopped is a striking instance of the danger attending this method of issuing serials by parts—a method still unhappily followed in the Bibliotheca Indica, but fortunately discarded by most recent serial publications in India in favour of issuing by volumes.

G. A. J.

MEMORIES OF SEVEN CAMPAIGNS. By JAMES HOWARD THORNTON, C.B., M.B. (London: Constable & Co.)

This volume, very handsomely printed and prettily illustrated, is an interestingly written account of the experiences of a medical officer in India, 1856–1891. That portion of it which deals with the author's service during the Mutiny is especially valuable, as it throws a sidelight on some questions, both of policy and also of actual fact, which are still matters of dispute. Although the greater part of the work is simply a diary of personal experiences, yet there is a good deal of shrewd observation, which has additional weight when it relates to general questions of sanitation or State action on public health. Thus we find that the author is very strongly against any Government interference with the manufacture or sale or consumption of opium; and is much impressed with the injurious effect on the health of the people of the extensive irrigation recently carried out in India. In his opinion the old system of irrigation from wells had none of the objections that can be urged, on medical grounds, against irrigation works; and it is a pity that the old system was disturbed. One very striking fact recorded is, that at the very time of the great eruption at Krakatoa in Java in 1883 the hot springs of Sītā at Monghyr became much cooler than usual, and remained lukewarm for several weeks; and the author has no hesitation in ascribing the two phenomena to the same cause. There are some strong words at the end of the book on the advantages which an energetic medical man may obtain from service in India.

THE RUBĀ'IYĀT OF OMAR KHAYYĀM, being a Facsimile of the Manuscript in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, with a Transcript into Modern Persian Characters, translated, with an Introduction and Notes, and a Bibliography, by EDWARD HERON-ALLEN. pp. xliv and 288. (H. S. Nichols, 1898.)

Having regard to the wide fields of Persian literature which remain totally unexplored, one cannot help regretting the constant stream of fresh renderings into English of almost the only Persian poet who has had the good fortune to find a translator equal to himself in poetic genius. What has been once well done is best left alone; and 'Omar-i-Khayyām has been interpreted to the West by a genius —Fitzgerald—and at least two scholars—Whinfield and Nicolas. Whether either 'Omar or Fitzgerald is likely to gain in reputation by the efforts of Messrs. Justin Huntly McCarthy and Richard le Gallienne, neither of whom had any knowledge of Persian, or by those of Mr. Heron-Allen, whose scholarship seems unequal to his industry and enthusiasm, is very doubtful.

We are far from ranking Mr. Heron-Allen's work with that of McCarthy, remarkable chiefly for its typographical eccentricity, or of Le Gallienne, who boldly announces that a knowledge of Persian is an unnecessary (he almost implies an undesirable) attribute in what he is pleased to call "the true Omarian": for parts, at any rate, of Mr. Heron-Allen's work, viz., the beautiful cover, the excellent reproduction of the old Bodleian MS. (dated A.H. 865 = A.D. 1460, and described by Ethé in his *Catalogue of the Bodleian Persian MSS.*, No. 525), and the bibliography and analyses of Fitzgerald's work, are of a permanent value. The same, however, cannot be said of either the Introduction or the translation, for the former contains many serious historical and other blunders, while the latter is bald without being always accurate.

Of the blunders in the Introduction, some of the most serious occur in the sentence on p. iv, beginning, "The

Sultan Toghrul had been succeeded in 1063 by Alp Arslān, who conquered Mahmoud the Great, Khalif of Baghdad . . . . ," for the most elementary acquaintance with Muhammadan history would have prevented the writer from confounding the Ghaznavid king with the "Commander of the Faithful," who was at that time (A.D. 991–1031) al-Qādir Bi'llāh the 'Abbāsid; and from the gross anachronism of making Alp Arslān, who succeeded to the throne of his father Toghrul in A.D. 1063, a contemporary of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, who died in A.D. 1030, seven years before Toghrul began to reign. And if this is one of the worst errors in the Introduction, it is by no means the only one.

As regards the translation, the very first quatrain is turned into nonsense by a confounding of the protasis with the apodosis. The correct rendering is—

"If I have never threaded the pearl of Thy service,
And if I have never brushed from my face the dust of sin,
Nevertheless I do not despair of Thy mercy,
Because I have never said that One was Two."

Mr. Heron-Allen translates as follows:—

"If I have never threaded the pearl of Thy service,
I have, *at least*, never wiped the dust of sin from my face;
This being so, I am not hopeless of Thy mercy,
For the reason that I have never said that One was Two."

Again, in the notes on No. 14 (p. 133), Mr. Heron-Allen talks of "striking the loose bough with impotent hand," instead of "clutching at the weak branch," etc.; while in No. 25 (p. 143) he misprints *faṣl* (فصل 'season') as *faẓl* (فضل 'excellence'), and mistranslates ار زآنڭ as 'if thenceforth' instead of 'if so be that,' though he admits in the note that this "is perhaps a liberty." But why take such liberties in what purports to be a literal translation?

But perhaps no quatrain has been more thoroughly misunderstood and deprived of its point than No. 141 (p. 259),

to which popular tradition has attached a well-known anecdote, which sufficiently shows—if any proof beyond the actual words were needed—that the Deity, and not, as Mr. Heron-Allen supposes, "a doctor of divinity" (who, by-the-bye, is never addressed in Persian as "*Rabbī*," which can only mean 'my Lord,' i.e. 'my God'), is intended. The anecdote alluded to is given, amongst other places, in the Preface to the Tihrān edition of A.H. 1297 (p. 5), in the following words :—

میگویند شبی مجلسی آراسته بود و جمعی از دوستان و مهوشان‌را بمهمانی طلبیده بود ' شمع [و] چراغ زیادی گذاشته بود و در کمال آزادی و بیخبری مشغول می خوردن بود ' در عین عیش که فلک برای همه انتقام میکند بادی آمد شمعها خاموش شد کوزهٔ مئی که گذاشته بود شکست ' عمر خیّام‌را بسیار اوقات تلخ شد ' از روی مستی گفت —

ابریقِ مَیِ مرا شکستی ربّی '
بر من درِ عیش‌را ببستی ربّی '
بر خاک بریختی مَیِ ناب مرا '
خاکم بدهن مگر تو مستی ربّی '

گویند بعد از ادای این نطق و بیان چهره‌اش سیاه شد ' حریفان و مریدان مجلس همان دم رمیدند ' عمر ملتفت شده آئینه طلب نمود صورت خودرا دگرگون دیده بخندید و گفت —

نا کرده گناه در جهان کیست بگو '
و آنکس که گنه نکرد چون زیست بگو '
من بد کنم و تو بد مکافات دهی '
پس فرق میان من و تو چیست بگو '

فوراً صورتش مثل بدر چهارده تمام درخشنده شد ' همان وقت سر بسجدهٔ حق گذاشت و جان‌را بجان آفرین تسلیم کرد ' وفات او در سنه ۵۱۷ پانصد و هفده هجری بود در نیشابور '

"They say that one night he [i.e. 'Omar-i-Khayyām] had prepared an entertainment and invited a number of friends and moon-like beauties, and had set out many candles and lamps, and was engaged in drinking wine in perfect unrestraint and freedom from care. In the midst of the merrymaking (for Heaven avenges itself for all), a blast of wind came, and the candles were extinguished, and a jar of wine which he had set [beside him] was broken. 'Omar-i-Khayyām was much annoyed, and exclaimed in drunken fashion—

' O God, Thou hast broken my jar of wine,
O God, Thou hast closed against me the door of pleasure,
Thou hast spilt in the dust my pure wine;
Dust in my mouth! Thou must be drunk, O God!'

They said that when he had concluded this speech and utterance his face turned black. His disciples and boon-companions at the banquet at once fled. 'Omar, remarking this, demanded a mirror, and, seeing the colour of his face thus changed, smiled and said—

' Who is there in the world who hath never sinned? Tell me!
When did he live who never committed sin? Tell me!
[If] I do wrong and Thou returnest evil
Then what is the difference between me and Thee? Tell me!'

Forthwith his face became resplendent as the full moon of the fourteenth [day of the month]. Thereupon he laid down his head in adoration to God, and surrendered up his soul to the Creator of the World. His death took place at Nīshāpūr in the year A.H. 517 (= A.D. 1123)."

Now this anecdote, silly as it is, suffices to show how the quatrain in question is understood by the Persians, viz. as an insult to God; yet Mr. Heron-Allen substitutes "Rabbi" in his translation, which, he adds in a note, "means precisely a doctor of divinity," and "is a common term of respect in Persia," both of which assertions are perfectly devoid of foundation. In another note on the last line of the same quatrain, he explains *khāk-am bi-dihan* as "literally, 'my earth on mouth,'" which is arrant nonsense, the meaning being 'earth in my mouth,' i.e. 'may my mouth be filled with dust!' That even from Achaemenian times the possessive suffix in Persian can be separated from the word to which it belongs and attached to some other word in the sentence, and that hence *khāk-am bi-dihan* = *khāk bi-dihan-am*, is one of the elementary facts of Persian grammar.

We may also wonder, in quatrain No. 142 (p. 261), in what dictionary Mr. Heron-Allen found that *tīz* (تیز) means "literally 'fig.'" Of such 'figs' there would soon come satiety!

To the biography of the astronomer-poet Mr. Heron-Allen adds nothing, but only repeats tales now shown by Houtsma (*Hist. des Seldjoucides de l'Irâq par al-Bondârî . . . , texte arabe*, p. xiv of preface, n. 2) to be impossible for chronological reasons; tales, moreover, which rest on the weak authority of inaccurate writers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries citing from spurious works of no antiquity. It is impossible to insist too strongly on the fact that Persian history and literature, especially of the period previous to the Monghol invasion (middle of the thirteenth century), cannot be properly studied without reference to Arabic sources, since Arabic remained, till the fall of the Caliphate, the language of most serious writers, the language of science, learning, and diplomacy, in Persia. How rich a harvest of facts relating to the life of 'Omar-i-Khayyām may be gleaned from Arabic sources, appears from the admirable article on him by Professor Shukovski, of St. Petersburg, which concludes the volume recently

published by the pupils of Baron Victor Rosen, to celebrate the completion of the twenty-fifth year of his professorship. Many of the citations there given are from works which exist only in manuscript, but the notice of 'Omar given by al-Qazvīnī (who died in A.D. 1283, only 160 years after 'Omar), in his *Āthāru'l-bilād* (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 318, s.v. Nīshāpūr), has been generally accessible to European scholars for the last fifty years, though it seems hitherto to have remained unused by the "Omarians," to whom (with all due deference to Mr. le Gallienne) we venture to recommend a study not only of Persian but of Arabic.

E. G. B.

Le Mahavastu, texte sanscrit, publié pour la première fois par Emile Senart. Three volumes, 8vo. (Paris, 1882, 1890, 1897. Printed at the National Press by Government authority for the Société Asiatique.)

It is a very great pleasure to be able to congratulate the Government of France, the French Asiatic Society, and, above all, the distinguished author himself, on the completion of this splendid work.

It is not only the *editio princeps* of a book of historical importance, it is the first critical edition we have of any one of the numerous books which may be conveniently grouped together as Buddhist Sanskrit literature.

The book calls itself, at the end (3. 461), "the Śrī Mahāvastu Avadāna according to the recension of the Lokottara-vādins belonging to the Ārya-mahā-sāṅghikas"; and just after the beginning (at 1. 2) it adds that this school was of the Madhya Desa, or Middle Country.

This refers, of course, not to the district so called by the Brahmins, but to the district further down the valley of the Ganges to the south-east so called by Buddhists. The book is not, therefore, a Northern text, except in the very limited sense that the six modern MSS. on which the edition is based come, all of them, from Nepāl. It claims to have been composed, and originally used, in

a district which may be roughly described as stretching from Lucknow eastward to the western confines of Bengal Proper—a district it would be quite inaccurate to describe either as Northern or as Southern. It is simply the Central district, the one from which *all* the old Buddhist texts, whether Pāli or Sanskrit, claim alike to come. The book itself, the dialect used in it, the opinions it puts forth, the legends its authors believed in, are Central—or East-Central, if it be desirable to distinguish between the two districts called Central by the Brahmins and the Buddhists respectively.

And should it be asked: "Why be so clear and emphatic on a point on which all are agreed?" the answer is that the use of the terms Northern and Southern as applied, not to the MSS., but to the books themselves, or the Buddhism they teach, is the source of most serious misunderstanding. It inevitably leads careless writers to suppose that we have, historically, to consider two Buddhisms, and two only, one manufactured in Nepāl, the other in Ceylon. Now this is admittedly wrong. What we have to consider is Buddhism varying through slight degrees, as the centuries pass by, in almost every book. We may call it one, or we may call it many. What is quite certain is that it is not two. And the most useful distinction to emphasize is not the ambiguous and misleading geographical one, derived from the places where the MSS. come from; nor even, though that would be better, the linguistic one: it is the chronological one.

The work under review, for instance, the Sublime Story, as we might freely render its title, stands in much closer relationship to the Suttas, preserved in Pāli, the modern MSS. of which come from Burma, or Siam, or Ceylon, than it does to the "Lotus of the Good Law," written in Sanskrit, the MSS. of which come from Nepāl. Like the Pāli books, it belongs to what the later Sanskrit books call the "Lesser Vehicle," the Hīna Yāna. The views of its authors on ethics, on religion, on philosophy, come in, of course, only incidentally. They are here writing, not on

Buddhism, but on the life-history of the Buddha. But wherever those views do appear, they differ only slightly from the corresponding views in the Pāli, whereas they differ altogether, move in a quite different circle, from the views which dominate the Lotus, belonging as it does to the so-called Greater Vehicle—the Mahā Yāna.

The Sublime Story that it tells is not so much the actual life in this world of the founder of Buddhism, nor the history of the faith. It is the story of how the truth was won; how the Buddha became a Buddha. Practically it amounts to a life of Gotama from the remote ages when he was Dīpankara down to the thirty-sixth year of his life as Gotama. It contains the same episodes and the same story as we have in the Pāli in the Nidāna, the Introduction to the Commentary on the Jātaka Stories. The difference is that the Jātaka commentator, knowing that the Jātakas will all come on afterwards in the book, gives the story of Gotama's life from the time when he lived as Dīpankara, many ages ago, down to a few weeks after his attainment of Buddhahood, without introducing any Jātaka tales. The author of the Sublime Story, having no such reserve, introduces his Jātaka stories as he goes along, after the episode which they are supposed to illustrate. As only a certain number of the 550 Jātakas are connected with those episodes in the actual life chosen for insertion in the Sublime Story, the others are naturally omitted; and some not included in the collection of 550 are also added. It would be very interesting to have a table of the episodes in the Mahā Vastu beginning with Dīpankara, with a column of parallel passages; and, separately, a table of the Jātakas and legends inserted, by way of illustration, between those episodes, with a similar column for parallel passages.

The task of arranging the Buddhist books known to us in chronological order must remain difficult, and uncertain in its results, until the whole of at least the older texts are made accessible to scholars. We shall then be able to compare the various ideas expressed, and in many instances to say, with practical certainty, that this or that is developed

out of the other. The clearest cases will be those in which a name, or a technical term, comes into play. We shall then have a kind of chronological table of ideas according to which the books, in which they occur, will group themselves.

Take such a case, for instance, as the mention of Sukhāvatī (Mahā Vastu, 3. 462). We may conclude for certain that the colophon in which it occurs must have been written after the time when the belief in the existence of this particular heaven, as a blessed state to which all men should aspire, had become part of Buddhism. It is admittedly not part of the belief of the early Buddhists. We don't know exactly when or where or how the idea arose. But any passage in which it is put forth bears thereby a mark of its comparative date.

The Vedas, in Buddhist belief, were once three, and afterwards became four by the addition of the Atharva. Any mention of the Atharva as a Veda, or any clear mention of four Vedas, is another mark. The Jhānas, once four, became five, by the division of the second into two. The mention of five Jhānas is another mark. The Sankhāras, once defined vaguely and generally by a well-known standing phrase, were afterwards defined categorically by a long list of the predispositions included in the term. The presence of this list is another mark. Professor Windisch, in his masterly monograph on Māra, has given us at least one, if not two, others; the theories of the Pāramitās, of the Ten Bhūmis, of the Four Truths, of the Eightfold Path, of the Four Visions (that appeared to the Bodisat), and many other ideas, give us similar marks.

Such marks differ, of course, in value, and have the advantage (or is it a disadvantage?) of requiring for their critical use a somewhat serious and detailed study of Buddhistic ideas. But where they are found in any one book in sufficient number, all pointing towards the same conclusion, that conclusion may be accepted as a working hypothesis.

Judging from some of the above and other similar marks

—and there is almost nothing else, except the dialect, to judge by—the Mahā Vastu seems to be of about the same age as the Milinda, and older than any other Sanskrit Buddhist text—there are only three or four—of which we know enough to venture on comparisons. The only possible exception is the Lalita Vistara, which deals with the same portion of Gotama's last life on earth as is dealt with in the Mahā Vastu, but omits almost all reference to his previous births. It would be very interesting to have a detailed comparison of these two early Sanskrit Buddhist works on so nearly the same subject.

One of the most curious details in the present work is the fact that it claims to belong to the Vinaya. We have always hitherto understood Vinaya to mean "discipline, rules of the Order, Canon Law." There is nothing of that kind here. When the Buddhist Community had lasted long enough for the want of a life of its founder to become felt, the further question arose as to which of the three Piṭakas it should be included in. The decision, at least among the Lokottara-vādins, was to put it, as a kind of preliminary note, to the Vinaya, the rules of the Order—on the ground, no doubt, that it gave an explanation of how the Order came to be founded. But it is odd to find that these three bulky volumes are the introduction only to a work, now lost, on a quite different subject.

We have only had space to hint at one or two of the numerous problems of historical importance and interest raised by a perusal of the Mahā Vastu. Fortunately, the distinguished scholar to whom we owe this admirable edition promises us a supplementary volume, in which such questions can be discussed at greater length and at greater leisure than they could have been in the present publication. It is needless to say with what eagerness all Indianists will look forward to such a series of essays coming from such a hand. Meanwhile this great work, with its magnificent index and its numerous careful notes, will be the daily manual and guide of those scholars engaged in the edition of the other Buddhist Sanskrit works now being brought out

by scholars in all parts of Europe through the enlightened generosity of the St. Petersburg Academy. We put our questions to scholars now, not so much by personal intercourse, as by consulting the works which give us their considered opinions. And it is sober truth to say of the author of a work like this, as Sonadaṇḍa, the Brahmin, said of Gotama (*saṅghī gaṇī gaṇācariyo*), that "students come across the continent, through many lands, to put questions to him, the teacher of the teachers of many."

T. W. Rhys Davids.

Modern Persian Colloquial Grammar, containing a short Grammar, Dialogues, and Extracts from Nāsir-ed-Dīn Shāh's Diaries, Tales, etc., and a Vocabulary, by Dr. Fritz Rosen. pp. xvi, 400. (Luzac, 1898.)

In spite of the considerable number of Persian grammars which have appeared in England, there was, till the appearance of the work now under notice, not one which could be unreservedly recommended to travellers and others whose chief object was to familiarize themselves with the spoken tongue, and at the same time to obtain a knowledge of the character. The best work of the kind will long be M. A. de Biberstein Kazimirski's *Dialogues français-persans et vocabulaire français-persan*, which, however, though a masterpiece of originality and a mine of information, is rather bulky for a traveller who is compelled by the exigencies of the Persian *chāpār* to reduce his worldly possessions to a minimum. The various modern Persian plays of Mīrzā Ja'far Qāraja-dāghī, too, though invaluable as a mirror of colloquial Persian, presuppose some knowledge of the classical language; while Finn's useful little *Vade-mecum* is designed for those who have neither leisure nor inclination to go deeply into the matter, or to trouble themselves about the written character.

Dr. Rosen, who enjoys a high reputation as a Persian scholar and linguist, published his *Neupersischer Sprachführer* at Leipzig in 1890, and of that work the volume before

us is essentially a revised translation into English. It is superior to its original, however, in two important particulars, viz.: in the reproduction of the original texts in the proper character alongside the transliterations, and in the conversion of the tabulated collections of useful words into an alphabetically-arranged vocabulary. Of the 400 pages which constitute the body of the work, pp. 1–74 comprise the grammar; pp. 75–205 the dialogues, which conclude with three short and amusing stories; pp. 206–285 the extracts from the late Shah's diaries; and pp. 286–400 the vocabulary, which is preceded by an appendix of titles, weights, measures, and coinage. We do not agree with everything laid down by Dr. Rosen, nor with all his vocalizations of words, and we notice a good many printer's errors (mostly of no great consequence), but his little manual may be cordially recommended to students of the spoken language of Persia.

E. G. B.

Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur, von Carl Brockelmann. Vol. I (first half). 8vo, pp. 1–240. (Weimar: G. Felber, 1897.)

It cannot be denied that a trustworthy handbook of the literature of the Arabs has long been a desideratum, particularly for those students who are not able to check, by researches of their own, the information given in Hammer-Purgstall's voluminous but unreliable work. No one will blame Dr. Brockelmann for discarding it; but Arbuthnot's little manual, which does not claim to be based on original study, deserves at any rate to be appreciated for being the first of its kind in the field, and having done good service to a certain circle of readers. The author leaves, however, unmentioned the literary observations inserted in Weil's *Geschichte der Chalifen*, and the short sketch appended to the third volume of the same work, as well as the—not very complete—list offered in Mehren's *Rhetorik der Araber*.

The reason why Arabic scholars have hitherto hesitated to compile a history of Arab literature is not far to seek. The subject is so vast that a really comprehensive, not to say exhaustive, work of this kind could hardly be accomplished without division of labour. The branches are too many, and—to use the motto of this Journal—*quot rami tot arbores*. Besides, there is still so much preparatory work to be done in the several departments in the shape of editions of texts, translations, and monographs that the time seems to have hardly yet come for a literary survey over this immense area. Yet we now stand face to face with this single-handed attempt at a compilation of such a work on scientific lines. The first instalment, comprehending pre-Islamic poetry and the first three centuries of Moslim literature, shows that the author has not approached his task without having made himself thoroughly acquainted with the subject.

In the classification of ancient poets, at the beginning of the work, the list of those who belong both to the heathen and Islamic periods is somewhat defective. The reader is not informed of the fact that Arab litterateurs bring these under the heading of *Mukhaḍramūn*. Dr. Brockelmann, it is true, mentions Labīd and Al A'sha, but the list is much larger, including as it does Ḥassān b. Thābit, Nābigha al Ja'di, Ka'b b. Zuheir, and others. Of these Nābigha is not mentioned at all. The article on Ḥassān makes him appear only as a Mohammedan poet, although his pre-Islamic poems are much better authenticated than those of the following period. The description the author gives of the Qorān is not accurate in all points. To declare its form to be rhymed prose (*sa'j*) in general is not quite justifiable. In real *sa'j* the poetic element must be found in the subject and language as well as in the rhyme. This may be the case in the older Sūras, but the strained efforts made in the majority of Qoranic addresses to wind up lengthy periods with an apology for a rhyme produces no poetic effect whatever. As to strophes, some distinct traces of such are to be found in a few of the earliest revelations,

although they do not coincide with those Professor D. H. Müller believes he has discovered. Dr. Brockelmann upholds too much the time-honoured theories on the Qorān, which, however, demand considerable modification, particularly with regard to the earliest prophetic utterances of Mohammed. As this chapter of the book is naturally of greater interest for the general reader than most others, it might have been a little fuller. If the rise of Islamism is to be made instructive for the student of the history of religions, much clearer notions than those now current are required with regard to its initial stage. The "nervous fits" have first of all to be done away with entirely as a fulcrum of a new faith of such universal character as Islamism.

We must not overlook the circumstance that the well-nigh immeasurable wealth of Moslim literature renders the task of systematic classification extremely arduous, especially if it is not to overstep a certain given limit. The following remarks, chosen at random, only serve to illustrate this fact. To place, e.g., Amr b. Babr Al-Jāḥiz in the chapter of "Entertaining prose literature" hardly does justice to this clever and well-informed author and keen observer. He was also a poet. Verses of his, as well as passages from his books, are quoted in the *Itqān* of the polyhistor and sound critic As-Soyūti. The famous Al-Tha'ālabi mentions his writings continually; and even Ibn Ḥazm, whose religious views made him so intolerant towards anyone who did not share them, places Al-Jāḥiz in point of impressiveness of style on a par with the poetry of Imru'lqeis. His writings abound in valuable observations on the history and culture of the Arabs. To mention only one, I allude to the catalogue he gives of the trades and professions of the nobility of Mecca (*Maḥāsin*, Brit. Mus. Or., 7,300, f. 173). The complaint he made about his writings not being received favourably by the public is not to be taken seriously (see also Fihrist, p. 116). In the list of his works we miss the compilation of his writings contained in Cod. Brit. Mus. Or., 3,138.

Dr. Brockelmann very properly excludes all those authors

who wrote in Arabic but were not Moslims. He makes, however, some exceptions in the chapter on medicine, and mentions several Christian and Jewish physicians. Ishāq Al-Isrāili was also a prominent philosopher, and the author of probably the first "Book of Definitions," the Arabic original of which is lost, but which is preserved in the Hebrew translation which I published in the Steinschneider "Jubelschrift" (1896), p. 233 sq.

The bibliographical notes appended to each chapter, although they lack completeness, are a very welcome addition to the book. Altogether the author has bestowed much care on his work, which promises to be a learned and useful book of reference for every student of the literature of the Arabs.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

MOHAMMEDANISCHES RECHT NACH SCHAFIITISCHER LEHRE, von EDUARD SACHAU. 8vo, pp. 879 and rv. (Stuttgart and Berlin: W. Spemann, 1897.)

Professor Sachau's latest publication goes far beyond the compass of a purely literary work, and having been called into existence by the exigencies of the hour, is dominated by its practical aim. Since Germany entered the ranks of those European states which rule over Moslim subjects, it has been obliged to take their legal requirements into consideration, and naturally, as far as possible, on the basis of their own traditions. This is the chief aim of the stately volume before us. The author, who, nearly thirty years ago, published a study on the early history of Mohammedan law, and ranks among the first authorities on the subject, only claims to have achieved with this new volume the work of an Arabic linguist. So much is certain, that he has given another proof of his rare mastership of the intricacies of the Arabic language, rendered still more embarrassing by legal technicalities. A right appreciation of the work can hardly be expected from one who is not a lawyer, and the following account will therefore be limited to some points of historical interest.

A code worked out with such nicety as we find in any of the leading works on Mohammedan law, cannot have grown but on the soil of an ancient culture. Moslim law, like the Jewish-Rabbinical law, is entirely based on the religious code, both therefore being comprised under the common term *fiqh*. Hardly any other code exists which bears the stamp of the individuality of the lawgiver so clearly as the Mohammedan one. In order to grasp its spirit, the origin and development of Islamism must be studied. Many of the most important social institutions of the first Moslim commonwealth were brought into existence by occurrences which concerned the private life of Mohammed alone. The position of woman would probably have been quite different in the Mohammedan world, had the example set in this respect by the Prophet been different from what it really was. To strengthen his personal influence and to render his followers also materially interested in the growth of the Moslim power, were two maxims prominently applied during that period of his career in which his legislative faculties came chiefly into requisition. This led to the issue of administrative measures of the greatest importance for the countries which subsequently came under the sway of the Moslim sceptre. The conformity of Church and State must naturally influence a law code which only binds the followers of the official creed, whilst treating dissenters as inferior beings. In the present instance, however, the matter is to be viewed from a different perspective, since the practical interest we have in Mohammedan law applies to places where they are not rulers but subjects. Many divisions of the code thus become obsolete; others clash to such an extent with European opinions and traditions that their alteration was a matter of necessity.

On the whole the purely legal portion of Mohammedan law is drawn upon the same sources as the Sunna, which, for cases left unconsidered, is supplemented by *ra'y* (opinion) and *qiyâs* (analogy). One can easily see that this method opened up a large field for legal deductions on every conceivable matter, but offered no real safeguard against

partial interpretation of the law. This found an adequate expression in the divergences of the four orthodox schools, especially the position they assumed towards the *Ḥadīth*, or tradition traced back to Mohammed himself. Ashshāfiī, the founder of the youngest of these schools, keeps about the *middle* between the liberalism of the Ḥanafites (who styled themselves "people of *raʾy* and *qiyās*") and the more rigid *Ḥadīth*. Being the author of an epoch-making work on the "Principles of the *Fiqh*," he brought the *qiyās* into a well-regulated system, while placing it under the direct control of the Qorān. This system is the one represented in Professor Sachau's book.

To illustrate the fact that many institutions in Mohammedan law must appear strange, if not incomprehensible, unless they are considered historically, I will duly mention that in the regulations on divorce there has been preserved a heathen element which even Mohammed endeavoured in vain to eliminate entirely. This is the *Ẓihār*, or pledge of renunciation declaring one's wife to be (as inaccessible) as the back of one's mother or other near blood relative. In pre-Islamic times such declaration served as a formula of divorce. Although the *Ẓihār* was denounced by Mohammed as sinful, it has kept the strength of an oath. According to Ḥanafite interpretation, the *Ẓihār* only amounts to temporary prohibition until performance of expiation, but cannot occasion divorce (Hidāyah, translated by Hamilton, 2nd ed., 1870, p. 117), but in Shafiite law (Sachau, p. 71) it must either be followed by legal divorce, or compels the culprit to do severe penance for his broken oath. Now when this regulation was first promulgated in the Qorān, it was done in connection with a personal wish of Mohammed to see the wife of his adopted son Zeid divorced, that he might marry her. Other laws which have their origin in domestic affairs of the Prophet are, e.g., the punishment of eighty stripes meted out for anyone who casts imputations on a virtuous woman (p. 74), the requirement of the testimony of four witnesses in case of suspected infidelity on the part of the wife, or, if these are not forthcoming, the fourfold

evidence of the petitioner, with a corroborating curse called down upon himself if he spoke a falsehood (see Qor., xxiv, 1–9).

Professor Sachau's book is arranged in such a manner that, of each division, the first portion gives the German translation of the textbook of Abū Shujā, who lived in the twelfth century, and is regarded as one of the greatest authorities on law according to Shafiite rite. The Arabic original of the book is reproduced in an appendix to the volume. Each division of the text is followed by an adaptation of the Commentary of Al-Bājūri, a former Professor of the Al-Azhar University in Cairo, who died as late as 1844.

While omitting the whole ritual code, Professor Sachau has limited his publication to pure law questions. That he has done so is quite in accordance with the task he had set himself. Yet a clean separation of both is impossible, and the author duly reminds all those who are called upon to administer law among Moslims to make themselves acquainted with the religious customs of the latter. Apostasy, e.g., is followed by the loss of several important civil rights, and is in some cases a criminal offence. Whoever forgets the Qorān, or breaks the fast of Ramadān without proper reason, will not be accepted as witness (p. 740). Drinking wine is punished with forty stripes or even more. It is interesting that the violation of the Prophet's often repeated injunction "to bid what is reasonable and to forbid what is wrong" (Qor., iii, 100) is tantamount to a crime. Theft of things ritually unlawful is not punished as such if the crime was committed merely for the purpose of destroying the same. A similar practice is to be observed in the event of the theft of wine, a dog, or a pig, because, in consequence of their being ritually unlawful, they cannot form a Moslim's property. If a pilgrim borrow some game before he has entered the sacred precincts of Mecca from a man who lived within the same, and the said game perish, he is not liable for it, because it is presumed that the killing of the game on the sacred ground is unlawful

(p. 469). Omission of prayer is, under certain circumstances, punishable by death (p. 812).

Mohammedan law is rich in paragraphs which a European reader will find quite incompatible with modern views, such as slavery, retaliation, or the payment of ransom instead, and other matters, but these are so deeply rooted in the traditions of Moslim nations that at least their codification was indispensable. Practical life has done away with much of this, even in Moslim states, and European governments have nearly everywhere replaced these measures by their own.

In a series of points Mohammedan law comes near to the Jewish-Rabbinical code, and the friend of historical research on this subject will find many interesting results. The old—now obsolete—regulation of receiving the evidence of witnesses for the appearance of the new moon has a parallel in a similar rule in the Moslim code, with the difference that the latter is satisfied with only one witness, whilst the former demands two. Also, the conditions which disqualify witnesses from giving evidence altogether have several points in common.

This very briefly sketches the eminent importance of Professor Sachau's book, not only for its practical purposes, but also for historical, literary, and philological research. It forms attractive reading even for students inexperienced in the meanderings of legal niceties, provided he is equipped with some knowledge of the historical groundwork upon which this grand structure has been erected by many busy hands during the lapse of centuries. The volume, which forms the latest addition to the series of *Lehrbücher* of the Oriental Seminary in Berlin, of which the author is the Principal, will secure him the gratitude of all those who, from whatever cause, have to turn their attention to discussions on Mohammedan law. It will even prove very useful to English jurisconsults in Eastern Africa, because the Shafiite rite is there the ruling one. What a grand argument the book furnishes to those who advocate the establishment of an Oriental School in London!

H. HIRSCHFELD.

OSMANLI PROVERBS AND QUAINT SAYINGS: 4,300 sentences in Turkish, printed in Roman characters, with English translations, explanations, and a guide to the pronunciation. The Turkish original is also given as an Appendix. By the Rev. E. J. DAVIS, M.A. pp. viii, 401, 11s. (Sampson Low, Marston, & Co., 1898.)

Ottoman literature, though extensive, lacks originality in an extraordinary degree, the modern writers imitating the French as the older ones did the Persians. Of the actual speech, life, and genius of the common people, the best mirror is afforded by the *atalar suzu* ("sayings of the fathers"), or proverbial wisdom current amongst the Osmanlis, in which also the idiomatic concision of the colloquial language is best exemplified. Of these proverbs a large collection (the text of which is reproduced in the work now before us) was published some twenty years ago by Aḥmed Midḥat Efendi, still one of the leading men of letters of the Turkish capital; and a similar collection (with which, apparently, Mr. Davis was unacquainted) was published more recently under the title of *Ḍurūb-i-amthāl-i-'othmāniyya* by Abu'ḍ-Ḍiyā [Ebū'ẓ-Ẓiyā] Tevfīq Bey (the quondam editor of the *Waqt*, to whose taste and energy Turkish typography owes so much) in collaboration with Shināsī Efendi.

Aḥmed Midḥat Efendi's work has now become extremely scarce, and Mr. Davis has done good service to all Turkish students in rendering it generally available. To the reproduction of the original text he has added a transliteration of the Turkish in the Roman character, an English translation, and the explanations which the very obscure diction of many of the proverbs renders necessary. The whole work forms a valuable introduction alike to the colloquial speech (so different in the case of Ottoman Turkish from the literary language) and to the national modes of thought, and will be cordially welcomed by Turkish students.

In the interpretation of over four thousand proverbs, equally remarkable for concision and obscurity, it could

hardly be expected that there would be no room for difference of opinion; and the following criticisms, amongst others, have been made by my colleague, Khalīl Khālid Efendi, teacher of Turkish in the University of Cambridge, who has glanced through the book :—

(p. 4.) آت سینگی گبی قویروق آلتنده گچنور . "He lives like a horse-fly—under the tail"="He gains his living dishonourably." (Is applied rather to a parasite or trencher-licker.)

(p. 4.) آتالر سوزینی طوتمیان بیابانه آتیلور . "He who pays no heed to the words of his elders, mounts a wild (unbroken) horse"="One must regard the advice of those older than one's self." (Rather, "He who does not observe the 'sayings of the fathers' [i.e. proverbial wisdom] is cast out into the wilderness [i.e. is discarded and discredited].")

(p. 5.) اتش دوشدیگی یری یاقار . "Fire burns the place in which it has fallen"="There is a limit to every calamity." (Rather, "He who is mischievous in his nature hurts all with whom he comes in contact.")

(p. 5.) آتشه اورسگ توتونی چیقماز . "If you throw him into the fire, no smoke will come out"="He never complains, whatever the trouble may be." (Rather, "He will never divulge a secret or betray a confidence, however much he may be tempted or pressed to do so.")

(p. 69.) امامه اسقاط دگسون اولو نصل گدرسه گتسون . "If defilement (ceremonial) strike the Imam, let the dead person go as he would go." (*Isqāt* means the Imam's fee, e.g. for conducting the burial service, and the proverb means, "So long as the Imam gets his fee, the dead man may go as he will," i.e., provided the Imam be paid, he cares not what happens to the dead man.)

E. G. B.

CUNEIFORM TEXTS FROM BABYLONIAN TABLETS, ETC., IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. Parts III–VI; 199 plates. (Printed by order of the Trustees, 1898.)

This important collection of texts will doubtless be warmly welcomed by Assyriologists, for it is a great addition to the number of published inscriptions referring to the second and third millenniums before Christ. There are texts of an early ruler of Kiš, of Bur-Sin, king of Ur (Mugheir), of Dungi, king of the same place, and many tablets of the nature of contracts, etc., dated in the reigns of Gamil-Sin, Bur-Sin, and Ine-Sin, all these being in Part III.

Part IV has no less than 124 inscriptions, mostly of the time of the dynasty to which Ḫammurabi or Amraphel belongs, and will, no doubt, attract, on that account, the attention of students. The tablets in this portion are mostly of the nature of contracts, and are dated in the reigns of Sumu-abi, Sumula-ila,[1] Zabum, Abil-Sin, Sin-mubaliṭ, Ḫammurabi, Samsu-iluna, Abēsu', Ammi-ditana (? -ṭitana), Ammi-zaduga, and Samsu-ditana (? -ṭitana). There are likewise several without dates, among them being tablets relating to prayers, incantations, and astrology; and several belonging to the reigns of the later Babylonian and Persian kings.

It is noteworthy that one of the texts, Bu. 88–5–12, 5, a letter, contains several interesting West-Semitic names: Zimrêdda (Zimrê-idda, Zimri-êdda,[2]), Zimri-ḫammu, Zimri-ḫanata the Amorite, Sumu-Dagan, Yašdi-ḫammu, etc. Another, dated in the sixth year of Alexander, and referring to a gift to "my lord and lady" (or "Bel and my lady"), has two lines of Aramaic, one of which seems to show that

[1] Bu. 91–5–9, 318 gives the usual oath in the contract as follows: "They have invoked the spirit of Šamaš and Immeru^{m}, the spirit of Merodach and Sumula-ila," showing the period to which we must assign the former (Immeru^{m}), though we have no clue to his position with regard to the recognized ruler. Meissner seems to regard him as a usurper.

[2] It is this which occurs so frequently in the Tel-el-Amarna tablets as the name of two rulers—one of Lachish and the other of Sidon.

the name of the well-known temple Ê-sagila was, at that time, pronounced Yê-sangil (ייסנגל).

Part V has, besides further texts of Gamil-Sin, Bur-Sin, and Dungi, inscriptions of En-anna-du, viceroy of Lagaš, and of his son, Entena or Entemena, being dedications to the god Êgirsu. In this part there is also a text of a king of Mair, named . . . . -Samas (?). The lists of archaic characters from the royal library at Nineveh, published in this part, will, it is thought, prove to be of value for the purpose of comparison with the many archaic texts published in this and other parts of the work.

Part VI has eighty-one texts, mostly of the dynasty to which Ḫammurabi belongs. The greater part of these are contracts, letters, etc., similar to the bulk of the tablets published in Parts II and IV. With regard to these tablets, it is worthy of note that some of them show signs (like that numbered Bu. 91–5–9, 270) of having been cancelled.

Of exceedingly great importance, however, is the tablet numbered Bu. 91–5–9, 284, which gives a list of the colophon-dates for the years of the reigns of Su-abu (Sumu-abu), Sumula-ila, Zabum, Abil-Sin, Sin-mubaliṭ, Ḫammurabi, and Samsu-iluna. Unfortunately, this text is not in a very good state of preservation, but it contains a great deal of very valuable information, and, in the lengths of the reigns of the kings mentioned, differs, sometimes considerably, from the indications of the chronological lists. It would probably be going too far at present to say, on the authority of this text, that the chronological lists are wrong, as the reigns of temporary rulers, usurpers, and others, are probably included in those of the legitimate kings. In any case, the text here referred to will be of great importance, as, in all probability, it indicates the real lengths of the reigns given.

Another valuable text is inscribed on a rectangular object of baked clay, unfortunately somewhat mutilated in places. It gives lists of stones (or stone objects), plants, vegetables

or plantations where they are grown, fish, birds, etc., in about 500 lines of writing.

Those who are inclined rather for such things as augury and its kindred superstitions, however, will turn with interest to the curious liver-shaped object to which two plates and a part of a third, in Part VI, are devoted. Similar objects have been found in Italy, but they are of comparatively late date, and one is certainly of Etruscan workmanship—a fact that is of special interest in connection with this remarkable Babylonian object. Unfortunately, it is impossible to do much more than just mention this curious tablet here, as it will require careful study and examination. All that can be said about it at present is, that although it resembles closely in form the so-called *templa* found at Piacenza and elsewhere, the inscription, being much fuller, must differ greatly, as does the general arrangement of the spaces into which it is divided, and their number. There will probably be found, however, many points in common between the ancient Babylonian and the Etruscan ideas concerning divination by means of this object, and it may be noted that the lower or "eastern" part, which was regarded as the point whence light went forth, is spoken of, in the Babylonian *templum*, in the following short inscription: "The king of the high place (?) of the house of the gods shall cause him to enter the palace, and he shall see the sun," a phrase that would mean, according to Deeke's indications, that this section of the liver, if in a propitious condition, indicated that the child expected would see the light, the enterprise about to be embarked upon would turn out well, etc. Deeke, in his monographs upon the Etruscan *templum* in the shape of a liver (*Etruskische Forschungen und Studien*, Heft ii, 1882, p. 65 ff.), gives some interesting details of the geographical signification—more or less mythical and imaginary—of the object of which he writes so learnedly.

T. G. Pinches.

EN CAPPODOCE. NOTES DE VOYAGE. Par ALFRED BOISSIER. (Genève: Rey et Malavallon, Imprimeurs, 1897.)

This elegantly-printed little book is, in reality, a paper read by the author before the *Société de Géographie de Genève*, in March, 1895, and serves as an excellent description of the many very successful pictures given therein. The journey which he describes is one that he made in the preceding summer with M. Chantre, of the Museum of Lyon, and his wife, on which occasion the French savant made some very interesting discoveries of Hittite and other remains. Among the views those of Caesarea may be noted, the Seleucidaean gateway there being a sufficiently striking object, though one naturally asks oneself if its tapering form be real or due to the defective lens used by the photographer. There are good pictures of the so-called Hittite bas-reliefs of Iasili-Kaia, and the author refers, from time to time, to the antiquities that he and his companions came across, though, being a record of travel only, he does not enter into any details. The little work does credit alike to author and printer.

T. G. PINCHES.

REPRESENTATIVE INDIANS. By G. PARAMASWARAN PILLAI. 8vo, pp. xxi and 319. (London: Routledge, 1897.)

This is a series of short lives of thirty-six distinguished Indians, all of whom lived and worked in the nineteenth century, and all of whom have now passed away. Five of them were known as able administrators, three chiefly as philanthropists, four as jurists, nine as scholars, eleven as religious, social, or political leaders and reformers, two as journalists, and two as organizers of industry.

As only a few pages are devoted to each short life, there is no space for controversy or discussion, and no attempt at critical judgment. The facts of the public life of each of the chosen representatives are stated clearly and well; and the eulogies pronounced on them by public men or journalists are given to justify the choice that has been made.

Members of this Society will be glad to have such records of the work of the distinguished Indian scholars whose names are so familiar to them; and they will peruse with especial interest the lives of Bhau Daji, Kashinath Trimbak Telang, and Rajendra Lal Mitra. Unfortunately, Bhagwanlal Indraji does not appear in the list, and it would be easy to mention the names of other scholars and thinkers who are not mentioned. But the list as chosen is of considerable value as showing how many of the Indians have been able to live up to a high ideal, and do important work for the benefit of the community among which their lot was cast.

BUDDHISTISCHE STUDIEN, VON ALBERT GRÜNWEDEL. 4to. (Berlin: Reimer, 1897.)

This handsome volume is a description by the well-known writer on Indian Art of a number of curious glazed tiles from the Mangala Cheti Dāgaba at Pagan, in Burma. These were inserted in the friezè of the lower terrace of the dāgaba, and are almost all of them illustrations of Jātaka stories. Their probable date is about the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. Underneath each picture is an inscription in the square Pali of Burma, so well known from the numerous Kammavācā MSS., and used no doubt, at that time, for ordinary MSS. also. These inscriptions give the title of the Jātaka in Pāli, the name of the character of the story identified with the Buddha (this in Burmese), and lastly the number of the Jātaka in Burmese figures. These numbers agree with the numbers in Fausböll's edition of the Pāli text of the Jātakas. The author reproduces the illustrations, fifty-five in number, and gives illustrations from other sources which throw light upon them, and under each illustration he tells the story also.

The collection, belonging to the Berlin "Museum für Völkerkunde," is particularly valuable on account of the inscriptions referred to above, which render it possible to determine, in most cases without doubt, the objects the artist has intended to portray. When we recollect how many of

the bas-reliefs at Bharhut and Boro Bodor remain still unidentified, the advantage of this series becomes apparent. The evidence afforded by such figures of the manners and customs of the time when they were made, and of the beliefs of the people who made them, is of the utmost value. But that value is proportionate to the certainty with which we can define what it was the intention of the artist to represent.

It is almost needless to say that the subject has been well and carefully worked out. The name of the author is a sufficient guarantee for that; and both the author and the authorities of the Museum are to be congratulated on this important contribution to the social history of India.

We take this opportunity of again expressing the hope that Dr. Grünwedel's previous work, the "Buddhistische Kunst," will before long appear in an English translation. It ought to be in the hands of all antiquarians in India. And we would also venture to hope that the familiarity with the methods of the native artist, of which this monograph gives proof, may enable the author to decipher the subject of some at least of the hundreds of bas-reliefs at Boro Bodor as yet unidentified, and to summarize the conclusions which can be drawn from them as to the social condition and folklore beliefs of the time.

L'ABRÉGÉ DES MERVEILLES, TRADUIT DE L'ARABE. Par le Bon CARRA DE VAUX. 8vo, pp. xxxvi + 413. (Paris: Klincksseck, 1898.)

The love for the miraculous and remarkable is nowhere more clearly displayed than in that literature to which we owe the delightful "Arabian Nights." From the very beginning of Islam has she been nurtured in legends and tales, and it has grown in the subsequent period, with the extension of knowledge, and with the influence that various ancient literatures had upon the new Arabic. There is scarcely any book of chronicles written in Arabic, and, above all, no cosmography or geography, in which such miraculous tales and sailor's yarns should not abound. One

has only to mention Kazvini and Dimishqi to remember a complete storehouse of ancient legends and fables. In the present book, ascribed in turns to Mas'udi and to Ibrahim ibn Va-if-Shah, but, at any rate, not later than the tenth century, we have a similar collection, beginning with the Creation, containing the primitive history of the children of Adam and their dispersion; then a very elaborate mythical history of Egypt down to the time of the Pharaoh of Moses. An excellent Index concludes this careful translation, to which Baron de Vaux has added references to other Arabic writers and an admirable Introduction. In this he discusses the wider questions suggested by the book, the relation in which it stands to other Arabic works of the same nature. He tries to find the historical substratum for the later fictions, the germs of truth covered by the growth of legend.

We have here, no doubt, an eminent specimen of ancient folklore in the best sense. It would be an important advance in this science, and in the history of Arabic literature, if anyone would undertake to collect all the parallels from the Arabic scriptures and trace them back to their primitive source or sources. In this special work we can trace three distinct sources—first the older rabbinical, then astrological Babylonian or Sabaean, and lastly the most numerous incidents which are derived from Coptic sources, dealing with ancient Egypt. All these, grouped together and traced as far back as possible, would assist in writing the history of human civilization reflected through legends, and would contribute to the solution of the problem of the origin of myths and legends. We want an edition of these Arabic writers on the lines of the recent critical edition of *Solinus*, with which compilation those Eastern run on parallel lines.

Our gratitude is due to Baron de Vaux for his valuable contribution to Arabic science and to the literature of "Mirabilia."

M. G.

ABRAHAM AND HIS AGE. By the Rev. H. G. TOMKINS. (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1897.)

In this interesting little work the author brings together a mass of information concerning the Patriarch Abraham and his times that will be read by many with profit. The central figure is, of course, the father of the Jewish race, and all the information that can possibly be got together concerning him is contained in the book now under consideration. The religion, the political and social life of his time, his migrations, his struggles, and the nations with which he came into contact, all find a place in Mr. Tomkins's volume, and lead up to the final conclusion that Genesis is not mythical, but historical. Several plates of excellent pictures, with their description, give a scientific value to the volume.

The book is so full of information, and covers such a wide field (the geographical range extends from Babylonia to Egypt), that one cannot do more than touch upon a few of the matters treated of. The author accepts all the most recent discoveries, including the identification of Kudur-laġgamal or Kudur-laġgamar with Chedorlaomer, Tud-ḫula with Tidal, and Ḫammurabi, or Ammurabi, or Ammurapi (this last form is noteworthy), with Amraphel. He treats at length of Elam and its kings, the Canaanites, the Egyptians, the Hykṣos, etc., and discusses the position of the Cities of the Plain, bringing together all the latest opinions thereon. Some of the references to and quotations of the translations of Assyrian tablets published several years ago, and now rather out of date, might have been omitted with advantage, but this defect the reader can put up with in consideration of the large amount of new and useful material brought together.

SUPPLEMENT ZU DEN ASSYRISCHEN WÖRTERBÜCHERN, von BRUNO MEISSNER. (Leiden, 1898.)

This is a welcome addition to Delitzsch's *Handwörterbuch* and Muss-Arnolt's (still incomplete) *Assyrian Dictionary*,

bringing together much useful material. Dr. Meissner is well known as one of the acutest of Assyriologists, and this new contribution of his, as was to be expected, not only brings extra words and examples, but also, in some cases, corrects the work of Delitzsch. Thus, *uš'id* does not mean, according to Meissner, 'he strengthened,' but 'he asked for a decision,' nor does *ûru* mean, as Delitzsch puts forward, 'enclosure,' but, as everybody formerly translated, 'beam'; and examples of this kind might be multiplied. Although Meissner has filled several gaps in the Assyrian lexicon by his supplement, it will undoubtedly require many such supplements before anything like finality in this work is reached. Among the words and meanings to be added, for example, are *passu* and *pussusu*, names of plants; *bibinakku*, a bird regarded as being of the raven kind; *šîndu*, probably not 'spot,' but certainly 'mark,' e.g. on cattle, to distinguish them from those of other cattle-owners; *tikdu* and *ṭuru*, portions of the harness of an ass; *gišuru*, 'bridge'; **sukkutu*, 'to be silent' = סָכַת, سكت; *engisû*, a stone, or an object of stone; *zibû*, *runê*, and *tîatum*, names of herbs or garden-plants; *ḫisiltu*, 'weaned'; *bugudati*, 'clothes' (?); *pipî*, 'chattering' (?); *libinu*, 'bricklayer' or 'brickmaker'; etc., etc. The great work, however, has still to be done, for a time will come when all the various dictionaries and supplements will have to be united in one, and published with the cuneiform characters and quotations from the inscriptions in full.

T. G. Pinches.

That indefatigable Assyriologist, Professor Oppert, in the *Comptes Rendus* of the French *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Sept.–Oct., 1897, publishes two papers, one entitled *Un dieu commerçant* and the other *Une Dynastie d'Usurpateurs commerçants*. The former refers to the proceedings of the priests of the temple of the sun at Sippara, the seat of the worship of the god Šamaš, where all sorts of commercial transactions seem to have been carried on

for the benefit of the temple and the priests who served therein. The dynasty of mercantile usurpers is that to which Neriglissar, who mounted the throne of Babylon after he had murdered Evil-Merodach, his brother-in-law, belonged. Professor Oppert here shows that he has, as usual, the chronology of the Babylonian kings at his finger-ends. Neriglissar's son and successor, Lâbâši-Marduk, the Laborosoarchodos of the Greeks, who succeeded him, reigned, not nine months, as Josephus says, but one month only, "in which short lapse of time he had succeeded in leaving a name detested by posterity." Dr. Oppert also makes some interesting remarks upon the personality and reign of Bel-šum-iškun, father of Neriglissar, a ruler about whom further information will probably be found later on.

In the *Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie*, 1898, Dr. Lehmann publishes a very interesting little note upon the word *Serapis*, which he finds to be identical with the Babylonian *šar apsî*, 'king of the abyss'; one of the names of the god Aa (also read Ae, Ea, and Ia), identified with Yau or Jah, and the Aos of Damascius. It is a very suggestive paper, which will probably lead to further discussion.

One of the latest expressions of opinion concerning the stele mentioning the Israelites discovered by Professor Flinders Petrie at Thebes, is that of Professor Naville in the *Recueil des Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, vol. xx. The learned Professor there very carefully examines the passage where the name occurs, and the conclusion to which he comes is, that the reference to the Israelites therein does not, in reality, in any way conflict with the received historical facts as made known to us by the book of Exodus, etc. His translation of the lines referring to the state of affairs in Palestine is as follows:—

"Kheta is in peace, Canaan is captive of all the misfortunes, (for) Askalon has been led away, taken by

Gezer; Iamnia exists no longer; Israel is annihilated, he has no seed; Syria is like the widows of Egypt. All the countries without exception are at peace, for whoever aroused himself was chastised by King Menephtah."

At the time of this king, the author says, Palestine was in a state analogous to that depicted to us by the letters of Tel-el-Amarna, the cities and kingdoms of which it was composed quarrelling and incessantly at war with each other. The Israelites had not yet reached the land of Canaan, but they were on their way thither. Being still in the desert, the Egyptians regarded them as lost. For all they knew, they had perished every one, and might therefore be regarded as annihilated, and no longer possessing either posterity or name in the earth.

T. G. PINCHES.

Dr. G. H. DALMAN. ARAMÄISCH-NEUHEBRÄISCHES WÖRTERBUCH ZU TARGUM, TALMUD, UND MIDRASCH. I. MIT LEXICON DER ABBREVIATUREN, von G. H. HAENDLER. 8vo; pp. xii + 180 + 129. (Frankfurt: M. J. Kauffmann, 1897. 12*s.*)

The indefatigable author of the Aramaic Grammar places scholars of that language under a special debt by the publication of the present work, of which the above is the first volume. The great want felt by all those who study the rabbinical literature is to have a handy, reliable, short, and yet as complete a Dictionary as possible. All that exists hitherto, inclusive of Jastrow's great work, is much too elaborate, and contains *minutiae*, and is sometimes much too full to serve that purpose. These works partake more or less of the character of encyclopaedias, and are intended to further the philological and historical investigations of scholars who have passed beyond the stage of elementary knowledge. In the absence of other more handy and less complicated works, those who commenced the study of this language had to have recourse to those vast compilations. The present Dictionary serves now admirably the purpose of

the alumni. The language is given in its primitive form, as verb or noun, every word is short but sufficiently clearly translated into German, the various meanings are indicated by numbers that are prefixed, and in those occasions where reference to the Biblical Texts was indispensable it is forthcoming in the briefest possible manner. Each word is carefully vocalized. For those words that occur in the Aramaic paraphrases of the Bible, and are extant in MSS. from Yemen, the vocalization of these MSS. is given, except in those rare instances where Professor Dalman follows his own canon. We have throughout a faithful guide and a true interpreter of the language used in what I would like to call the Talmudic Literature. It embraces not merely the Targumim to the Bible, but all the other Halachic and Aggadic works that belong to the first five or six centuries of the Common Era. Many an improvement and enrichment will, however, be necessary to make this Dictionary the Dictionary of the New Hebrew Language; the whole language of the Liturgy is as yet not included, and technical as well as philosophical and scientific expressions which abound in the later literature are completely wanting. Professor Dalman has limited himself wisely to the first-mentioned portion of Hebrew literature. In a masterly way he sketches the problems which await solution in the highly instructive Introduction. To this first half a supplement has been added containing as complete a list as the compiler could make of the abbreviations which abound in the Hebrew literature. To say that it is complete would be absurd, but the Rev. G. H. Haendler deserves the best thanks for this addition, valuable as far as it goes.

I can only wish a speedy termination to a book which is sure to prove of great usefulness and of practical as well as scientific value to the student of New Hebrew and Aramaic.

M. G.

THE HARṢA-CARITA OF BĀṆA. Translated by E. B. COWELL and F. W. THOMAS. (Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, II.)

The great historical importance of Bāṇa's Story of Harṣa has long been recognized, and the admirable use made of it by Professor FitzEdward Hall in his edition of Subandhu's Vāsavadattā, and by Professor Peterson in the preface to his edition of Bāṇa's Kādambarī, had the result of creating a general desire among students of Indian history and antiquities to possess the whole work in a form admitting of easy reference. The text has indeed been available since 1879, when the Kashmir edition was published; but it is not everyone who has sufficient leisure to wade through page after page of difficult romantic Sanskrit in search of the grains of historical fact which lie hidden away among the heaps of overwhelming verbosity. It may be said, then, that the present translation by Professor Cowell and Mr. Thomas—a translation admirable alike in its style and in its fidelity to the original—makes the work in its entirety generally accessible for the first time. No one who approaches the original with the aid of this translation can fail to be impressed with the great ability shown in dealing with the numerous difficulties which are due to the unsettled state of the text, and with the great learning often so modestly concealed in the illustrative notes.

In an excellent preface, the authors give an account of the Harṣa-carita in its relation to other authorities for the same period of Indian history—the writings of the Chinese Buddhist traveller Hiuen Thsang, and the various inscriptions of Harṣa himself and his contemporaries—and summarize the results which may be regarded as certain. It is quite possible that a minute comparison of the book with the inscriptions might lead to further gains; but it must suffice, within the limits of this notice, to draw attention to a few only of the most evident deductions.

The identity of the Nāgasena, mentioned in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta, about whom Mr. Vincent Smith, in his painstaking examination of the evidence afforded by this inscription (*Journal*, 1897, p. 863), was able to give no information, seems to be established beyond doubt by a passage in the book (*Trans.*, p. 192), which speaks of a Nāgasena, heir to the Nāga house in Padmāvatī. Nāgasena, therefore, belongs to the same dynasty as Gaṇapatināga, who is mentioned together with him in the inscription, and whose coins are well known (Bühler's Grundriss: *Indian Coins*, § 101, pl. v, 2). It is interesting to note that what is now proved by the Harṣa-carita seems to have been surmised not only by Mr. Fleet (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 328), but also by Professor FitzEdward Hall in a note to Wilson's translation of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa (iv, p. 217). Whether this discovery adds any weight to my conjecture, that the nine kings mentioned together in the same passage in the inscription may all have been Nāgas, remains to be seen (*Journal*, 1897, p. 421).

In the same passage of the Harṣa-carita, we have the mention also of a certain Śrutavarman of Śrāvastī. Is it possible to attribute to him a class of coins bearing the inscription *śruta*—a reading which was first suggested to me by M. Edmond Drouin for some unpublished copper coins of late Gupta fabric, and which, as I have since seen, must be substituted for the suggested *Ghuta* or *Ṣuta* on a specimen of different fabric published by the late General Sir A. Cunningham (*Coins of Mediaeval India*, p. 52, pl. vi, 1)? The evidence in support of the proposed identification is as follows:—This passage in the Harṣa-carita is a catalogue of "disasters due to mistaken carelessness," and, as the translators point out in their note, it "refers to a curious mass of unknown legendary history." The instances quoted seem to proceed from the more recent to the more ancient, and, as Śrutavarman comes next to Nāgasena, it is probable that they were not separated by any great interval of time. Now, the coin published by Sir A. Cunningham bears a great resemblance in type and fabric to others (e.g., Nos. 3, 5, and 6

of the same plate) on which the inscription *Kota* occurs, and which I would attribute to the Kota family also mentioned in the Allahabad inscription of Samudra. Mr. C. J. Rodgers, who first noticed these coins in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Lahore Museum*, and to whom the reading *Kota* is primarily due, reasoning from the fact that most of his specimens had actually been found at Kangra Koṭ, supposed this inscription to denote the name of the place where the coins were struck. I am inclined to think, however, that the place-name would have been spelt *Koṭa*, with the lingual *ṭa*; and for this and other reasons, which I hope to set forth at length in a paper devoted to these coins, I consider their attribution to the *Kota-kula* to be far more probable. The arguments which tend to connect the *Kota* coins with the *Kota-kula* of the Allahabad inscription also seem to make possible the attribution of the *Śruta* coins to the *Śrutavarman* of the Harsa-carita.

It is to be inferred from the mention of the Hūṇas in three passages (*Trans.*, pp. 101, 132, and 165) that they retained some of their power at least as late as the beginning of the seventh century A.D. From the silence of other records, writers have been too apt to conclude that they ceased to play any part in Indian politics after their great defeat at the battle of Korur *c.* 544 A.D.

On pp. 168, 275, the translators point out that the word for "moon" (*śaśāṅka*) is designedly used as being also the name of the Gauḍa king against whom Rājyavardhana was proceeding. It may be added that the simile in the same passage—"like the pointed hump of Śiva's tame bull"—may also have been suggested by Śaśāṅka's emblem, Śiva seated on his bull, as seen on his coins (*Indian Coins*, pl. iv, 15). The allusion to the use of *svāmi* as a distinctive title of Kārttikeya (p. 118) is illustrated by the inscription on a coin attributed to the Yaudheyas, on which his effigy appears (*Indian Coins*, pl. iii, 15); and it is interesting to note that the description of Harṣa's seal "with a bull for its emblem" (p. 198) actually applies to the one found at Sonpat (Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pl. xxxii).

Parallels such as these might probably be multiplied indefinitely. Enough has been said to show the value of this book to all who care for Indian literature or antiquities, and, above all, to those whom work or pleasure leads to wander through the mazes of Indian chronology.

E. J. Rapson.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(January, February, March, 1898.)

I. General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society.

January 11, 1898.—Lord Reay (President) in the Chair.
It was announced that—

Major-General Toker, C.B., and
Baron Alan Danvers, M.I.C.E.,

had been elected members of the Society.

The Secretary, in the unavoidable absence of the author, read a paper by Professor A. A. Macdonell on "The Origin and Early History of Chess." The paper was published in the January Journal.

A discussion followed, in which Dr. Gaster, Mr. R. C. Dutt, Mr. Swinton, Mr. Raynbird, and Mr. Leon took part.

February 8.—A. N. Wollaston, Esq., C.I.E., in the Chair.
It was announced that—

Captain T. Wolseley Haig, I.S.C., and
Mr. Dahyabhai Pitambaradasa Derasāri

had been elected members of the Society.

A paper by Mr. T. Watters was read on "The Eighteen Lohan of Chinese Buddhist Temples." Models of the eighteen figures were placed on the table.

A discussion followed, in which Professor Douglas, the Secretary, and others took part. The paper appears in the current number.

March 8.—Lord Reay (President) in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Mr. F. J. Horniman, M.P.,
Mr. H. Beauchamp,
Mr. G. W. Thatcher,
M. Alexis de Nartzoff,
The Rev. F. F. Irving,

had been elected members of the Society.

Professor E. Denison Ross read a paper on "Some Recent Contributions to the Study of 'Omar Khayyam."

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Whinfield, Dr. Gaster, Mr. E. Heron-Allen, Mr. Maulava, Mr. A. G. Ellis, and Mr. Bouverie-Pusey took part. The paper appears in the current number.

II. Contents of Foreign Oriental Journals.

I. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Band li, Heft 4.

Belck (W.). Hanigalbat und Melitene.

Brooks (E. W.). A Syriac Chronicle of the Year 846.

Pischel (R.). Abhārā.

Lidzbarski (M.). Ein Exposé der Jesîden.

Jacobi (H.). Ein Beitrag zur Rāmāyaṇakritik.

König (E.). Principien und Resultate der semitischen Grammatik.

Francke (H.). Bemerkungen zu Jäschke's tibetischen Bibelübersetzung.

Brockelmann (C.). Etymologische Miscellen.

Weissbach (F. H.). Zur Chronologie des Kambyses.

Schroeder (L. v.). Ein neuentdecktes Ṛcaka der Kaṭha-Schule.

Nöldeke (Th.). Judenpersisch.

Socin (A.). Das Projekt einer muhammedanischen Encyklopädie.

Zenner (J. K.). Zur syrischen Lexikographie.

Fraenkel (S.). Bemerkungen zu den jüdisch-persischen Glossen zum Buche Samuel.

Grimme (H.). Abriss der biblisch-hebräischen Metrik.

Nestle (E.). Zu den Codices Sinaitici.

Alberts (O.). Zur Text-kritik des Kudatku Bilik.

II. Vienna Oriental Journal. Vol. xi, No. 4.

Leumann (E.). A list of the Strassburg Collection of Digambara Manuscripts.

Steinschneider (M.). Heilmittelnamen der Araber.

De Harlez (C.). Le livre de diamant clair, lumineux faisant passer à l'autre vie. Traduction du texte mandchou.

Bittner (M.). Türkische Volkslieder. Nach Aufzeichnungen von Schahen Efendi Alan.

III. Journal Asiatique. Série 9, Tome x, No. 3.

Motylinski (A. C. de). Dialogue et textes en berbère de Djerba.

Lambert (Mayer). De l'accent en arabe.

——— Une inscription phénicienne à Avignon.

Berger (P.). Note sur le même sujet.

Schwab (M.). Transcription de mots grecs et latins en hébreu aux premiers siècles de J. C.

Devéria (G.). Musulmans et Manichéens chinois.

III. Notes and News.

Objects of the Society.—The first clause of the Rules of the Society states that it "is instituted for the purpose of investigating the Arts, the History, and the Literature of Asia; and of facilitating intercourse with Eastern peoples by an accurate interpretation of their customs, their feelings, and their beliefs."

This work—as full of practical importance as it is of intellectual interest—is constantly hampered at every turn by the want of funds.

The Society's Journal, which used to appear sporadically, at intervals sometimes of more than a year, is now issued regularly every quarter. But its size, and the number, therefore, of the subjects which it can treat, is limited by the Society's income; and no further improvements are possible without an increased revenue.

The important series of translations of Eastern books, revived under the name of the "Oriental Translation Fund, New Series," is progressing (thanks to the generosity of one or two individuals). But the proportion of work done to that left undone is still insignificant, owing solely to the want of funds.

An important new series of works dealing with the results to be drawn from such translations, and to be called "Asiatic Studies"—a series without which the full benefit of the translations cannot be made generally available—is still only a hope, and not an accomplished fact—again from want of funds.

Papers of interest, necessarily excluded from our present Journal on account of length, would appear in such a series. And there also attention could be paid to the important results of Egyptological and Assyriological studies, and to all the immense literature of the Far East. The importance of these branches of Asiatic study is beyond question. But the systematic pursuit, in this Society, of such studies is also stopped for want of funds.

Application having been made for a form of words by which sums of money could be left to the Society for the carrying out of these and similar objects, the following clause has been drawn up:—

FORM OF BEQUEST.

I give and bequeath to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, of 22, Albemarle Street, London, the sum of £ [1] to be applied at the discretion of the Council for

[1] If it be necessary to provide out of the same sum for any person dependent on the testator the following words must be here inserted: "the annual income thereof to be paid during his (or her) life to and after his (or her) decease the said sum . . . ."

the time being of the said Society, for the purpose of carrying out any of the objects specified in Clause 1 of the Rules of the Society, or otherwise aiding and extending the work in such manner as the Council shall think fit. The said sum shall be paid out of such part of my Estate as shall be legally applicable for this purpose, and the receipt of the Treasurer of the Society shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

GOLD MEDAL.—In addition to the sum of £82 13*s.* 6*d.* already announced, the following further donations have been received:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Mons. A. Barth	1	0	0
Mr. Devchand Uttamchand	1	1	0
Captain Gerini	1	1	0
Mr. E. J. W. Gibb	1	1	0
Mr. R. Lilley	1	0	0
Professor D. Margoliouth (further donation) ...	10	0	0
Mr. J. G. Scott	2	2	0
	£17	5	0

BIRDPUR RUINS.—Another discovery, which may prove to be of great interest to students of Buddhist history, has been made within the last few days on the Birdpur estate, Basti district. A stupa situated at the twentieth mile on the Uska Nepal Road has been excavated, and after digging down 18 feet of solid brickwork set in clay, a huge stone chest 4 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 8 in. by 2 ft. 1½ in. was unearthed. The lid was broken in four pieces, and the box was completely closed and embedded in solid brickwork; it was in perfect preservation, and measured inside 36 in. by 18½ in. by 22¾ in. On removing the lid the following articles were revealed:—two small marble vases, with lids, eight inches high and four and a half inches in diameter; one ordinary lota-shaped marble vessel; one small round marble box; and one crystal bowl with cover, the handle of which was a hollow fish filled with gold. All these vessels contained ornaments and relics, consisting of pearls, gold leaf stars, gold leaf stamped with figures, gold, and gold ornaments, stars and other shapes cut in garnets,

amethyst, topaz, cornelian, etc. They also contained crystals and beads and quantities of small bones in good preservation. No coins were found, and the only inscription was round the lid of one of the bowls, the lettering being the same as that on the Lumbani Garden pillar commemorating the birth-place of Buddha. It seems, from a cursory rendering of this inscription by qualified experts, that these ornaments and relics may have belonged to Buddha himself.—*Pioneer.* [For the inscription, see Hofrath Dr. Bühler's letter in this month's correspondence.]

Dr. Stein in Buner.—The *Pioneer* has the following notice:—"Though the short duration of the operations in Buner had restricted very much the range of archaeological exploration, Dr. Stein was able to trace and survey a considerable number of ancient sites and structures in those parts of the country which had temporarily become accessible. Rock-cut sculpture of early date, representing Hindu deities, were found in two localities at the foot of spurs descending from Mount Ilm. They show that the Buddhist faith, which had, according to historical evidence, been prevalent in these regions for a long period previous to the Muhammadan conquest, was here, as elsewhere in India, closely associated with all popular features of the Hindu religious system. In connection herewith it is perhaps of interest to note that inquiries have shown Mount Ilm to be still a popular place of pilgrimage for the Hindus resident in Buner and Swat. The *Tirthas* visited by the pilgrims are situated close to the top of this fine mountain, which dominates the landscape in northern Buner. Unfortunately they were too far to be reached within the available time from the nearest camps of the 1st Brigade at Juwar and Padshah. Remains of stupa mounds were found not far from the latter place and at Girarai. But the more numerous and important ruins of this kind are situated in the main valley of Buner, that of the Barandu River. From Bampokha down to Bajkatta in the east a series of such ruins was traced, which can be

attributed with great probability to Buddhist monasteries. Conspicuous among them are the remains of a great stupa and attached sangharama a short distance below Tursak, the chief place of modern Buner. A short trial excavation conducted here with the assistance of a small party of sappers brought to light a corner of the stucco-ornamented stupa-base, and showed the great depth to which the original level of the chapel court had been covered up by the masses of débris. Weeks of work would be required for the proper clearing of this and similar sites. That Tursak was an important place also in old times, is made evident by the numerous ruins of fortified dwelling-places close to it on the heights of the Jaffar Hill. Another place of importance for the ancient topography of Buner is undoubtedly the site of the present Sunigram. This village, which bears an old Hindu name, occupies a conspicuous position on the Barandu River, where it enters the broad open portion of the valley known as Panjpau. To the south of the village stands a high mound of solid masonry which belonged to a stupa of at least 150 feet diameter. On a rocky ridge above the village and overlooking the valley are the comparatively well-preserved ruins of a large monastery, built on walled-up terraces of great extent. The walls and vaulted roofs of the several halls are of remarkably strong construction, and have stood the test of time and other destructive agencies better than any other old buildings examined in Buner. Unfortunately treasure-seekers seem to have been at work here too. The stupa in front of the monastery has been dug into long ago, evidently for the sake of the relics deposited below it. This has also been the fate of the fine stupa which stands a short distance to the east of Sunigram, near the village of Takhtaband, and still reaches to a height of over 50 feet. A broad cutting has been made to the centre of this solid mass of masonry and through its whole height. It is probable that some of the ruined structures now examined for the first time are to be identified with the several sacred sites mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims at some distance

to the south of the old Swat capital, Mungali, the present Manglaur. The survey now made of them will thus help to establish with greater certainty the ancient topography of the regions once comprised in Udyana. The readiness shown by the several tribal sections in complying with the Government terms after the fight on the Tanga Pass had its advantage from an antiquarian point of view, inasmuch as it permitted Dr. Stein to visit with a small escort localities comparatively far away from the routes taken by the troops. But it is also responsible for the rapid examination of the country, which restricted with the narrowest limits the time allowed for archaeological search. Mount Mahaban, which, owing to its possible identity with Alexander's Aornos, represents an object of special interest, seemed temptingly near, yet remained entirely outside the sphere opened up by the expedition. A rapid ride down the Chamla Valley as far as Kuria made it possible at least to collect reliable information about the old ruined fortifications, known by the name of Shah Kot, which crown the summit of the mountain. Whether they were built to enclose a Buddhist shrine like that within the walls of Ranigat hill, or reach back to a still earlier period, remains uncertain."

Discovery of Early Buddhist Remains.—Major Deane has made a very interesting find. In Chapter iii of Huan Thsang's Travels he states (Julien, 1. 135; Beal, 1. 123), in his description of Udyāna, that 30 *li* from the spring of Apalāla, and north of the river Śubhavastu (= Swāt), there was on a rock a representation of the Buddha's footprints. Searching for this, Major Deane found footprints graven on a rock half a mile south of the village Tirath, on the boundary of the Swāt valley, with inscriptions beneath. Hofrath Dr. Bühler, to whom photographs have been sent, reads the Kharoṣṭhī letters of the inscription, which he would assign to the first century B.C., as *Bodhassa Śakamuṇisa padāni*, "the footprints of the Buddha Śakya-muṇi." The Chinese pilgrim mentions a house, or shed, built over the

impression of the sacred feet. There is apparently no sign of this building left.—Another old Kharoṣṭhī inscription has also been found in a spring or well about eight miles south of Attock, recording the name of the man who dug it out in the reign of Huviṣka. Hofrath Dr. Bühler has dealt with all these in a paper in the *Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Classe* at Vienna for February, 1898.

Paris International Congress of Orientalists.—The proceedings of this Congress are being pushed on, and it is expected that two volumes will be ready for distribution to the members in June, and the third at the end of this year.

Oriental Congress.—The Twelfth International Congress of Orientalists will be held in Rome from the 2nd to the 12th of October, 1899. All communications as to papers or membership should be addressed to Le Comte A. de Gubernatis, Via San Martino al Macao 11, Rome, or Le Comte Francesco Pullé, Via Giordani 7, Florence.

Angaṇa again.

Mr. Beames writes to say that *angan*, or some slightly modified form of it, is now used in all the modern Aryan vernaculars of India for the space inside the four sides of the square round which the native houses are usually built. Other terms are also in use, such as *uṭhān* in Bengali and *sahan* among Muhammadans, etc. But the word *angan* in this sense is familiar from Calcutta to Peshawar. As to the meaning, he would venture to suggest that as the Sanskrit root *ang* means 'to walk about, or roam,' *angana* might well mean in the primary, concrete, sense 'a place to walk in'; and in the secondary, ethical, sense 'straying (from the right path), erring.' *Anangana*, 'unerring,' would be an appropriate epithet for an Arahat. In the words from the Candrapradīpa Sūtra *samādhiṃ labhati niraṅgaṇaṃ* would then mean 'he attains undisturbed (i.e. not wandering) meditation.'

I am very glad my few remarks have attracted the attention of so distinguished a scholar, and I do not think that there is much, if any, difference between us. Courtyard conveys in England the idea of a small space, enclosed (probably by walls), and paved. When we read, in an author of the fifth century A.D., of a king on the march with his army pitching his camp—that is, for the whole army—in an *aṅgaṇa*, it is clear that the word cannot possibly have meant 'courtyard' at that time. When we read of a man seeking a secluded spot to repeat a magic formula, which he is keenly anxious no one should hear, and choosing for that purpose an *aṅgaṇa*, and an *aṅgaṇa* in a forest, it is equally clear that, when the author of that passage wrote, the word could not have had the sense which *angan* now has in the vernaculars of India. And I venture to think that 'courtyard' is by no means a happy rendering of *aṅgan*, or its modifications, even in the modern sense.

But is the modern *angan* a direct descendant of *aṅgaṇa*? In all the old texts we have the cerebral *ṇ*, not the dental *n*. It is true that the texts are in an old Prakrit, and some Prakrits frequently change the dental to cerebral. But the Pāli does so only in certain well-known cases, of which the present is not one. We have now quite enough Pāli texts to enable us to speak with certainty on the point, and the immense number of derivatives in *-ana* have all retained the dental. The form is therefore so familiar in Pāli that it is most difficult to explain how, if the word had once ended in *-ana*, it could have been changed, against all analogy, to *-aṇa*; and I think we must conclude that, if the two words are related, the original form was *aṅgaṇa*, not *aṅgana*, and in any case that the word I was discussing was so spelt.

There is no mention, or suggestion, in any of the old passages where the word occurs, either of a group of one-storied buildings round an open square space, or of any paving, or of smearing with cow-dung. Nor is *any* passage known to me in the old texts where the common modern

form of an Indian peasant's dwelling must be inferred as having been common also in those times. When did that form of dwelling, ranged round a square or oblong space, become prevalent? Whenever it did the occupiers might very naturally have applied to the space *inside* the word they had previously used for the space outside. And that *may* be the connection between the ancient *aŋgaṇa* and the modern *angan* or its modifications. But there may be no connection at all; and in any case the derivation of *aŋgaṇa* seems to me still quite uncertain.

RH. D.

IV. ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

Presented by T. Watters, Esq.

Le père Etienne Zi. Pratique des examens littéraires en Chine. 8vo. *Chang-Hai*, 1894.

A Collection of Dhāraṇis translated in Sanskrit, Chinese, and Korean.

A Tibetan translation of the Vajrachedika. (Peking.)

A Tibetan translation of the Saddharma-puṇḍarika. (Peking.)

Chu-t'i-hsin-Ching. The Mahāprajñaparamitāhṛidaya sūtra transcribed in various styles of Chinese writing, headed by two Sanskrit characters *mahā*. The name of each specimen of writing is given at the head, and a few particulars are added below. (Japanese.)

Siddhamāta-t'i-wên. A Sanskrit-Chinese Primer.

Siddham-san-mi-ch'ao, in seven vols. A book on the Sanskrit alphabet and its combinations. (Japan.)

Hsi-t'an-tzŭ-chi. A Siddham of the T'ang Period, in ten sections.

From the India Office.

Bhandarkar (R. G.). Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency during 1887–88–1890–91. 8vo. *Bombay*, 1897.

Archaeological Survey of India.

Cousens (H.). List of Antiquarian Remains in the Central Provinces and Berār. 4to. *Calcutta*, 1897.

Presented by the Bengal Asiatic Society.

Īśvara-kaula. Kaśmīraśabdāmṛta, a Kaśmīrī Grammar written in the Sanskrit language, edited with notes and additions by G. A. Grierson. Pt. 1, Declension. Roy. 8vo. *Calcutta*, 1897.

Bibliotheca Indica. All numbers lately published.

By the Senate of the Calcutta University.

Saraswati (Pandit P.). The Hindu Law of Endowments. (Tajore Law Lectures, 1892.) 8vo. *Calcutta*, 1897.

By the Christian Missionary Society of Madras.

Atharvaveda described, with a classified Selection of Hymns, Explanatory Notes, and Review.

By Professor Tchéraz.

Howyan (G.). Calculs relatifs à la construction d'un mur servant de barrage à un lac artificiel destiné à l'alimentation de la ville de Juiz de Fora. 8vo. *Marseille*, 1897.

——— Calendrier perpétuel.

By the Berlin Royal Library.

Schulze (A.). Die Romanischen Meermans HSS. des Sir Thomas Phillipps in der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin. 4to. *Berlin*, 1892.

Presented by Lord Crawford.

Bibliotheca Lindesiana. Hand-list of Oriental Manuscripts: Arabic, Persian, Turkish. 4to. Privately printed, 1898.

Presented by Dr. Cust.

Exposition de la Bibliothèque Nationale. (Onzième Congrès des Orientalistes, Paris, 1897.) Roy. 8vo. *Paris*, 1897.

Pratt (Rev. G.). Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language. 2nd ed. Edited by Rev. S. J. Whitmee. 8vo. *London*, 1878.

Tattam (Rev. H.). Egyptian Grammar. 2nd ed. 8vo. *London*, 1863.

Quatremère (M.). Extrait de l'histoire des Mongols de Raschid-eldin, texte persan. Pamph. 8vo. *Paris*, 1844.

Ross (Rev. J.). Korean Speech, with Grammar and Vocabulary. 8vo. *Shanghai*, 1862.

Platts (J.). Ikhuanu-ṣ-ṣafā. 8vo. *London*, 1869.

Macnaghten (W. H.). Arabian Nights in Arabic. Vol. I.

Presented by Mr. Arbuthnot.

Al-Hariri. The Assemblies, translated by the late T. Chenery and Dr. F. Steingass. Two vols. Prefaced and indexed by F. F. Arbuthnot. 8vo. *London*, 1898.

From the Authors.

Lewis (Mrs.). A Palestinian Syriac Lectionary, containing lessons from the Pentateuch, Job, Proverbs, Prophets, Acts, and Epistles, with critical Notes by Professor E. Nestle and a Glossary by Margaret D. Gibson. (Studia Sinaitica, No. 6.) 4to. *Cambridge*, 1897.

——— Some pages of the Four Gospels re-transcribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest, with a translation of the whole text. 4to. *Cambridge*, 1896.

Windisch (Professor Dr. E.). Die Altindischen Religionsurkunden und die christliche Mission. 8vo. *Leipzig*, 1897.

——— Zur Theorie der Mischsprachen und Lehnwörter. 8vo. *Leipzig*, 1897.

Rusden (G. W.). History of Australia. Three vols. 2nd ed. 8vo. *Melbourne*, 1897.

Pillai (G. P.). London and Paris through Indian Spectacles. 8vo. *Madras*, 1897.

Lopes (D.). Textes em Aljamia Portuguesa. 8vo. *Lisboa*, 1897.

Forlong (Major-General J. G. R.). Short Studies in the Science of Comparative Religions. 8vo. *London*, 1897.

Senart (É.). Le Mahāvastu texte sanscrit publié pour la première fois et accompagnés d'introductions et d'un commentaire. Tome iii. 8vo. *Paris*, 1897.

Cust (Dr. R. N.). The Eleventh International Oriental Congress. Pamphlet. 8vo. *Hertford*, 1897.

By the Publishers.

Rosen (Dr. Fritz). Modern Persian Colloquial Grammar. 8vo. *London*, 1898.

Frazer (R. W.). Literary History of India. 8vo. *London*, 1898.

Heron-Allen (E.). The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam, being a facsimile of the MS. in the Bodleian Library with a transcript into modern Persian characters, translated with an introduction and notes and a bibliography. 4to. *London*, 1898.

Sachau (E.). Muhammedanisches Recht nach Schafiitischer Lehre. 8vo. *Berlin*, 1897.

Carra de Vaux (Mons. le B^{on}). L'Abrégé des Merveilles, traduit de l'Arabe d'après les MSS. de la Bib. Nationale de Paris. 8vo. *Paris*, 1898.

JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. XX.—*The Northern Frontagers of China.* By Sir HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., M.P., D.C.L., F.R.S.

PART IX.

The Muhammedan Turks of Turkestan from the Tenth to the Thirteenth Century.

THE Arab writers who describe for us the intercourse of the early Arabs with the Turks of Turan speak of the former as Afrasiyabi Turks, and the dynasty as the Afrasiyabi dynasty. They identify them apparently with the earliest Turks of whom we have any record under that name, who apparently dominated the steppes north of Mavera-un-Nehr from the middle of the sixth century, and with whom they associate an heroic figure named Afrasiyab. Their capital and metropolis was a famous city situated on the river Chui, called Belasaghun, and they also acquired authority—we do not know exactly when—over Kashgar and the district round it. These Khans also dominated over the more nomadic Turks in their neighbourhood, who were divided into several sections, such as the Karluks, the Kankalis, the Kipchaks, etc.

With what can be gleaned of their earlier annals we have not to do at present. Their history becomes more

definite and precise after they were converted to Muhammedanism. This conversion had the double effect of bringing them into closer contact with the Arabs and their chroniclers, and at the same time creating a great barrier between them and the Chinese.

Harun Bughra Khan.

The first occasion when we meet with a Turkish chief by name in the pages of the Musalman authors is during the domination of the famous Samani dynasty in Mavera-un-Nehr, when we read how Harun Bughra Khan, who is described as ruling the country from Belasaghun and Kashgar to the borders of China, was invited to intervene in the affairs of that district. It must be remembered that the earliest authors who describe the event wrote more than two centuries after his death. An account of his immediate ancestors has been constructed by more than one writer. Ibn Khaldun styles him Bughra Khan Harun, son of Farkhan Ali, son of Musa, son of Abd Alkerim Sabak (see Weil, "Gesch. der Khalifen, anhang zum dritten," bande i). Ibn al-Athir calls him Shihab-ad-daula Harun Bughra Khan ibn Suliman ibn Ilek; while Minhaj-i-Siraj, the author of the "Tabakat-i-Nasiri," calls him the Amir Musa-i-Harun Ilek Khan ("Tab.-i-Nas.," 65). The divergence of these three early authorities seems to show there was some confusion about the name and personality of Harun Bughra Khan's father. Minhaj-i-Siraj, however, was a very inaccurate person, while Ibn al-Athir's statement involves an anachronism. On the other hand, Ibn Khaldun was a careful and critical writer, and I see no reason to doubt that his statement is founded upon trustworthy authorities. It is supported at one point by other facts. He begins his line of Khans with Abd Alkerim Sabak Farkhan or Karakhan. The first part of his name shows him to have been a Muhammedan. His Turkish name of Sabak reminds us of that of Sabak Tigin, the father of the great chief Mahmud of Ghazni. We know

nothing more of him. His son was Musa, and his son, Farkhan Ali. Both of them, again, bore Muhammedan names, and the latter was in every probability the Ali named as the father of several of the successors of Bughra Khan Harun on coins, etc. : vide infra.

Before we turn to the Arab notices of Harun and his successors, I would shortly refer to the first conversion of Kashgar to Islam. In regard to this conversion we have a late, confused, and largely fabulous story contained in a work entitled the "Tazkira Bughra Khan," of which an abstract has been given by Dr. Bellew in his account of the Kashgar Mission. According to this narrative the person who first converted a prince of Kashgar, and thus led to the conversion of that district, was a devout Musalman named Abu Nasr Samani, who went with a caravan of 300 merchants to Kashgar, where he converted 7,000 infidels, and taught seventy of them to become ulemas, or priests. He is said in the document before us to have died in the year 350 A.H., i.e. 960 A.D., and to have been buried in the Meshed at Artosh.

The young prince whom he is said to have converted was born, we are told, in 333 A.H., i.e. 944 A.D., and became a Musalman in the year 956 A.D. We are told he was called Satuk, and was the son of Tangri Kadr Bughra Khan, and that he was six when his father died, during an expedition against Bukhara. Thereupon his widowed mother, with the boy, passed under the protection of his uncle, Harun Bughra Khan. Now the two Bughra Khans here named seem to be made up out of the same person, and to represent the Harun Bughra Khan of the Western notices. The former, we are told, died during an expedition against Bukhara, which the Harun Bughra Khan of Ibn al-Athir and others did, as we shall see. The latter is said in the story to have been killed by his nephew Satuk, in the year 380 A.H., i.e. 991 A.D. ; the same Harun Bughra Khan died, as we shall see, in 993 A.D. There is no room for another chief, nor is it at all probable that both would have been called Harun.

When we come to the details of the story it melts away into fable. We are told a wonderful saga of the conversion of the boy Satuk and of his subsequent war against his infidel uncle, but the very name Harun borne by that uncle in the saga shows that the latter was no infidel, but a Muhammedan, and if we are to give any credit to it we must not treat the Satuk of the story as the first of his family to be converted.

Let us now resort to the more credible historians. From them we learn that during the reign of the Samani ruler Nuh, the son of Mansur, one of the latter's chieftains named Abu Ali-i-Simjur, having revolted against him, invited Bughra Khan to invade Mavera-un-Nehr. This he accordingly did in 380 A.H. (i.e. 990 A.D.), and defeated and captured Inabek the chamberlain, Amir Nuh's general, near Samarkand. Nuh now had to turn for help to Fayik, another of his rebellious chieftains, who on being sent against Bughra Khan came to a secret understanding with him and was allowed to hold Isfanjab. In 382 (992 A.D.) he went with Fayik to Bukhara, whence the Amir Nuh fled, and he entered the city in Rabi-ul-awwal (Mirkhavend, "Hist. Sam.," 106, 107; Raverty, 903). He sent Fayik off to Balkh to collect tribute and have the public prayer said in his name (Mirkhavend, op. cit., 107; Hamdullah, quoted by Raverty, 45, note; and L'Estrange, MS. Trans. Hamd., 903). Minhaj-i-Siraj tells us that shortly after this he became greatly troubled with haemorrhoids, and determined to return home again. Ibn al-Athir says he became ill, and attributing it to the unhealthy climate, went home. He sent for the Amir Abd-ul-Aziz, uncle of Nuh, presented him with a robe of honour, and made over the country to him, and then retired. Meanwhile the Amir himself, having collected some Turkmans, pursued him, but he turned upon and defeated him before the gate of Samarkand. This was in the year 383 A.H., i.e. 993 (id., 45). Gregorief, apparently on the authority of Ibn al-Athir, says he was attached to Islam, and by his command the Ektemya was read in the Khalif's name. On the

death of Bughra Khan the Amir Nuh recovered possession of Mavera-un-Nehr. Harun Bughra Khan apparently struck no coins. In a previous page I have identified him with the Satuk Bughra Khan of the saga. The latter was buried, we are told, in the Meshed at Alton Artosh or Lower Artosh, and there still exists his reputed tomb, which has been seen by European travellers. The present tomb was either restored or rebuilt at the beginning of this century. The author of the "Tazkira Bughra Khan" seems also to style him in full, Hazrat Sultan Satuk Bughra Khan Ghazi (Forsyth's "Narrative," 126). It is possible that Harun Bughra was the first of his line to conquer Kashgar, which would in a measure reconcile some difficulties.

Sultan Hasan Bughra Khan.

On the death of Bughra Khan it is generally stated that he was succeeded, not by his son, but by his brother, Nasr Ilek Khan. It is true that the latter is found immediately succeeding him in the Arab histories, and that he apparently did succeed to his Western dominions over which his father Ali may have exercised authority, but it seems probable that part, at least, of Bughra's heritage, namely, that in the Far East, was inherited by his sons.

Unfortunately, we have no direct evidence of this fact except the not very satisfactory testimony of the "Tazkira Bughra Khan." This work, however, seems to tell a fairly rational story at this point, which has been too much neglected, and to which we will now turn, premising only that for the present we are entirely confining our attention to the eastern part of the Khanate, namely, Kashgar and the other towns of Eastern Turkestan. From this work we learn, then, that Satuk Bughra Khan left four sons and three daughters. Of the former, the names of three are given as Hasan Bughra Khan, Hussein Bughra Khan, and Yusuf Kadr Khan. The name of the fourth is apparently lost. The three daughters were named Nasab Turkhan Khanim, Hadya Turkhan Khanim, and Ala Nur Khanim.

The last of these daughters, we are told, was one night touched with a drop of light in her mouth by the angel Gabriel, and some time after gave birth to a boy with ruddy complexion, gazelle eyes, and sweet voice, who was presently named Syad Ali Arslan Khan. At the age of seven he was betrothed to Toe Bübü, a daughter of Bughra Khan, who bore him three sons, Muhammed Arslan, Yusuf Arslan, and Kizil Arslan, and several daughters, one of whom married Syad Jelal-uddin, son of Syad Beha-uddin Shami, and other famous divines. Hadya Turkhan married Syad Jelal-uddin, the son of Syad Ala-uddin, and bore him three sons and several daughters. To revert, however, to Sultan Hasan Bughra Khan, who succeeded his father as ruler of Kashgar. We are told that in his reign the idolators from Khoten, otherwise called Chinshahr, invaded Kashgar with an army of 30,000 men under Bokta Rashid, Nukta Rashid, and Jagálú Khalkhálú, of Machin, i.e. of China. They devastated its environs, and caused a famine there. At length Hasan, with his brother Yusuf Kadr and his nephew Ali Arslan, marched against them with 40,000 men. After a warm struggle, in which the two armies were led by Bokta Rashid and Ali Arslan respectively, and in which the idolators lost 500 men, the Musalmans were obliged to withdraw within the city. The battle was renewed the next day under Yusuf Kadr, who, we are told, killed 700 of the enemy and captured their camp. Following up this advantage, Hasan appointed Husyun Fyzulla with 15,000 men to garrison the city, and Syad Jelal-uddin as his minister: he sallied out with 50,000 men and attacked the enemy, who had posted themselves on the Tazghundu river; a desultory and uncertain skirmish followed.

Next day, leaving Kadr in charge of the camp, Hasan marched again and challenged the commander on the other side, Jagálú Khalkhálú, to a struggle, and after a hard fight the army of the enemy was driven back to Yángi Hissár. Hasan now returned home and celebrated his victory by appropriate feasting, and we are told he sent a still larger

army, numbering 90,000 men, to drive the enemy away from Yángi Hissár. The latter found them posted 30,000 strong on the gravelly ridges of Bocsha Socsha and Ortang Karáa, near Yángi Hissár. After repeated skirmishes a ruse was suggested to the idolators by a poor Játlik, interpreted by Bellew as meaning a Nestorian priest, who advised them to attack the Musalmans when they were at morning prayers.

They did so and were completely victorious, and Ali Arslan was killed, and his head paraded under the walls of Kashgar before giving it to the dogs. The hero-martyr, we are told, had two shrines erected to his memory, one at Ordam Padshah, called also Kúm Shahidan, or the Martyr's Sands, about 56 miles east of Yángi Hissár, over where his body was killed; and the other at Daulat Bágh, near Kashgar, where his head was buried. The infidels now closely pressed and blockaded the city, and in one of the subsequent struggles we are told Ala Nur Khanim was killed while fighting at the head of her maidens to revenge her son's death. She was also called Bibi Miryam, and her shrine situated on a deep ravine, about 10 miles north by east of Kashgar, has been recently restored, its precincts enclosed, and a mosque and college have been built close by, with a suitable establishment of custodians, priests, and teachers. The "Tazkira Bughra Khan" dates this struggle in the quite impossible year 489 A.H., or 1096 A.D.; otherwise it may contain some truth.

The funeral of the dead having been performed with becoming solemnity, a fresh army was raised 60,000 strong, which under Hasan drove the enemy into the hills of Kokyar, whence he returned by way of Yarkand, which submitted, and Abdussamad of Kashgar was nominated its governor.

We next meet with a quite extravagant passage in the narrative. According to this, when Hasan Bughra Khan had reigned twelve years, Khoja Abdulla from Turkestan, and Khoja Abubekr from Tashkend, arrived over the Tirik Dawan to ask the help of Hasan in settling the country.

He accordingly set out with his brothers and a large army, and leaving Husyun Fyzulla and Abul Kasim Kashgari in charge, he spent the summer in subjugating the country. He married Bibi Shah Miryam, niece of Khoja Ahmed Yassavi, whose tomb was very famous, and then set out on a campaign in the west and penetrated to Madayn in Persia. Thence he returned by the Culzum Darya, and converting the infidels, re-established Islam city by city, and tribe by tribe, up to Kashgar, where he arrived after an absence of several years. Of this expedition we do not have any evidence in other authors.

Meanwhile the idolators of Khoten had captured Kashgar, whose people had relapsed into idolatry themselves. Hasan accordingly sent his brother Yusuf Kadr back as an envoy to the Imaum Nasir-ud-din at Madaya to ask for help in the holy war, and got an army together of 60,000 men, consisting largely of Arab and Persian mercenaries. After five months' fighting the garrison made a sortie, but were driven away, and Hasan once more occupied the place. Having re-established order there, he again set out to attack the infidels, who were posted at Yángi Hissár, and drove them out of the town on to the sand-hills of Kairgha Khitak and Kara Khitak. In a subsequent fight beyond these ridges with Jagálú Khalkhálú, Hasan was cut off with 300 of his men, and all were killed. Hasan was accompanied by his wife, Bibi Shah Miryam Khanim, who afterwards went to revenge him, but was herself defeated and killed. Her grave, we are told, is marked by a lonely, unpretentious shrine, in connection with which is a poor monastery and almshouse on the borders of the sandy desert 36 miles south-east of Yángi Hissár, and 16 miles south of Ordám Padishah. The shrine is called Magúr Hazrat Begum; near it are the ruins of a town associated with the name of Nukta Rashid, where coins and other débris occasionally occur.

Hussein Hasan's brother continued the fight, but was killed not far from the place where his brother fell; his army was routed, and Kashgar again fell into the hands

of the Khoten chiefs. The two brothers were buried in one grave, and the place is marked by the shrines and monastery of Chúcham or Khojám Padishah, three miles west by south of Yángi Hissár, amidst the ruins of a vast cemetery.

Shortly after this, Yusuf Kadr, who had been sent to Madaya for help, returned with an army of 24,000 men, accompanied by Syad Ala-uddin. As he crossed the Tirik Dawan or Andyan pass, the infidels, we are told, retired to Khoten, and Yusuf Kadr took possession of Kashgar, where he mounted the throne. Having raised some fresh levies there, he again set out and conquered Khoten itself, and Islam was now planted there for the first time. Jagálú Khalkhálú was killed in the course of this campaign at Kúmáb or Gúmá, and his country was subjected to Kashgar after a war from first to last of twenty-four years. Such is the account preserved to us in the saga contained in the "Tazkira Bughra Khan," itself a very unsatisfactory document, and available only at present in the anything but critical commentary of Dr. Bellew. Such as it is, however, it is the only authority we possess, and I quote it tentatively for lack of better materials.

We shall revert again presently to Yusuf Kadr Khan, of whom we know a good deal from other sources, and must now turn to the western parts of the Khanate, namely, those of which Belasaghun was the capital and the valley of the Chui the focus.

Abu Nasr ibn Ali Ilek Khan el Hakk.

The Muhammedan historians make Harun Bughra Khan be succeeded by a chief who has been sometimes treated as his nephew, but who, I believe, was certainly his brother, and is generally known as Ilek Khan; and this personage no doubt did succeed to his Western dominions. He is styled simply Ilek Khan by Ibn Khaldun and Mirkhavend, Ilek being a Turkish title. Minhaj-i-Siraj calls him Abu-l-Hasan Ilek-i-Nasr ibn Ali; Ibn al-Athir calls him Abu

Nasr Ahmed ibn Ali, with the style of Shems-ud-daula. The name Ahmed here given him seems a mistake and really belonged to his brother Tughan. His coins are our best witness as to his real name. On these he is styled Nasr-el-Hakk, Nasr Ilek, and Nasr ibn Ali Ilek. Of these coins specimens occur in 390, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, and 400, struck at Bukhara, Khojendeh, Ferghana, Uzkend, Saghanian, Samarkand, Ush, and Ailak (perhaps Kulja), that is, the chief towns of Mavera-un-Nehr and Turkestan. The name Arslan Khan, occurring on a coin struck at Bukhara in 390 A.H., can only have been struck by him.

According to these coins Ilek Khan was the son of Ali, a fact also stated by Ibn al-Athir and Minhaj-i-Siraj. The latter also calls him the brother of the Khan-i-Buzurg, which apparently means that he was the brother of Harun Bughra Khan. As we have seen, Ibn Khaldun makes Harun Bughra Khan the son of Ali. It is therefore almost certain that he and Ilek were brothers. Let us now turn to what is reported of him.

On the accession of Mansur, son of Nuh, to the Samani throne in the year 387 A.H., he gave the command of his forces to Fayik-i-Khasah, already named, who had been reinstated as Governor of Samarkand at the instance of Ilek Khan, and Abu Mansur-i-Aziz was brought back from Isfanjab, whither he had gone through fear of Mahmud of Ghazni. On returning, he asked Ilek Khan to help the new Samani ruler against his enemies. The latter, however, seized Abu Mansur when he reached the gate of Samarkand, whereupon Ilek Khan sent for Fayik and despatched him to Bukhara with an army. The Samani Amir Mansur then retired beyond the Amu or Oxus. He soon returned, however, and made friends again with Fayik ("Tabakat-i-Nasiri," 48–9). Mansur was deposed and blinded on the 12th Safar, 389 A.H., and was succeeded by his brother Abd-ul-Malik (id., 50). Fayik died in the month Shatan of the same year, whereupon we are told by Minhaj-i-Siraj that Amir Abu-l-Hasan Ilek-i-Nasr, son of Ali and brother of the Great Khan,

advanced from Ferghana—Mirkhavend says from Kashgar—and appeared before the walls of Bukhara in the month Zikadah, 389 A.H. He pretended to the people that he had come to help Abd-ul-Malik, son of Nuh, and the latter sent off the principal officers in his service to meet him. He ordered them all to be seized, and on the 10th of Zikadah he entered Bukhara. Abd-ul-Malik concealed himself, but he asked him to return, and, having got him into his power, he sent him to Uzkend. He now took possession of Mavera-un-Nehr (id., 52). According to Weil he placed his brother Jafar (otherwise read Chaghra) Tikin as Naib or governor there (op. cit., iii, 489).

Al-Mustansir Ismail ibn Nuh, brother of Abdul Malik, who was captured at this time, soon afterwards escaped and went to Khwarèzm, where an army collected round him, and he sent a body of men under Arslan Babu against Jafar or Chaghra Tikin at Samarkand, and that Turkish chief, with some of his Amirs, fell into his hands. Ismail put them in prison in revenge for what had happened to his own people, and then advanced upon Bukhara, where he defeated the garrison Ilek Khan had left behind, and himself mounted the throne. Ilek Khan marched against him, whereupon, feeling he was not strong enough to resist him, he went to Nishapur (Hamdullah, s.v. "Abdul Malik ibn Nuh"). This was apparently in 391 A.H. (Raverty, "Tabakat-i-Nasiri," 903, note).

After some adventures detailed by Hamdullah, Ismail sought aid from the Ghuz Turks. They gave him help, with which he defeated Ilek Khan's people at Bukhara, and it accordingly once more fell into his hands. This was in 393 A.H. He became suspicious of the Ghuz, however, and fled by night from among them, and sought aid from Seif-ud-din Mahmud (i.e. Mahmud of Ghazni?), who gave him some troops, with whose aid he again captured Bukhara from Ilek Khan, and even pursued that chief when he retired. Presently, however, holding his enemy in too great contempt, he dismissed his troops, whereupon Ilek Khan again returned with a larger force. Ismail fled

and never returned, and Mavera-un-Nehr was definitely added to the Turkish dominions (Hamdullah, loc. cit.).

The conquest of Mavera-un-Nehr made Ilek Khan a close neighbour of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, and in 396 A.H. the latter sent an envoy to the Turkish chief proposing that the Oxus should be deemed the boundary between them, all to the south of the river, together with Khwarezm, belonging to Mahmud ("Tab.-i-Nas.," 84, n. 9).

While Mahmud was absent in India in 396 news reached him that Ilek Khan had broken the treaty, and sent his general, Subashi Tigin, together with his brother, Jafar Tigin, already named, and had advanced as far as, and taken, Herat. Mahmud returned to Ghazni, and recovered possession of Khorasan. Ilek now appealed for help to the Prince of Khoten, and together they, in the next year, again crossed the Oxus into Khorasan. Mahmud advanced against the invaders, and met them near Balkh, where, after a two days' fight, he inflicted a defeat upon them, and compelled them to retire, and captured many prisoners from them (id.; Gregorief, 9).

In another place Raverty puts the army of Ilek Khan on this occasion at 40,000, and tells us the battle was finally decided in Mahmud's favour by a charge of elephants. Ilek Khan lost many prisoners, while a number of his men were drowned in crossing the Oxus. On this occasion, according to Ibn al-Athir, Kadr Khan, of Khoten, i.e. Kadr Khan Yusuf, had been summoned to his help by Ilek, since he was his relative. (Weil, iii, Anhang v; Ibn al-Athir; Sachau, 41.) He was in fact the son of Harun Daghra Khan, and therefore Ilek's nephew.

In the year 401 A.H. a dispute arose between Ilek Khan and his brother Tughan, in consequence of the latter having, without consulting him, entered into relations with Mahmud. Ilek marched against him as far as Uzkend, but was obliged to return on account of a fall of snow. At the request of both parties Mahmud intervened, and peace was made between the two brothers. By this the rule over Mavera-un-Nehr was apparently assured to Tughan. (Ibn al-Athir

and the "Tarikh-i-Yamini," cited by Sachau, "Geschichte von Khwarezm," ii, 10, note.)

Nasr Ilek Khan's name does not appear from this time on any coins, his last coin being dated 400 A.H., which is accounted for probably by the fact that the mint towns of the empire were mainly in its southern part, which was controlled by his brother Tughan. The chief authorities agree that Nasr Ilek Khan died in the year 403 A.H., i.e. 1012 A.D., but, as we shall see, there is reason to believe he survived till the year 407 A.H. He was succeeded as Khan by his brother Tughan Khan.

Kutb-ud-daula Ahmed ibn Ali Tughan Khan.

Tughan Khan was this chief's Turkish name, Tughan meaning a hawk. There can be little doubt that he also had a Musalman name, and I believe that it was Ahmed and his style Kutb-ud-daula, a conclusion which it seems to me clears up some difficulties which Dorn and others have felt. The name Tughan never occurs on coins, while Ahmed, son of Ali, occurs on them at the very time when, according to the authorities, Tughan was reigning. Tughan died in 408–9 (i.e. 1017–8), which is consistent with Ahmed's last coin, and there can be small doubt to my mind that the two names represent one person. Ahmed first occurs, together with Nasr, on a coin dated 390, where Nasr ibn Ali is inscribed above and Ahmed ibn Ali below; and the two brothers, as appears from Tughan's history, probably held very nearly co-ordinate authority. In the year 401, that is, after the division of the empire to which I have referred, we have a coin struck with the name Ahmed ibn Ali, while Kutb-ud-din is also inscribed on it. This was struck at Samarkand. We do not meet with other coins struck by him till 404. Tughan sent an envoy to Mahmud with the message—"Glory to God, we two are Musalmans, wherefore we ought to live in harmony: you should continually fight with the infidel Indians and I with the infidel Turks"; and the two acted

in conformity with this rule (see Gregorief, op. cit.). Mahmud of Ghazni had been on friendly terms with the Turks some time, while Mamun, the ruler of Khwarezm, had been the reverse. The latter now sent an embassy with rich presents to Uzkend, which was well received. When Mahmud heard of these negotiations between his vassal and the Turkish ruler he collected a force at Balkh. He was angry, and wrote to complain of the action of the Turks as treacherous. They excused themselves, and recalled the friendship which had existed between him and his father-in-law, and asked for a renewal of their alliance. To this request there was no reply. The Khan of Turkestan informed the Khwarezm Shah of what had taken place. The latter advised that they should make a number of forays upon Khorasan, which would keep the people there in a state of excitement, but should not bring on a general fight with Mahmud. The Khan and Ilek would not consent to this, however, as they did not want to embroil themselves with Mahmud. Mahmud, who was kept informed of what was going on by his spies, spent the winter of 407 at Balkh, where fresh envoys went to him from Ilek Khan and the Khan. He sent them back, however, with a message to the effect that the recent treachery of the Turkish princes had wiped out their former friendly intercourse, and he sent an ultimatum to Mamun demanding that he should say the Khutba in his name and also send presents and hostages. Mamun felt obliged to comply (Sachau, 12–14). It will be noted that two Turkish chiefs are mentioned here as acting together, namely, Ilek Khan and "the Khan." Who the former was I do not know, unless it were the Ilek Khan above named, who in this case survived till the year 407 A.H., when his brother became sole ruler.

In the year 408 Tughan Khan had an illness, and at that time a vast force came from "the Khitai-lands" and ravaged the districts by the way. They advanced to within three stations of Belasaghun, whereupon Tughan prayed to heaven that he might be permitted to inflict a defeat

on the infidels before he died, and having recovered his health, he summoned his men around him and collected a force of 120,000, although the enemy numbered 300,000 kibitkas. Having heard of the assembling of the Musalmans, they returned home. Tughan pursued them for a space of three months, attacked them unexpectedly, and destroyed about 100,000 of them, and took captive almost as many more. He then returned to Belasaghun, where his former illness came upon him and where he died, according to Ibn al-Athir in 409 (Gregorief, ii). Hamdullah says Mahmud of Ghazni assisted Tughan on this occasion, and he asked for Ilek Khan's daughter for his son Masud. The marriage ceremony was completed in the year 408 (op. cit., s.v. "Mahmud"), and on her arrival at Balkh the city was illuminated ("Tab.-i-Nas.," 85, note). I can find no mention of this Western invasion by a great army at this time in the Chinese writers, but I have little doubt that the invaders here referred to were the Khitans, who at this time were very active, and who conquered a part of Northern China. The invasion does not seem, however, to be mentioned in the Chinese annals. The last coin with the name Kutb-ud-daula upon it was struck at Samarkand, in the year 407 A.H. Others of his coins are found struck at Es Sogd, Izfijab, Bukhara, and Ush.

Saif-ud-daula Chaghra Tikin.

In the previous pages I have more than once mentioned a Jafar Tikin, brother of Ilek Khan, who was placed by him in charge of Mavera-un-Nehr. This name when written in Arabic characters is very like the name Chaghra, which is the way in which it was, in fact, read by Gregorief. I am disposed to attribute to this prince certain coins struck at Bukhara and Kerminiah in the years 405, 406, and 407, with the name of Saif-ud-daula Chaghra on one side and on the other Abu Ali el-Hussein ibn Mansur. The latter, it seems to me, was a son of the Samani ruler Mansur, with

whom in some way Chaghra was perhaps connected. Dorn also identifies the latter with the Jafar previously named. The last coin with Chaghra's name is dated in the year 407.

Behai-ud-daula Arslan Khan Ilek.

According to Ibn al-Athir, Tughan Khan was succeeded by his brother, whom he calls Sherif-ud-din Abu al-Muzaffer Arslan Khan. No such name, however, occurs on the coins issued at this time which can with any probability be attributed to him. On these he is entitled as in the heading to this paragraph. His Turkish name was apparently Bigha or Tigha Tikin, which also occurs on coins associated with the title of Arslan at this time. Such coins occur dated in the years 412, 413, 414, and 415, and struck at Bukhara, and bearing the name Bihai-ud-daula Bigha Tigin, sometimes with Arslan or Arslan Ilek on the other side. We know nothing more of him under this name. Turning to the references to him under the name of Arslan, we read that at first there arose dissension between him and Kadr Khan, the ruler of Khoten. Having made peace, they both turned their arms against Mahmud of Ghazni, who marched against them and built a bridge of boats across the Oxus (the boats being bound together with chains), and thus crossed the river. This was the first time such a bridge had been made. Having grown frightened of Arslan Khan, Mahmud withdrew again to his own country. Thereupon Kadr Khan transferred his alliance to his recent enemy, and they agreed to divide Mahmud's possessions between them. They accordingly advanced upon Balkh. When Mahmud heard of this, he marched against them. The struggle lasted a long time, but the Turks were eventually beaten and withdrew across the river again, when many of them were drowned. Presently there arrived an envoy from the governor of Khwarezm, Altuntash, to congratulate Mahmud on his victory. Being asked how he had heard of it, he replied that he learned of it through the number of

Turkish caps (*khalats*) that floated down the Oxus (Sachau, "Zur Geschichte von Khwarezm," etc., 319, 320). We do not read any more of this Arslan Khan. Raverty says he was styled Ul-Asam or "the Deaf" ("Tab.-i-Nas.," 904, note). On a coin struck at Khojend in the year 410 A.H. he styles himself Arslan Khan Ilek. Ibn al-Athir seems to say that he abdicated the throne and was succeeded by Kadr Khan, who was his nephew.

During the reign of Arslan Khan as supreme Khan, certain coins were struck at Bukhara by a prince who styles himself Yusuf ibn Ali, and who was therefore not improbably a brother of the previous Khans. One of these was struck at Kutlugh Ordu or Kutlugh Erku in the year 417 A.H. It may be that the words Ibn Ali on this coin are a mistake, and that this Yusuf was in fact Yusuf Kadr Khan.

Yusuf-i-Kadr Khan ibn Bughra Khan-i-Harun.

On the abdication of Arslan Khan, previously mentioned, we are told by Ibn al-Athir that Yusuf-i-Kadr Khan ibn Bughra Khan was elected in his place. This was doubtless the Kadr Khan above named as ruler of Kashgar and Khoten. According to Raverty, the "Gardizi" calls him Yusuf-i-Kadr Khan. Ali Tikin, who, according to my reading, was his nephew, seems to have opposed him. Mirkhavend tells us that Kadr Khan made advances to Mahmud for an alliance against their common foe, Ali. The two advanced upon Samarkand, whereupon Ali Tikin, not feeling strong enough to resist them, withdrew to the wastes of Turkestan, or probably sought safety among the nomadic Ghuz Turks (Vullers, 14, 15). This was apparently about the year 418. Raverty tells us that in 417 A.H. envoys came to Mahmud at Ghazni from Kaya Khan and Bughra Khan, whom he calls Kadr Khan's brothers, but who were more probably his sons, asking for a matrimonial alliance. Mahmud replied that he was a Musalman, while they were infidels, and it was not the custom to

give the daughters of Musalmans to infidels, but that if they would embrace Islam the matter would be considered. Subsequently it was agreed that Zainab, the Sultan's daughter, should be betrothed to Yaghan Tikin, the son of Kadr Khan, and a daughter of Kadr Khan was betrothed to Muhammed, and subsequently to Masud, Sultan Mahmud's sons. ("Tab.-i-Nas.," 905, note; Sachau, 42, note.)

It would seem from these circumstances that Kadr Khan was not at this time a good Musalman. We at all events read that Mahmud of Ghazni determined to invade his country, relying on his elephants which had already secured him so many advantages. Having heard of this, Kadr Khan spread a report to the effect that if Mahmud went, as he threatened, he would set fire to faggots carried by oxen, which he would drive among the elephants, and thus cause a panic among them. Passing from mouth to mouth, the news reached Mahmud, who, knowing what would be the result, was disposed to be peaceful (Gregorief, 11, 12). Mahmud, in fact, paid him a friendly visit in Mavera-un-Nehr.

Minhaj-i-Siraj, quoting the "Tarikh-i-Sani" of Ibn Haisani, tells us that when Mahmud of Ghazni crossed the Oxus and occupied Mavera-un-Nehr, Kadr Khan entered into negotiations with the Sultan, i.e. with Mahmud. A treaty of alliance and friendship was entered into, and confirmed and cemented, and an interview took place between them. We are told that on this visit, after the public reception had been held, the Sultan ordered the private apartment to be cleared, and they held a conversation together on all the affairs of Irān and Turān. Among other things, Kadr Khan asked the Sultan to remove the son of Seljuk with his followers from the neighbourhood of Bukhara into Khorasan. Our author tells us this son of Seljuk was a terror to the various Maliks of Turkestan and the Afrasiyabi rulers ("Tab.-i-Nas.," 116–8). On this occasion, Raverty says, a portion of Mavera-un-Nehr was made over to Mahmud (id., 116, n. 2). On the withdrawal of Kadr Khan to Kashgar, and of Mahmud to Ghazni, Ali Tikin returned and reoccupied

Samarkand. Mahmud died in the year 421, and thereupon there arose a struggle for the throne between his sons Masud and Muhammed. Ali Tikin thereupon determined to invade Khorasan. When Masud had secured his position, he ordered Altuntash to invade Mavera-un-Nehr, and in the year 423 that general captured Bukhara and pursued Ali Tikin towards Samarkand, but presently withdrew, whereupon Ali Tikin turned upon him and a fierce fight ensued, which was apparently indecisive. Ali Tikin now shut himself up in the fortress of Dabusiyya, where he was beleaguered by Altuntash. When the place was about to be stormed Ali Tikin asked for mercy. This was granted him, for Altuntash had been severely wounded in the struggle, and on retiring to Khwarezm he died there (Sachau, op. cit., 17–19). In another direction Ali Tikin had a struggle with the Seljuk princes, whom he feared. Al-baihaki tells us he sought to sow dissension among them, and with this object sought an interview with Yusuf, a grandson of Seljuk. As he could not corrupt him he ordered his general Alp-kara to kill him. To revenge this the Seljuki princes marched against him and defeated his army. They captured Alp-kara in the year 421, and killed him, but Ali Tikin collected a larger force, with which he defeated and drove them to seek refuge in Khorasan, where they remained until the year 426 (Sachau, op. cit., 21). According to the authority followed by Raverty, Yusuf Kadr Khan died in the year 423 A.H.

As we have seen, he carried on a fierce struggle with a rival called Ali Tikin, who in my view was his nephew. Ali Tikin struck coins. The first of these on which his name occurs was struck at Kerminiah in 415 A.H. On a coin struck at Es Sogd in the year 420 A.H. we meet with the name Ali ibn el-Hasan. This can hardly have been struck by anyone but Ali Tikin. I cannot find any other Hasan at this time who would have any claims to rule in Mavera-un-Nehr, save the son of Bughra Khan already named. It would seem, in fact, that Transoxiana was, at this period, disputed by different members of the family of Harun Bughra Khan. This would explain the reference

in Ibn al-Athir where he says that Ali Tikin controlled Bukhara for thirty-one years before 423 A.H.

We have seen how Ali Tikin, on the death of his two great and powerful neighbours, Mahmud of Ghazni and Kadr Khan, returned to Mavera-un-Nehr. I believe he now developed into a much more considerable personage, and in fact received the Grand Khan's throne, to which he had many claims, as it is probable he was the son of Hasan and the grandson of Harun Bughra Khan. This conclusion I am constrained to adopt from certain coins, dated in 425, that is, directly after his return. On one of these is inscribed "Ali ibn el-Husain [? a mistake] Tamghaj Bughra Kara Khan"; and on another, "Ali ibn Hasan Tamghaj Bughra Kara Khan" (Dorn, "Mel. As.," viii). We can hardly doubt that these coins belong to the same Ali, son of Hasan, who has already occupied us, and it would seem that at this time he so enlarged his dominion and authority as to virtually secure the Khanate of Turkestan. He did not long survive, however, for we do not again hear of him. It would seem that he died shortly after Yusuf Kadr Khan. He at all events disappeared at this time. Minhaj-i-Siraj calls him an Afrasiyabi ruler, and tells us his sons afterwards had authority in Khwarezm (op. cit., 121).

Abu Shuja Arslan Khan Sherif-ud-daula.

Yusuf, we are told, left several sons, and was succeeded by one of them named Abu Shuja Arslan Khan. He apparently ruled only over the eastern part of the Khanate, and we are told was proclaimed his successor at Kashgar, Khoten, and Belasaghun. He drank no wine, was a pious man, and a friend of religious and learned men, who consequently repaired to his court, where they were duly rewarded. He tried to dispossess his brother Mahmud Bughra of his heritage, but was defeated and imprisoned by him (Sachau, 37). Masud, son of Mahmud of Ghazni, sent a dispatch to Arslan Khan after the battle of Daekan in 431 A.H. ("Tab.-i-Nas.," 94, n. 3).

Abulfeda (iii, 120) says that in the year 435 Arslan Khan divided his dominions among his relatives, retaining only Kashgar and Belasaghun for himself.

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Mahmud Nasr Bughra Khan.

He was the second son of Yusuf Kadr Khan, and was given Taraz and Izfijab for his heritage. Having defeated his brother, who had attacked him, he eventually appropriated his empire. His eldest son was called Yagra-tikin (Raverty calls him Jafar Tikin and Gregorief Chaghra Tikin), and he nominated him as his successor. He had a younger son Ibrahim, however, by another wife, who, jealous of his nominating the son of another to the throne, poisoned him with several of his relatives. Abu Shuja Arslan Khan, whom his brother had deposed, as I have mentioned, was strangled. These events took place in the year 439 A.H. (Sachau, 37). Mahmud Bughra Khan reigned fifteen months (Sachau, 40).

Ibrahim Khan.

Bughra's widow, we are told by Ibn al-Athir, put the most famous men about her to death, and then placed her son Ibrahim on the throne. She then sent him against the town of Barsakhan, whose prince, called Inal-tikin (named elsewhere Binal-tigin and Nial-tigin), attacked and killed him, and his army fled to his mother. He was apparently succeeded by Yusuf Tughrul Kara Khan, another son of Bughra Khan (Sachau, 37–8). This, according to Ahmed Effendi, took place in the year 440 A.H. (Gregorief, 13).

Shems-ud-din Tamghaj Bughra Khan Ibrahim.

On turning to Ibn al-Athir, he tells us that in consequence of the intrigues about Ibrahim Khan, the Samarkand ruler, Imad-ud-daula Abul Muzaffer Tamghaj, in 440, invaded

and conquered those lands. Ibn al-Athir tells us he was a religious man, who never appropriated a stranger's property without first consulting those learned in the law. On one occasion an ascetic named Abu Shuja al-Ulwi went to him and gave him a lecture, saying, "You are not fit to reign." He closed his doors and wished to abdicate. Thereupon, however, the people of the town assembled and said: "Abu Shuja is in the wrong. The prosperity of our country is due entirely to you." Thereupon he again opened his doors. The Seljuk Sultan Alp Arslan on one occasion plundered his dominions. Tamghaj did not retort in the same way, but sent an envoy to the Khalif Alkaim-bi-amr Allah in the year 453, and congratulated him on his return to his home, and bade him urge Alp Arslan to leave his realm in peace. The Khalif concurred in this, and sent titles and robes of honour. This was in the year 453 (Sachau, 37–8). He died in the year 460 (id.). Raverty says he died of paralysis. Tamghaj Khan seems to have used a number of names. Thus, on a coin struck at Kerminiah in the year 424 A.H. we read "Ilkhan Kutb-ud-daula Tamghaj Bughra Kara Khakan." On two coins referred to by Dorn he styles himself "Tamghaj Khan Ibrahim" and "Tamghaj Bughra Kara Khakan Ibrahim ibn Nasr." They were struck at Sogd and Bukhara, in the years 432 and 433 respectively. These two coins prove that Tamghaj was the son of Nasr, who can be no other than Nasr Ilek Khan above named. It is curious that, like his predecessor, his personal name should have been Ibrahim.

Shems-ul-Mulk Nasr.

Tamghaj Khan was evidently given up largely to asceticism, and we are told that during his life he made over the kingdom to his son Shems-ul-Mulk. The latter quarrelled with his brother Tughan Khan ibn Tamghaj, who beleaguered him at Samarkand. The citizens repaired to Shems-ul-Mulk and said: "Your brother has laid waste and destroyed our fields. If it were any other person we

would support you, but as he is your brother we will not interfere between you." He bade them prepare for war, and left the city in the middle of the night with 500 well-armed men, surrounded his brother, attacked and defeated him. This happened in their father's lifetime. He was afterwards assailed by Harun (? Hasan) Bughra Khan and Yusuf Tughrul Khan, sons of Yusuf Kadr Khan, whose heritage in the Eastern Khanate Tamghaj Khan had appropriated. They attacked Samarkand, but could do nothing against Shems-ul-Mulk, so they made a treaty with him and withdrew. By this treaty he was left in possession of Mavera-un-Nehr, while the eastern part of the Khanate was made over to the family of Kadr Khan Yusuf, Khojend being the frontier between them.

The Seljuk chief, Alp Arslan, had married the widow of Masud (son of Mahmud of Ghazni), the daughter of Kadr Khan Yusuf. Shems-ul-Mulk now married Alp Arslan's daughter, and gave his uncle (Raverty calls him his brother) Isa's daughter in marriage to Malik Shah. This last lady was named Khatun Alyalalujya, and became the mother of Mahmud, who afterwards mounted the throne. We are told that when the princess had crossed the Oxus with the envoys who went to escort her, she went to Nishapur, where Alp Arslan had ordered various preparations to be made for her reception. The litter on which she travelled was taken into the town with great pomp; before her went 1,000 Turkish Mamluks and as many Mamluk girls. Each of these fair daughters of Turkestan had presents in her hand, and strewed as she walked musk, aloes, liquid amber, and camphor, and in their midst was the princess who is compared to the Rizwan of the gardens of Paradise, and the Huri of the heavenly palace. So many alms and presents were given away among the poor that there was no longer any want in Nishapur (Vullers, 78).

In the month of Rabi el-awwel, 465, i.e. September, 1072, Alp Arslan, having quarrelled with Shems-ul-Mulk, invaded Mavera-un-Nehr. He crossed the Oxus over a bridge of boats, and at the head of 200,000 men. When

the transport, which took twenty days, was concluded, the Sultan gave a feast in the little town of Karir. A portion of his troops now made a night attack upon a fortress by the river (Hamdullah calls it Barzam, and Raverty says the name is also given as Firbad or Firbaz), and captured its commander, named Yusuf. He was taken before the Sultan, who hoped to get some information from him, but Yusuf only gave perplexing answers. The Sultan grew angry, and ordered him to be removed and castigated. Yusuf had concealed a dagger in his greaves, and advanced towards the Sultan, whose companions wished to have him put to death, but the latter, who was confident in his skill, forbad them, as he wished to slay him with his own hand, but the three arrows which he fired at him missed him. Yusuf thereupon rushed upon him and slew him. He was directly afterwards killed by a blow from a mallet for hammering tent-pegs. (Hamdullah, s.v. "Alp Arslan," id., 88–9; "Tab.-i-Nas.," 137, n. 4.) Shems-ul-Mulk, according to A. Effendí, died in 472 A.H. (Gregorief, 14).

Khizr Khan.

On the death of Shems-ul-Mulk he was succeeded in Mavera-un-Nehr by his brother Khizr Khan (Ibn al-Athir in Sachau, 39). Ibn al-Athir says he died in a short time. I know nothing more of him.

Ahmed Khan.

Khizr was succeeded in Mavera-un-Nehr by his son Ahmed, who was a vicious character. His people invited Malik Shah to deliver them. In the year 482, according to Ibn al-Athir, Malik Shah invaded Mavera-un-Nehr. Hamdullah and Mirkhavend date this invasion ten years earlier. We read that Malik Shah captured Samarkand and its Khan, who both by Hamdullah and Mirkhavend is called Suliman, and it may be that he also bore that name. The latter author adds that the captive prince

went on foot and kissed the ground in front of the Sultan's horse, and was subsequently sent in bonds to Ispahan (Vullers, 94). Ahmed Effendi says he appeared with a rope round his neck. Presently Malik Shah nominated one of his officers as governor of Samarkand, but as the inhabitants there and the local princes did not prove obedient, he found it convenient to release him (Gregorief, 14), and he was restored again to the throne in the year 485 A.H. (Sachau, 39). Eventually his own soldiers fell on him and killed him (id.). Raverty says he was put to death on being accused of heresy in the year 488. Dorn publishes a coin of his without date or mint.

Mahmud Khan I.

Ahmed Khan was succeeded in Mavera-un-Nehr by Mahmud Khan. Ibn al-Athir calls him in one place Mahmud and in another Masud, explaining that he was a cousin of Ahmed; perhaps he was a son of Shems-ul-Mulk (Gregorief, note 40). We are told he was deaf. Tughan Khan, chief of Taraz, son of Kadr Khan Yusuf, marched against him and killed him, and appropriated his kingdom (Sachau, 39).

Mahmud Khan II.

Ibn al-Athir tells us Mahmud Khan was succeeded by another Mahmud, the son of Humush Tikin, son of Ibrahim, son of Tamghaj Khan. Ahmed Effendi says he was killed in 495 by Sanjar Shah (Gregorief, op. cit., note 41). He was apparently a protégé of Tughan Khan (vide infra), and was probably killed at the same time as the latter.

Tughan Khan.

Tughan Khan was no doubt the real ruler. He appointed Abu al-Ma'ali Muhammed ibn Zaid Al'ulwi Albagdadi as administrator of Samarkand. That officer, however, revolted

after three years, but was attacked, captured, and put to death by Tughan Khan, with many others. Tughan Khan then went to Termed, intending to invade Khorasan, but he was attacked by Sultan Sanjar, who marched against and killed him (Sachau, 39). This battle was fought, we are told, in 495 A.H., and therefore before Sanjar came to the throne.

Muhammed Arslan Khan.

Ahmed Effendi tells us that when Sanjar put to death Mahmud Khan II, he replaced him by Muhammed Arslan Khan, the son of Suliman, the son of Bughra Khan. Suliman is the name given by some authors to Ahmed Khan, whose mother was a daughter of Malik Shah, and a sister of Sanjar (Weil, iii, 274). If this identification be right, then this Bughra Khan is a synonym for Khizr Khan. Raverty says he had been an exile from Mavera-un-Nehr, and had lived a long time at Merv, and he was put on the throne in 495.

Muhammed was attacked and driven from Samarkand by Umar Khan, who is called a son of Ahmed Khan by Raverty, and who, I believe, was Muhammed's brother. Presently, however, Umar fled from his own army, and escaped to Khwarezm, where he was captured and killed by Sanjar, who thereupon nominated Muhammed Khan again as governor of Samarkand, and Muhammed Tikin, son of Tughan Tikin, as governor of Bukhara (Sachau, 39). In the years 497 and 503 he was, according to Ibn al-Athir, supported by Sanjar against the rebel Amir Saghu-bèy. In the year 507 Sanjar was compelled to send an army against him to prevent him from falling away from him, upon which he submitted. A peace, it seems, was arranged through the intervention of the Khwarezm Shah and the Amir Kimaj, by which Sanjar contented himself with retaining control of the country west of the Oxus, and virtually surrendering that on the east of that river (Weil, iv, 275). These outbreaks probably point to the impatience felt by

the people of Transoxiana with the supremacy of the Seljuk princes. Muhammed now continued to reign until he became lame, when he apparently surrendered a part of his authority to his son Nasr, who presently rebelled against him (id., 275). Raverty says that the army of Muhammed was composed of Karluk and Ghuz troops. The former having been intrigued with, were gained over by Alawi, son of Muhammed-i-Ali Shuja, the Samarkandi, to take the part of Nasr. Alawi incited Nasr to dethrone his father. This was apparently in the year 523. Muhammed appealed to his uncle Sanjar for help; but before he arrived he had suppressed the rebels. While he was hunting near Samarkand the Sultan noticed some armed men lying in ambush in the Shikar-gah, or preserve. They were seized, and confessed that the Khan had planted them there, no doubt with the intention of murdering Sanjar himself. He was naturally very angry, and proceeded to lay siege to Samarkand, where Muhammed had taken refuge ("Tab.-i-Nas.," 906–7, notes; Weil, iv, 275). Mirkhavend, who tells us this happened in the year 524, says the siege lasted for some time, and when famine and pestilence had made great ravages among the inhabitants, the place was obliged to surrender (Vullers, 157). Sanjar gave his nephew his life, but sent him off a prisoner to Balkh; Raverty says to his mother, Sanjar's sister, at Balkh. Raverty (p. 907, note) says he died there. Some, he adds, say his death was natural; others, that the Sultan had something administered to him. His lameness, according to Mirkhavend, was caused by the gout, or perhaps rather by paralysis, since we are told his mouth was awry, and he could not keep his saliva in it. He had to be carried in a litter. We are further told that he had 12,000 slaves whom he had purchased (Vullers, 158).

He had a feud with the Karluks, who were his neighbours and ancient subjects of his family, and when he put down their revolt they fled to the mountains. Another version of the story is, that he had planted 12,000 Karluk kharghas, or tents, on his eastern frontier to protect him against the

Khitais, but having ill-treated them they migrated into the territory of Belasaghun (Raverty, 907, note).

Kadr Khan Jebril.

At this time Ibn al-Athir (p. 85) speaks of a certain Kadr Khan Jebril ibn Umar, and tells us that, during the war between Barkiarok and Muhammed, he invaded Khorasan, but was killed by one of Sanjar's Amirs called Kandughdi (Weil, iv, 274). Ibn Khaldun calls him Bedr Khan (id.); Raverty, in one place ("Tab.-i-Nas.," 147, note), calls him Kunduz Khan.

Yusuf Tughrul Khan.

Let us now revert to the Eastern Khanate. We saw how, in the reign of Shems-ul-Mulk Nasr, the Turkestan Empire was divided between him and Yusuf Tughrul Khan, the son of Kadr Khan, who took the eastern part of it. We read that he secured the whole of the eastern part of the Khanate, including Belasaghun, and reigned for sixteen years (Sachau, 40).

Tughrul Tikin.

Yusuf Tughrul Khan was succeeded by his son Tughrul Tikin, who had only reigned two months when his uncle Hasan Bughra Khan marched upon Kashgar, where he captured Tughrul Tikin, who, according to Turkish views of succession, was a usurper (id.). This was in the year 467 A.H.

Hasan Bughra Khan.

The army of Kashgar went over to the invader. He occupied Kashgar, Khoten, and the country as far as Belasaghun, reigned for twenty-nine years, and died in the year 496 A.H. His reign is important in the history of letters, for it was then that was published the famous Uighur work entitled "Kudaktu Bilik," a translation from

the Chinese, which was written, we are told, in the year 1068 A.D. at Kashgar, and apparently, as some verses in it state, at the instance of Hasan Bughra Khan himself. In it the land of Kashgar is merely called Turkestan, and the name Uighur does not occur. Vambéry published this work in 1870.

Ahmed Khan.

According to Ibn al-Athir, he was succeeded by his son Ahmed, who sent to the Khalif to ask him for the insignia of investitures and an honorary name. The Khalif conferred on him the title Nur-ud-daula (Sachau, 40). Raverty calls him "the Wali of Kashgar, Ahmed son of Hasan" ("Tab.-i-Nas.," 907, note). He seems to have lost or never acquired authority at Belasaghun. It was during his reign at Kashgar that the Kara Khitais invaded his dominions. Ahmed met them near Kashgar in the year 522 A.H., and inflicted on them a serious defeat, but was apparently afterwards beaten, whereupon he withdrew to his capital and died of grief and chagrin (id., 9). Ibn al-Athir, in describing these events, says that in the year 522 (1128 A.D.) there appeared at the frontier of Kashgar the Gur Khan of Sin (China), nicknamed the Cripple. He was at the head of an immense army. Ahmed ibn Hasan, who then ruled over Kashgar, collected his troops and marched against the invaders, but was defeated and died. When the Gur Khan reached Turkestan he found many of his people who had previously migrated, and with their aid he succeeded in establishing his authority over all Turkestan. He did not interfere with the administration, and contented himself with imposing a tribute of one dinar on each person, and making the subject princes wear a silver tablet at their girdle (Bretschneider, *i*, 231–2). Who Ahmed's successor was we do not know, but when at the end of the century the Khanate of Kara Khitai was appropriated by Kushluk Khan of the Naimans, we are told that "The son of the Khan of Kashgar, who had been imprisoned by the Gur

Khan of Kara Khitai, was presently released by Kushluk, who had displaced the Gur Khan. The prince returned to Kashgar, but was there put to death. Kushluk sent troops to lay waste the district of Kashgar. They destroyed what grain they could find and caused a famine. Kushluk went in person to Kashgar to enjoy his triumph." (D'Ohsson, i, p. 171; Erdmann, "Temudschin," 339–341.)

This finishes the history of Kashgar so far as our present purpose goes. Let us now travel westward. In the "Jihan Kushai" we read how the leader of the Kara Khitai advanced upon Belasaghun, the sovereign of which, who was descended from Afrasiyab, had lost his power and had ceased to reign over the tribes of the Karluks and Kankalis, who even made incursions on his territory. When the Kara Khitais approached his country the sovereign sent envoys to their chief, and invited him to take possession of his realm. The Khitan prince then approached Belasaghun, and the descendant of Afrasiyab abdicated, merely retaining the title of Ilk Turkhan, or chief of the Turks. After this the Gur Khan of Kara Khitai appointed governors in all the provinces of his empire from Kum Kidjik (? Kum Kipchak) to Baserjan, and from Taraz to Tamidj (? Tamghaj).

When the Gur Khan sent an army against Mavera-un-Nehr in 534, we are told it was commanded by Baniko of Taraz and by At Khan. This At Khan may possibly be the Turkish chief in question. Let us now turn to Mavera-un-Nehr.

Toghfej Hussein Tikin Abu'l Maali.

On Muhammed's deposition (*vide ante*) Sanjar appointed the Amir Toghfej Abu'l Maali Hussein in his place. He is said to have belonged to the race of the Turkoman Khans, i.e. perhaps to the stock of the so-called Ghuz Turks or Kaukalis. Ibn Khaldun says he was the son of Ali, son of Abd-ul-Mumin (Weil, 275, n. 3), but in the "Tarikh-i-Alfi," which is founded on good sources, he is called son of Abd-ul-Mumin, son of Ali, with whom the

Seljuks were at strife. If this latter statement be [illegible] he may have been a grandson of Ali Tikin. We are told he died almost immediately.

Rukn-ud-din Mahmud Khan.

"Rashid-ud-din," the "Jami-ul-Tewarikh," and "Alfi," according to Raverty, report that Rukn-ud-din, son of Muhammed, was raised to the throne with the help of Sultan Sanjar (op. cit., 907–8, notes) in 526. He was doubtless the Mahmud ibn Muhammed who is mentioned by Ibn al-Athir as ruling in Mavera-un-Nehr in 531. When the Gur Khan of Kara Khitai marched against him he advanced from Khojend to meet him. A battle took place in Ramazan of 531, i.e. 1137. He thereupon withdrew to Samarkand. It would appear that the Gur Khan did not on this occasion pursue him.

Mahmud now sent to ask aid from the Seljuks, imploring them to invite all Muhammedans to march and make war on the infidels. They accordingly came from Khorasan, Mazanderan, Sijistan, Ghazni, and other Muhammedan countries. In 534 their chief Sanjar himself crossed the Amu or Oxus. The Gur Khan met him at Katwan (Raverty says in the Desht or Desert of Katran) and forced him to withdraw into the valley of Dirgham, where in 534 or 535 (1142) a decisive battle was fought, but at length Sanjar's people were utterly defeated. Sanjar escaped, but his wife, a daughter of Arslan Khan (apparently a sister of Mahmud's), was captured.

The Gur Khan now overran Turkestan and Mavera-un-Nehr, and sent his general Arnuz, called Arbaz by Raverty, against Khwarezm, who carried fire and slaughter through the country. Atsiz Khwarezm Shah offered his submission, and paid a large tribute, whereupon Arnuz withdrew ("Jihan Kushai," Bretschneider, 229).

It would seem that the Gur Khan contented himself, at this time, with his conquests north and east of the mountains, and that the representative of the ancie[illegible]

...s of Belasaghun, etc., became his tributary and dependent. South of the mountains, in Ferghana and Mavera-un-Nehr, the Seljuk Sultan retained the supremacy over the Turkish rulers of Bukhara, which they had maintained since the days of Alp Arslan's campaign there.

To return to Sanjar and his protégé, we read in the account of the dervish Ahmed Effendi, that up to that time Sanjar's troops had never been exposed to defeat. The Gur Khan's army presently rushed upon Mavera-un-Nehr and subdued it, and the Kara Khitais ruled that land up to 612, "when Sultan Muhammed, Shah of Khwarezm, tore it from their hands." As to Mahmud Khan, he withdrew with Sanjar to Khorasan, where the latter honoured him by naming him administrator of his private domains. Later on, when Sultan Sanjar fell into captivity, Mahmud, profiting by the occasion, seized the greater part of the Khorasan provinces, and afterwards, in consequence of Sanjar's death, became ruler over all Khorasan. At first the Ghuz, who had made Sanjar prisoner, showed a readiness to obey Mahmud, but he, not trusting such a proposal, went against them with an army. They fought several days, night and day. At last Mahmud suffered a defeat, and the Ghuz conquered Merv. They treated the inhabitants well, not dealing in violence or vexations, and they a second time sent a man to Mahmud with the invitation: "Come hither, we will make thee ruler over us." Mahmud again did not give faith to their words. "Well then, anyhow, send thy son to rule over us: we are weary of wandering thus without a head and without reason": thus did the Ghuz address him. To speak briefly, the Ghuz at last succeeded, by oaths and promises, in getting Mahmud to believe their words, and he sent them his son Jelal-ud-din Muhammed. On his arrival, the Ghuz actually streamed out to meet him, bore him into the city with all honour, and there swore fealty to him. After this he undertook some campaigns with them, and ...ook several towns. Eventually negotiations were carried ...n between father and son by means of ...nvoys, and the

Nisa associates Osman on this occasion with Taj-ud-din Belka Khan, chief of Otran, whom he calls his uncle.

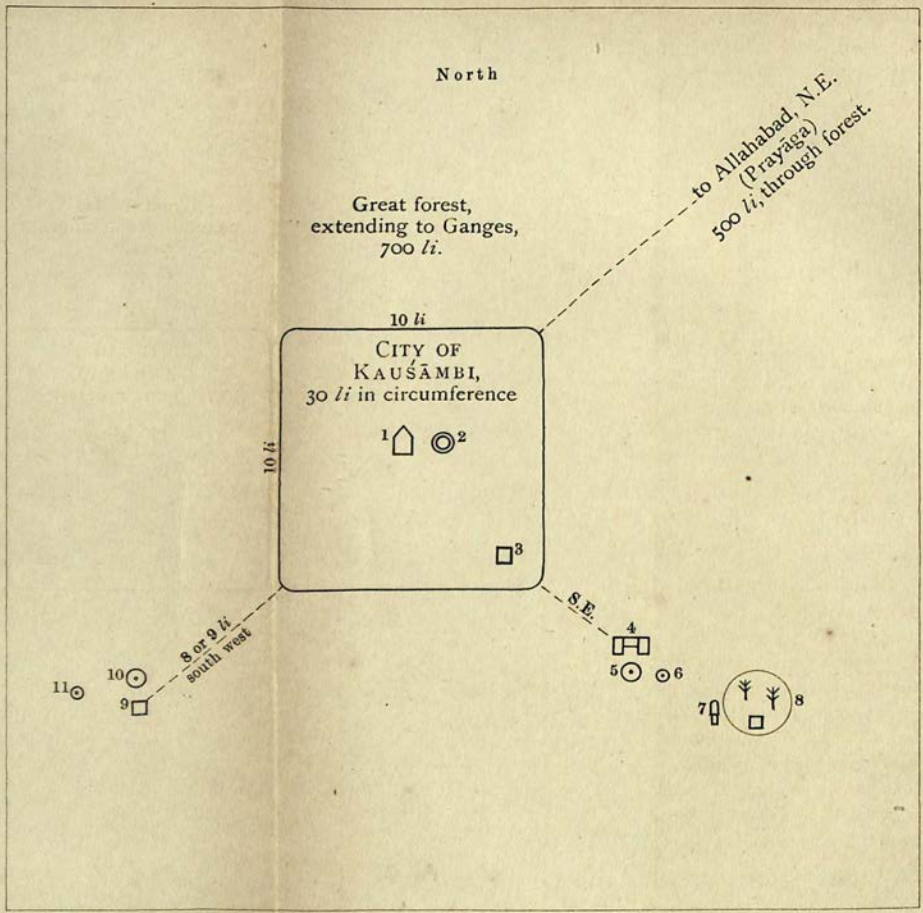
Osman Khan had a difficult rôle to play, situated as he was between two powerful and aggressive neighbours, to whom he was alternately tributary, the Gur Khan of Kara Khitai and the Khwarezm Shah, Muhammed Khwarezm Shah, who was then dominant over Mavera-un-Nehr. The former was at first his special patron. Osman asked his daughter in marriage, but was refused, which caused him to become disaffected; and he even coined money, and had the Khutbah said in Muhammed of Khwarezm's name. Thereupon the Gur Khan marched on Samarkand with an army of 30,000 men, but he had to withdraw before capturing it in order to make head against Kushluk, the Namian chief, who eventually crushed him ("Tab.-i-Nas.," 931, note).

Presently the Khwarezm Shah quarrelled with him, invaded his domains, conquered them, and having seized Osman himself, returned to Khwarezm; but afterwards he freed him from imprisonment, and married him to his daughter (her name according to Muhammed of Nisa was Khan Sultan, and she was afterwards married to the eldest son of Chinghiz Khan, op. cit., p. 70; this was in 606 A.H.). He sent him back to Samarkand. Some time passed, and Osman grew weary of the Khwarezm supremacy; he seized one day all the Khwarezmis who were in Samarkand, and ordered each of them to be cut in twain. His wife was at that time in the citadel. He went there with the intention of putting an end to her too; but she ordered the doors of the citadel to be shut, and defending herself stubbornly with the assistants she had by her, sent word to her husband: "I am a woman and thy wife; I am in no way guilty in anything that has taken place: why, then, dost thou wish to kill me? Settle with my father if there be reason for it"; and so Osman gave up his intention. The Khwarezm Shah also, on his side, having heard of what had taken place, flew into such a passion that he determined to kill all the Khataiki living in Khwarezm, but was restrained from that

by his mother, who pointed out that they were not in any way to blame. Then he immediately collected an army, went against Samarkand, and, having conquered it after a stubborn defence on the part of the besieged, and many sharp skirmishes with them, he gave up the city to pillage, and having seized Osman, executed him (Gregorief, 18); this was in 609. Dorn assigns a doubtful coin to him. Thus ended this famous dynasty.

KAUŚĀMBI AS DESCRIBED BY HIUEN TSIANG.

J.R.A.S. 1898



REFERENCES.

1 *Vihāra* of sandal-wood statue.
2 Well and bathing-house of Buddha.
3 House of Goṣira.
4 *Saṅghārāma.*
5 *Stūpa* of Aśoka.
6 *Stūpa* of hair and nails.
7 Double-storeyed tower of Vasubandhu.
8 Mango grove and building of Asanga.
9 Stone dwelling of Nāga.
10 *Stūpa* of Aśoka.
11 *Stūpa* of hair and nails.

There were also ten ruined monasteries (*Saṅghārāmas*), and fifty Deva temples, of which the situation is not indicated

SCALE.

6 *li* or 1 inch on plan = 1 mile.

ART. XXI.—*Kauśāmbī and Srāvastī.* By VINCENT A. SMITH, M.R.A.S., Indian Civil Service. With Two Plates.

[This paper is No. III of my "Prolegomena to Ancient Indian History."

No. I, "The Iron Pillar of Delhi (Mihraulī) and the Emperor Candra (Chandra)," appeared in this Journal in January, 1897.

No. II, "The Conquests of Samudra Gupta," appeared in this Journal for October, 1897.—V. A. S.]

Page 503 . . . . . Kauśāmbī.
,, 520 . . . . . Śrāvastī.

I. KAUŚĀMBĪ.

Exact investigation, assisted by some recent fortunate discoveries, has proved that the reputed identifications of many of the ancient sites famous in early Indian history are beyond doubt erroneous. Almost every such identification requires to be submitted to searching criticism before it can be accepted as correct. If any ancient site could be regarded as satisfactorily identified, that of the city of Kauśāmbī might apparently be so regarded. Nevertheless, the current belief is mistaken.

Since the publication in 1871 of Sir Alexander Cunningham's first volume of the Archaeological Survey Reports, the identification of Kauśāmbī with Kosam on the Jumna, about thirty miles south of west from Allahabad, has never, so far as I am aware, been questioned except by me.[1] The identification had been suggested by the late Sir E. C.

[1] In the paper on "The Birthplace of Gautama Buddha" in this Journal for July, 1897, p. 615.

Bayley ten years before the publication of Cunningham's Report.

There is certainly a great deal to be said for the current belief. The name Kosam is apparently a shortened form of Kauśāmbī or Kośāmbī, and the place is actually known to this day among the Jains as Kośāmbī nagar.[1] A Jain inscription, dated Samvat 1881 (= A.D. 1824–25), at the Pabhosā hill, three miles to the south-west of the great Kosam fort, expressly identifies Pabhosā with the classical Prabhāsa, and Kosam with Kauśāmbī.[2]

An inscription at Kosam, of the reign of Akbar, dated in Samvat 1621 (= A.D. 1524), also mentions the name of Kauśāmbīpura.[3]

The remains at Kosam are sufficiently extensive to be those of a capital city, and some of the ruins both at Kosam and Pabhosā may be more or less plausibly identified with structures mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims.

Moreover, Kosam is situated on the Jumna, as also was Kauśāmbī, according to a Buddhist tradition.[4]

These unquestionable facts seem at first sight to establish incontestably that at Kosam we see the ruins of the ancient capital city Kauśāmbī, which was visited by Hiuen Tsiang in about A.D. 639, and is mentioned by Fa-hian about A.D. 400.[5]

Notwithstanding these facts, the particulars given by the Chinese travellers are inconsistent with the theory that the Kauśāmbī to which they refer is represented by the modern Kosam.

The two small villages Kosam Inām (i.e. revenue-free) and Kosam Khirāj (i.e. revenue-paying) are situated on the Jumna, twenty-eight miles about west-south-west of

[1] Cunningham, "Reports," i, 303; *Epigraphia Indica*, ii, 244.
[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, ii, p. 244.
[3] "Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the N.W.P. and Oudh," p. 142.
[4] The legend of Bakkula in Hardy's "Manual of Buddhism," p. 520, 2nd ed. Cunningham quotes page 501, referring perhaps to the first edition.
[5] Dr. Führer has made an astounding blunder in asserting ("Mon. Antiq. and Inscr.," p. 144) that Kauśāmbī was visited by Sung-yun in A.D. 519. I need hardly observe that Sung-yun's travels in India extended no further than Peshāwar.

Allahabad. The hill and village of Pabhosā are about two miles further to the west.[1]

This position by no means agrees with the indications given by either of the Chinese pilgrims. It may possibly, perhaps, be reconciled with the brief allusion of Fa-hian, but it is absolutely and incontrovertibly irreconcilable with the precise statements of Hiuen Tsiang. Either, therefore, the grave, learned, and accurate scholar Hiuen Tsiang has for once committed himself to a series of false, and apparently purposeless, statements, or Kosam is not the Kauśāmbī which he twice visited.

Fa-hian's very brief and cursory allusion may first be disposed of. Fa-hian says:—

"When you go north-west from the *vihāra* of the Deer-wild park for thirteen *yojanas*, there is a kingdom named Kauśāmbī. Its *vihāra* is named Ghochiravana, a place where Buddha formerly resided. Now, as of old, there is a company of monks there, most of whom are students of the *hīnāyāna*."

The place where Buddha converted the evil demon was eight *yojanas* to the east of Kauśāmbī, and "south from this 200 *yojanas*, there is a country named Dakshina."[2]

"M. Remusat observes that it may be doubted whether Fa-hian personally visited this kingdom of *Keou-than-mi*. He speaks, indeed, but vaguely of it, and instead of his usual expression, 'you arrive at such a place,' 'you reach such a town,' he contents himself with simply stating 'there is such a kingdom.' The circumstances he reports are common to too great a number of places to enable us to fix its site with precision. The traveller's indications serve only to fix it at about 60 miles N.W. of Benares.—C. L."[3]

[1] "Mon. Ant.," pp. 140, 143. The distances as stated by Cunningham do not exactly agree with the figures given by Führer. The *Epigraphia* uses the spellings Pabhosā and Pābhosā.

[2] Chs. xxxiv, xxxv in Legge's translation. The versions of Remusat (Laidlay), Beal, and Giles all substantially agree with Dr. Legge's version in this passage.

[3] "The Pilgrimage of Fa Hian" (Laidlay), Calcutta, 1848, p. 317. Giles (p. 86) gives the Chinese form of the name as Chü-shan-mi. The various systems for transliterating Chinese vary more widely even than the systems for transliterating Indian languages.

I agree with Remusat and Laidlay, and am convinced that Fa-hian never personally visited Kauśāmbī.

The Deer-park mentioned by Fa-hian is Sārnāth, north of Benares. Thirteen *yojanas* are roughly equivalent to about 92–95 miles, and not 60 as supposed by Laidlay, and if we may read "west" for "north-west," the distance suits Kosam well. Fa-hian was not very careful about his bearings, and his text will bear the interpretation of referring to the place now known as Kosam. It is, however, to be noted that immediately after the mention of Kauśāmbī and the place of conversion of the evil demon, Fa-hian proceeds to describe the "country named Dakshina," or Southern India, and this circumstance suggests the hypothesis that his bearing for Kauśāmbī must be read "south-west" instead of "north-west." Such errors, though they must not rashly be assumed, certainly occur in the text of Fa-hian. A well-known instance is the erroneous statement in Chapter xx that Srāvastī lay eight *yojanas south* of Shā-che, the true bearing being east of north. It seems unlikely that Fa-hian should describe Southern India in immediate connection with a place north-west of Benares. On the other hand, the transition from a locality south-west of Benares to Southern India is natural and easy, and proof will now be given that as a matter of fact the Kauśāmbī of Hiuen Tsiang lay to the south-west of Benares, and also that Fa-hian and Hiuen Tsiang when speaking of Kauśāmbī referred to the same place.

The much more explicit statements of Hiuen Tsiang, which are perfectly free from ambiguity, and which agree one with the other, will next be discussed.

The passages defining the geographical position of Kauśāmbī are found both in the "Records" and in the "Life," and are three in number, as follows:—

I. "Going from this country [*scil.* Prayāga, or Allahabad] south-west, we enter into a great forest infested with savage beasts and wild elephants, which congregate in numbers and molest travellers, so that unless in large numbers it is difficult (*dangerous*) to pass this way. . . . .

"Going 500 *li* or so, we come to the country *Kiau-shang-mi* (Kauśāmbī). This country is about 6,000 *li* in circuit, and the capital about 30 *li*. . . . .

"To the south-west of the city 8 or 9 *li* is a stone dwelling of a venomous Nāga. . . . .

"To the north-east of the Nāga dwelling is a great forest, after going about 700 *li* through which, we cross the Ganges, and going northward we arrive at the town of *Kia-shi-po-lo* (Kaśapura). . . .

"Going north from this 170 or 180 *li*, we come to the kingdom of Pi-so-kia (Viśākhā). . . . . Going from this north-east 500 *li* or so, we come to the kingdom of *Shi-sah-lo-fu-sih-tai* (Srāvastī)."[1]

II. The earlier passage in the "Life" is an abbreviated reproduction of the passage in the "Records" above cited, and is as follows:—

"From this [*scil.* Prayāga], in a south-west direction, we enter a great forest, in which we frequently encounter evil beasts and wild elephants. After going 500 *li* or so, we arrive at *Kiau-shang-mi* (Kauśāmbī). . . . . Going about 500 *li* from this, we come to the kingdom of *Pi-so-kia* (Viśākhā). . . . .

"Going north-east from this 500 *li* or so, we arrive at the kingdom of *Shi-lo-fu-shi-ti* (Srāvastī)."[2]

III. The later passage in the "Life" refers to Hiuen Tsiang's second visit to Kauśāmbī, when he was about to start on his return journey to China, under the escort of Rājā Udhita.

"From the country of Prayāga he went south-west through a great desert waste for seven days, when he arrived at the kingdom of Kauśāmbī. To the south of the city is the place where the lord Goshira presented a garden to Buddha.

[1] Beal, i, pp. 234–240. The punctuation of the passage relating to the great forest is erroneous in Beal's printed text, and is corrected in the Errata. I have quoted the passage in its correct form. Julien's version of this important phrase is as follows: "Après avoir fait environ sept cents *li* dans une vaste forêt, qui était située au nord-est de la caverne du dragon, il passa le Gange, et se dirigeant au nord, il arriva à la ville de Kia-che-pou-lo (Kāśapura)."—i, 287. Julien makes the first vowel in Kāśapura long. There is no doubt that the pilgrim means that the distance from Kauśāmbī to the place where he crossed the Ganges was 700 *li*.

[2] Beal, "Life of Hiuen Tsiang," p. 90.

"Having adored the sacred traces again, he proceeded with Udhita-rājā north-west for one month and some days, passing through various countries. Once more he paid adoration to the sacred traces of the heavenly ladder,[1] and then proceeding north-west three *yojanas*, he came to the capital of the country of *Pi-lo-na-na* (Vīrashana). Here he halted two months."

Comparison of these three passages proves that—

(1) Kauśāmbī lay to the south-west of Prayāga (Allahabad);
(2) At a distance of about 500 *li*, or 84 miles;
(3) The journey between the two places occupied seven days' march with a large camp;
(4) The road lay through a great forest infested with "savage beasts and wild elephants";
(5) The same forest extended north-east of the Nāga's cave, which was south-west of the city, and therefore extended north of Kauśāmbī, for a distance of about 700 *li*, or 117 miles, to the Ganges;
(6) After crossing the Ganges the traveller proceeded an unspecified distance northwards, and reached the town of Kaśapura (or Kāśapura);
(7) From Kāśapura a journey of 170 or 180 *li*, nearly 30 miles, brought him to Viśākhā;
(8) From which place the distance to Śrāvastī was about 500 *li*, or 84 miles, in a north-eastern direction.

The abbreviated account in the "Life" omits the Kāśapura stage, but that stage must clearly be inserted as it is in the "Records."

[1] The "heavenly ladder" was located at the capital of Kapitha (Beal, "Records," i, 202; Julien, i, 237). Cunningham ("Reports," i, 271; xi, 22) identifies this place with the Sanskrit Sankāśya and the modern Sankisa in the Farrukhābād District. Like so many of Cunningham's identifications, this has been accepted without criticism, though quite at variance with the facts. By this allegation I mean that the details given by Hiuen Tsiang are irreconcilable with the local facts of Sankisa. The Sankāśya of Fa-hian is the same as the capital of Kapitha. The sacred buildings of the "heavenly ladder" were situated 20 *li*, or about three miles, east of the city of Sankāśya. No city is shown to be traceable three miles west of the Sankisa ruins. Moreover, the *standing elephant* on the pillar at Sankisa cannot be the *sitting or couchant lion* seen by Hiuen Tsiang at the capital of Kapitha. Pi-lo-na-na of the "Life" is the Pi-lo-shan-na of the "Records." The transliteration Vīrasana is doubtful (note in *Errata*, Julien, vol. ii, 573).

The facts above enumerated, which are stated by the pilgrim and his biographer without ambiguity or indistinctness, prove conclusively that the Kauśāmbī visited twice by Hiuen Tsiang cannot possibly be represented by the ruins at Kosam, about 30 miles a little south of west of Allahabad. No torturing of figures can extend the distance between Kosam and Allahabad from about 30 miles to 84 miles,[1] or the distance between Kosam and the Ganges from about 21 miles to 117. Nor is there the slightest reason for believing that a great forest full of tigers and wild elephants existed in the seventh century A.D. along the bank of the Jumna in the immediate neighbourhood of Prayāga.

Nor is it possible that Hiuen Tsiang and his escort should have taken seven days to march about thirty miles.

Cunningham in vain labours to show that by one road the distance between Kosam and Allahabad may be extended to 35, or even 37, miles, but the highest of these figures would not justify the statement that the journey occupied seven days, nor can the description of the pilgrim's route be made to suit the country along the bank of the Jumna between Allahabad and Kosam.

The language of the texts means unmistakably that the pilgrim, when going from Prayāga to Kauśāmbī, travelled in a south-westerly direction through the still existing forests of Karwī and Rīwā, and that when he journeyed northwards towards Śrāvastī he passed through a more westerly part of the same forest, until after a journey of 115–120 miles he emerged on the bank of the Ganges.

The general course of the Ganges above Allahabad is from north-west to south-east. Kauśāmbī was situated at a distance of from 84 to 90 miles in a south-westerly

[1] An unlucky note in Beal's "Records," ii, 234, that the distance between Prayāga and Kauśāmbī "is properly 50 *li* as stated by Hwui-lih," the biographer of Hiuen Tsiang, misled Cunningham. The blunder is corrected in the "Life," p. 91, note 1. Both Hiuen Tsiang and his biographer state the distance as 500 *li*, and the statement is emphasized by the explanation that the journey occupied seven days. 500 *li* of Hiuen Tsiang commonly correspond to 12 *yojanas* of Fa-hian, and either expression is roughly equivalent to from 84–90 English miles.

direction from Prayāga (Allahabad). Application of a pair of compasses will show that the nearest point on the Ganges which would be about 115 miles from a point on an arc about 85 miles distant in a south-westerly direction from Allahabad is Dalmāu Ghāṭ. In fact, the choice lies between Dalmāu Ghāṭ (ferry) and Baksar Ghāṭ, a little higher up the stream. Both these spots are permanent ancient crossing places, and both are marked by ancient remains. Dalmāu, in the Rāi Barelī District of Oudh, is the scene of an annual fair of considerable repute and sanctity, and its conspicuous and remarkable so-called "fort" may really be, as Dr. Führer supposed, based on the remains of Buddhist *stūpas*.[1]

Baksar (Vakāśrama), in the Unāo District of Oudh, is also a very holy place, with a lofty mound near.[2]

Gunīr, on the opposite bank in the Fathpur District,[3] is certainly a Buddhist site. Dr. Hoey possesses a Buddhist image found there. Ancient and much frequented roads lead from the crossing places at Baksar and Dalmāu northwards and pass innumerable ancient sites, among which may be named Pātan-Bihār, Rāi Barelī, and Lucknow.

Hiuen Tsiang does not state the distance of Kāśapura from the bank of the river, but inasmuch as Kāśapura was not more than 680 *li* from Śrāvastī, the true site of which has now been determined in lat. 28° 7′ N. and long. 81° 50′ E., Kāśapura must have lain at a very considerable distance from the Ganges. In the second part of this paper I shall suggest the identification of Kāśapura with ruins near Mohanlālganj south of Lucknow, and of Viśākhā with Kursī north of Lucknow.

I think it practically certain that Hiuen Tsiang, when going from Kauśāmbī to Śrāvastī, crossed the Ganges either opposite Dalmāu or opposite Baksar. The distance between these two ferries is only about 23 miles.

[1] "Monum. Ant. and Inscr.," p. 321. Dr. Führer wrongly uses the spelling Dâlmâu. The first vowel is short. I know the place well.
[2] Ibid., p. 268.
[3] Ibid., p. 160.

From this reasoning the result follows that the Kauśāmbī twice visited by Hiuen Tsiang is to be looked for, and, when looked for, will be found, in one of the Native States of the Baghelkhand Agency, in the valley of the Tons River, and not very far from the East Indian Railway, which connects Allahabad with Jabalpur. In short, the Satnā (Sutna) railway station marks the *approximate* position of Kauśāmbī.

The celebrated Buddhist ruins at Bharhut (Bharaut) in the Nāgaudh State satisfy the conditions of geographical position with almost absolute accuracy. They are situated about nine miles a little east of south from Satnā railway station, about 90 to 92 miles south-west of Allahabad,[1] and about 120 miles from the bank of the Ganges opposite Baksar. I do *not* affirm that the known remains at or close to Bharhut are those of Kauśāmbī. I only say that, so far as position is concerned, they might be, and that Kauśāmbī certainly was not very distant from Bharhut. The great mound at Kho, three miles west of Uchahara and about twelve miles west from Bharhut, is said to mark the site of "the capital of the Teliyā Rājas," and might prove to be Kauśāmbī, though Cunningham found nothing Buddhist there.[2] Whatever place may prove to be the site of Hiuen Tsiang's Kauśāmbī, it will, when properly looked for, be found not very far from Satnā, Kho, or Bharhut.

To return for a moment to Fa-hian. Although with the correction of "north-west" to "west," the text of Fa-hian, read by itself, may be interpreted as referring to Kosam, it is obvious that if Hiuen Tsiang's Kauśāmbī is not Kosam, and if both Hiuen Tsiang and Fa-hian refer to the same place by the name Kauśāmbī, then the Kauśāmbī of Fa-hian cannot be Kosam. There can be no doubt that both pilgrims mean the same place when they speak of Kauśāmbī.

[1] Cunningham's work on the "Stûpa of Bharhut" opens with the extraordinarily erroneous assertion that Bharhut "is exactly 120 miles to the south-west of Allahabad." According to the scale of his map in the same volume the distance is about 98 miles. The map in vol. vii of the "Reports" makes the distance to be about 90 miles. Other maps which I have used indicate the distance as about 92 miles.

[2] Cunningham, "Reports," ix, 7.

The one definite detail concerning Kauśāmbī mentioned by Fa-hian is, that "its *vihāra* is named Ghochiravana—a place where Buddha formerly resided."

Hiuen Tsiang says :—

"Within the city, at the south-east angle of it, is an old habitation, the ruins of which only exist. This is the house of Ghōshira (Kun-shi-lo) the nobleman. In the middle is a *vihāra* of Buddha, and a *stūpa* containing hair and nail relics. There are also ruins of Tathāgata's bathing-house.

"Not far to the south-east of the city is an old *sanghārāma*. This was formerly the place where Gōshira the nobleman had a garden. In it is a *stūpa* built by Asoka-rāja, about 200 feet high." [1]

Aśvaghoṣa states that Buddha, "coming to the Kauśāmbī country, converted Goshira." [2]

The express association by both Fa-hian and Hiuen Tsiang of Goṣira with Kauśāmbī renders inadmissible the hypothesis that the two pilgrims speak of different places. Consequently, inasmuch as Hiuen Tsiang's Kauśāmbī is not Kosam, Fa-hian's Kauśāmbī is not Kosam either.

Fa-hian, as has been shown, did not visit Kauśāmbī, the position of which was extremely out of the way. His brief note about the place was recorded from information received, and either in the original manuscript, or in the process of copying, "north-west" was written by mistake for "south-west." The distance, too, of 13 *yojanas*, equivalent to 90–95 miles, is too short. The direct distance from Sārnāth, north of Benares, to Bharhut, the approximate position of Kauśāmbī, is about 136 miles or 18 *yojanas*. Therefore, in Fa-hian's text, for "north-west, thirteen *yojanas*," I would substitute "south-west, eighteen (or nineteen) *yojanas*." The text is certainly wrong, being inconsistent with the precise data of Hiuen Tsiang, which I accept exactly as they stand in his text.

I claim, therefore, to have proved that Kosam, although identified with Kauśāmbī by the Jains in modern times, is

[1] Beal, "Records," i, 236. I am not responsible for the vagaries in spelling of the name Goṣira.

[2] "Sacred Books of the East," xix, p. 245.

not the Kauśāmbī associated by early Buddhist legend with the conversion of Goṣira, and which was noticed by Fa-hian and described in detail by Hiuen Tsiang, who visited the place twice.

I cannot explain how or why Kosam came to bear the name it has, or why the Jains believe it to be Kauśāmbī. Perhaps at one time the capital of the kingdom was at Kosam, and at another time near Bharhut.

But the existence of this difficulty, at present unexplained, does not in the least affect the cogency of the arguments adduced above.[1]

The foregoing arguments, by which the erroneousness of the received belief in the identity of Kosam and Kauśāmbī has been in my judgment demonstrated, are concerned solely with geographical position. In connection with this part of my subject I may point out that Cunningham dwells on "the happy position of Bharhut at the northern end of the long narrow valley of Mahiyar, near the point where the high road from Ujain and Bhilsa turns to the north towards Kosâmbi and Srâvasti. That Kosâmbi itself was one of the usual halting-places between Ujain and Pâtaliputra, we have a convincing proof in the curious story of the famous physician Jivaka of Râjagriha."

Cunningham then proceeds to cite legends from Hardy's "Manual of Buddhism," which place Kauśāmbī 50 *yojanas* from Ujjain, and mention "Godhi, Diwisâ, Walsewet" as intermediate places.[2]

The direct distance between Ujjain and Bharhut measured on Keith Johnston's map of India is about 340 miles.

[1] I have assumed throughout that the Chinese names given by Fa-hian and Hiuen Tsiang are correctly represented by the name Kauśāmbī. Julien gives the Chinese as Kiu-chen-mi, and explains as "faute pour Kiao-chang-mi (Kauśāmbī)" (*Liste des Mots abrégés*, vol. ii, p. 559). Beal adopts the form Kiau-shang-mi, as if it really stood in the text of Hiuen Tsiang ("Records," i, 235). Legge gives no transliteration. Giles transliterates Chü-shan-mi, and says that the second character is *shan*, not *chang*. The form *chang* used by Julien for French readers should of course be read as *shang* in English. Inasmuch as both the Buddhist and Brahman legends associate Kauśāmbī with King Udāyana, they must both refer to the same place, and it appears necessary to transliterate the Chinese names as Kauśāmbī.

[2] "Stûpa of Bharhut," p. 1.

Taking the *yojana* as equivalent to about seven miles, the approximate distance of 50 *yojanas* (7 × 50 = 350) given in the legend agrees well with the position for Kauśāmbī deduced from Hiuen Tsiang's data. The distance to Kosam, some 90 miles greater, cannot possibly be made to agree with the estimate of 50 *yojanas*.

The circumstance that Cunningham held erroneous beliefs concerning the sites of Kauśāmbī and Śrāvastī does not affect the fact that Bharhut lies on the ancient road between Ujjain and Northern India. The neighbourhood of Bharhut on the old line of road is therefore a likely position for the capital of a kingdom.

Kauśāmbī is the scene of the Ratnāvalī drama, of which the main subject is the love of Udāyana or Vatsa, prince of Kauśāmbī, or Vatsa pattana, for Vasava-dattā, princess of Ujjain. This story is more easily intelligible when the kingdoms of Kauśāmbī and Ujjain are regarded as neighbours. Hiuen Tsiang estimates that the countries of Kauśāmbī and Ujjain were of the same size, each being 6,000 *li* (nearly 1,000 miles) in circuit. If we assume that the capital of the Kauśāmbī country was near Bharhut, the two countries must have been neighbours. The pilgrim gives no indication of the existence of any kingdom or country between them. The kingdom of Chi-ki-to, or Chi-chi-to ("Records," ii, 271), was north-east of Ujjain in the direction of Jhānsī and Mahoba, and was probably the same as Jijhoti or Bundelkhand.

According to my view the kingdom of Kauśāmbī was roughly equivalent to Rīwā, and marched with the kingdoms of Prayāga, Jijhoti, and Ujjain.

I now proceed to discuss the topography of Kauśāmbī, as described by Hiuen Tsiang, and that of Kosam, as described by Cunningham and Führer, and to show that the geographical argument against the identity of Kauśāmbī and Kosam, though so strong in itself as to need no support, is supported by the topographical argument. To illustrate the topography I make use of an expedient which has proved serviceable on other occasions, and summarize Hiuen

Tsiang's description in the form of a map drawn roughly to scale.

That description tells us of a large city some three miles and a half in diameter, lying south-west of Allahabad, with a great forest extending for many miles to the north and north-east of the city.

The city in the seventh century A.D. possessed ten ruinous and nearly deserted Buddhist monasteries, and was inhabited by an "enormous number" of orthodox Hindus, who were provided with about fifty temples. Certain important Buddhist monuments were still recognizable, and the Chinese pilgrim devotes his detailed description to these. Inside the city the most notable sacred place was the temple, about 60 feet high, containing the sandal-wood statue of Buddha. The precise position of this temple is not indicated, but it stood within an old palace, and was probably not far from the centre of the city. A well, supposed to be that at which Buddha bathed, still existed east of the temple. The bath-house had been destroyed long before, though the site was still remembered. A group of buildings in the south-east corner of the city, consisting of a temple, a *stūpa*, the ruins of the house of Goṣira, and the ruins of another bath-house, was associated with the legend of Goṣira.

Outside the walls the remains described by the pilgrim fell into two groups, one lying to the south-west and the other to the south-east.

The south-eastern group, "not far from"[1] the city walls, consisted of a great *stūpa* about 200 feet high, ascribed to Aśoka (No. 5), a monastery (No. 4) in the garden of Goṣira, another *stūpa* (No. 6) containing relics of Buddha's hair and nails, the double-storied tower of Vasubandhu (No. 7), and a building connected with Asaṅga (No. 8).

The south-western group consisted of another great Aśoka *stūpa*, also 200 feet high (No. 10), another hair and nails

[1] The phrase translated "not far from" in Hiuen Tsiang's book means always, so far as I have been able to test it, "adjacent," or "quite close to."

stūpa (No. 11), and the stone dwelling of a venomous Nāga (No. 9). This group lay nearly a mile and a half from the city. Julien uses the words "caverne en pierre," or "cave in the rock," for the phrase "stone dwelling" of Mr. Beal.

Cunningham's attempts to identify the sites above enumerated with particular remains at Kosam are most unsatisfactory. His assumption that the mound near the centre of the great fort at Kosam corresponds with the temple of the sandal-wood statue is arbitrary, and rests solely on the prior assumption that Kosam is the Kauśāmbī of Hiuen Tsiang.

Cunningham makes no attempt to show that there are any traces of the great *stūpa* of Aśoka, 200 feet high, to the south-east of the fort. He assumes that the village of Kosam Khirāj occupies the site of the *stūpa* merely because squared stones of all sorts, including some fragments of a *stūpa* railing, are found in the village. But such stones may well have been removed from the interior of the adjoining "fort" or city. If the village occupies the site of a huge *stūpa*, traces of a great circular building should still be visible, and Cunningham does not profess to have found any such traces.

The attempt at identification of the south-western group is equally unsatisfactory.

The ruins at Kosam occupy the northern bank of the river Jumna, standing on the cliff. There is no room for any group of remains to the south-west ("Reports," vol. i, pl. xlviii), and Cunningham can only say that—

"If Hwen Thsang's south-west bearing is correct, the holy cave [i.e. the dwelling of the Nāga] must have been carried away long ago by the encroachment of the Jumna, as the clear reach of the river above Kosâmbi, as far as the hill of Prabhâsa, a distance of four miles, now bears 282° from the south-west of the old city, or 12° to the north of west. The hill of Prabhâsa, which is on the left bank of the Jumna, is the only rock in the *Antarved* or Doab of the Ganges and Jumna. In a hollow between its two peaks stands a modern Jain temple, but there is no cavern, and no trace of any ancient buildings." (i, p. 311.)

At a subsequent visit Cunningham came to the conclusion that the rock-cave, or stone dwelling, of the Nāga mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang is to be identified with the ancient cave in the hill of Pabhosā. In making this identification Cunningham has been followed by Dr. Führer, and both those scholars have not hesitated to tamper with Hiuen Tsiang's text in order to support their view. The Nāga's abode was situated, according to the pilgrim, at a distance of about eight or nine *li*, that is to say, about a mile and a half, *south-west* of the city.

"At my previous visits," Cunningham writes, "I had looked for this cave on the bank of the Jumna to the west of the city, just outside the village of Pâli. The south-west bearing is quite impossible, as the general course of the Jumna above the city is from north-west to south-east. . . . . It is true that the hill of Pabhosa is three miles to the north-west of the great fort at Garhwâ [*scil.* the fortified enclosure between Kosam Khirāj and Kosam Inām], but it is not more than two miles from the present villages of Kosam [Inām] and Pâli, which formed the old city outside the walls of the fort.

"On reaching the hill of Pabhosa I found that there was not only a cave high up on the face of the hill, but that there was also a Nâga, or serpent, of which everybody had heard, but which no one had seen. . . . .

"The cave is artificial, and is simply an old quarry with a pillar left in front for the support of the roof. In front there is a Jain temple, and there are three standing Jain figures cut in the rock above. . . . . .

"The Chinese pilgrim mentions that there was a stûpa of Asoka, about 200 feet high, beside the cave, but no traces of such a building could be found. It is very probable, however, that the present Jain temple occupies the site of some ancient building."

In March, 1887, Dr. Führer had himself lowered by ropes from the top of the cliff and entered the cave, where he discovered interesting inscriptions of kings named Bahaṣati mitra and Āśāḍhasena.[1] These inscriptions are in characters

[1] These inscriptions had previously been brought to notice by Mr. Cockburn, who viewed them with a telescope from a distance.

of the first or second centuries B.C. They have no reference to Buddhism. The only passage which could be interpreted as Buddhistic is the mention of the "Kaśśapiya [Kāśyapiya] Arhats." Dr. Bühler points out that these words may be interpreted either as "the Buddhists of the Kāśyapiya school, or the pupils of Vardhamāna, who was a Kāśyapa by *gotra*." Considering that the cave is a Jain holy place, with a Jain temple in front of it, and Jain images cut in the rock above, it is obvious that the second alternative interpretation is the only legitimate one, and that the dedication by King Āśāḍhasena must be interpreted as referring to the religion of the Jain Vardhamāna, and not to Buddhism.

I am not concerned with the identity of Pabhosā and Prabhāsa, because I am not aware of any independent evidence connecting Prabhāsa with Kauśāmbī. But the Pabhosā cave does not correspond either in distance or direction with the Nāga's dwelling visited by Hiuen Tsiang, and it is Jain, not Buddhist. The absence of the slightest trace of the huge south-western *stūpa*, still 200 feet high in the seventh century, is very inadequately accounted for by the remark that "it is very probable that the present Jain temple occupies the site of some ancient building."

The plain truth is, that the facts of Pabhosā do not in any respect tally with the description of the Nāga's dwelling recorded by Hiuen Tsiang, and that the only reason for tampering with the pilgrim's text is a prior determination to believe in the identity of Kosam and Kauśāmbī.

While not denying the existence of occasional errors in the statements of distances and bearings in the texts of both Fa-hian and Hiuen Tsiang, I protest strongly against the practice of shirking difficulties by facile alterations of the texts. Cunningham was far too prone to indulge in this easy method of clearing away difficulties which stood in the way of his favourite beliefs, and many of his errors can be traced to his unwillingness to accept historical documents as they stand, and his willingness to read black where the author had written white.

Many passages in the texts of the Chinese pilgrims in which Cunningham rashly proposed emendations can now be proved to be accurate.

Cunningham admits that, as he failed to find any trace of the great Aśoka *stūpa* to the south-west of Kauśāmbī, he equally failed to find any trace of the equally great *stūpa* with its accompanying monastery to the south-east.[1]

The result of all this detailed discussion is, that I affirm with confidence that on topographical as well as on geographical grounds the identification of the remains at Kosam and Pabhosā with the Kauśāmbī of the Chinese pilgrims is demonstrated to be impossible.

I need hardly say that the existence of a legend about the presence of a venomous serpent in an inaccessible cave is no proof that such cave is the Nāga's dwelling mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang. Legends of snakes and dragons are associated with most old places.

In order to leave no supposed proof of the identity of Kosam and Kauśāmbī unnoticed, I may add that the stone inscription from Karrā on the Ganges, forty-one miles north-west of Allahabad, does not prove that Karrā was in the kingdom of Kauśāmbī. It states that "in Sambat 1092 (A.D. 1035), on the 1st of the light half of Ashâdha, the paramount sovereign Yaso-pâla of Kâṭē, at the village of Payahâsa, in the kingdom of Kauśāmbī, issues commands to the principal persons . . . ."

This statement, if correctly translated, only proves that the village of Payahāsa, wherever that may have been, was included in the kingdom of Kauśāmbī.[2]

Cunningham's identification of the two-storied tower of Vasubandhu, in the south-eastern group of the Kauśāmbī sacred places, with a chamber in the Tikrī mound utilized by the Trigonometrical Survey as an observing station, is quite unconvincing.[3]

[1] Führer, *Epigraphia Indica*, ii, 240; Cunningham, "Reports," xxi, pp. 1–3, and pl. ii.
[2] Cunningham, "Reports," xvii, 95, quoting Prinsep in J.A.S.B., v, 731.
[3] "Reports," xxi, 3.

II. ŚRĀVASTĪ.

The determination of the true position of the site of Śrāvastī depends on the geographical relation of that city to the two fixed points, Kanauj and Kapilavastu. The recent discovery of Kapilavastu renders the solution of the problem much more easy and certain than it was when Cunningham unsuccessfully attempted the task.

From Kanauj Fa-hian proceeded to cross the Ganges, and travelling in a southern direction, reached, at a distance of three *yojanas*, the forest, or village, of Ā-le.[1]

Hiuen Tsiang, travelling 100 *li* (17 or 18 miles) south-east of Kanauj, and crossing the Ganges, arrived at Navadevakula, which is unquestionably Newal in the Unão District of Oudh, distant about 18 miles in a direct line south-east from Kanauj.[2]

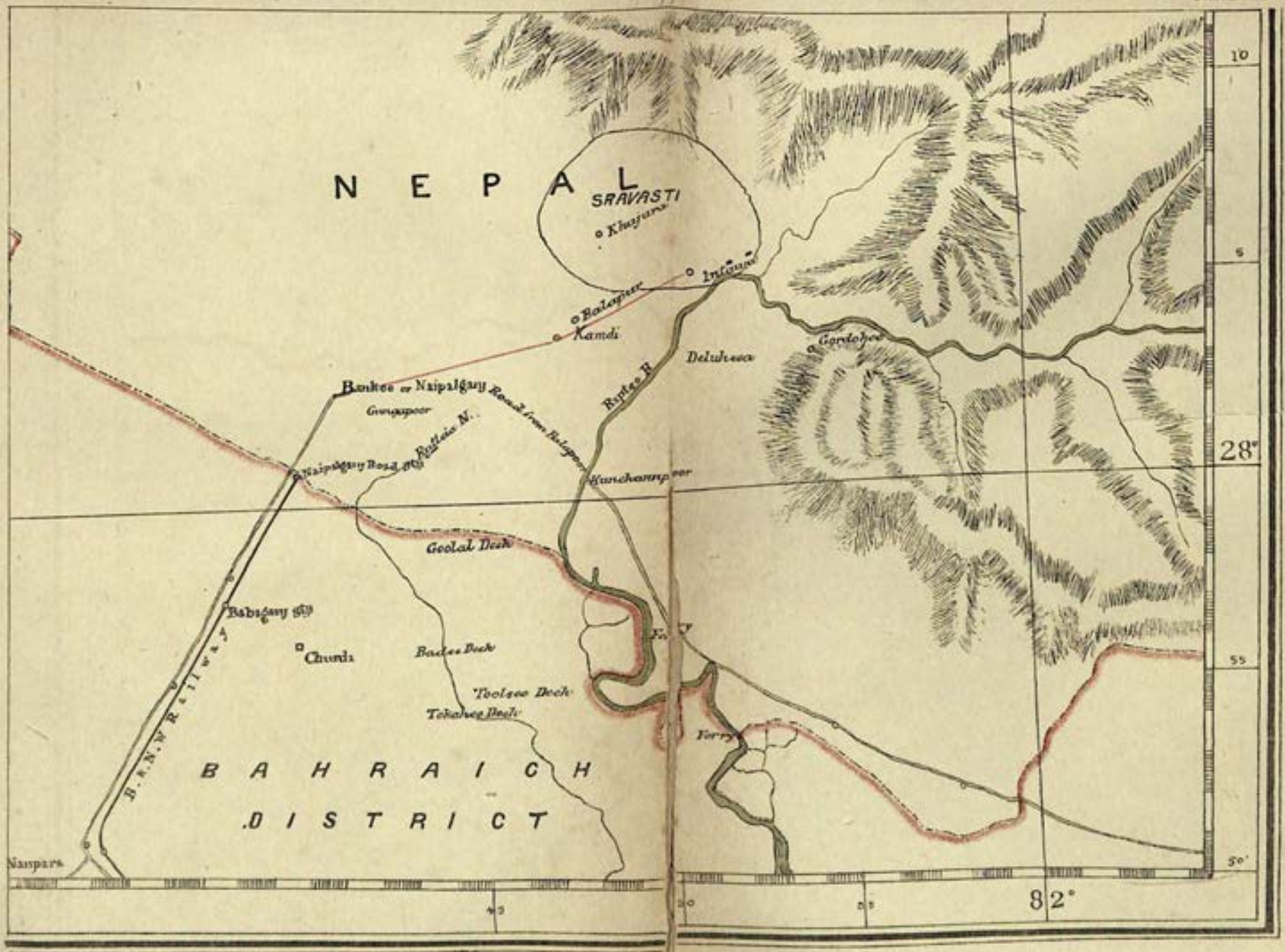
The slightly greater distance of three *yojanas*, or about 21–23 miles, traversed by Fa-hian, indicates that the place called Ā-le by him must be either Bāngarmāu or Jogī Koṭ,[3]

[1] Fa-hian, ch. xviii. The name is variously spelt—Ā-le (Legge), A-li (Giles), A-lo (Beal), and Ho-li (Laidlay). The Corean text used by Legge calls the place a "village"; the Chinese texts used by the other translators call it a "forest." As there were *stūpas* at Ā-le, it is clear that the place was not merely a forest. The town of Āḷavī, mentioned in Buddhist works, and described as "a city near a large forest" (*āṭavī*), is probably the same as Alow mentioned in the "Manual of Buddhism," the country of Ālaweï referred to in Yule's "Cathay," and the town called Ālabhiyā or Ālabhī by the Jains. Dr. Hoernle's suggestion that these various names all correspond to the Ā-le of Fa-hian seems plausible ("Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions," pp. 89, 271). The legend of the king of Alow will be found in Hardy's "Manual," 2nd ed., p. 269.

[2] "To the south-east of the capital, going about 100 *li*, we come to the town of Na-po-ti-po-kulo (Navadevakula). It is situated on the eastern bank of the Ganges, and is about 20 *li* in circuit." (Beal, "Records," i, 223.)

The mound of ruins at Newal covers a space of about 15 acres, and is situated on the high bank of the old Ganges now known as the Kalyānī Nadī. According to tradition Newal represents a city older than Bāngarmāu, which is said to date from Muhammadan times. The ancient remains at Newal consist of five mounds, one of which is only a mile from the mounds of Bāngarmāu.

[3] Jogī Koṭ is "perched on a large ancient *kherā* [*scil.* mound]. A statue of Pārvatī, locally called Phulmatī Devī, bears a short dedicatory inscription in characters of the fifth century," that is to say, about contemporary with Fa-hian. ("Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions," p. 271.)



SITE OF SRA VASTI.

SCALE 4 MILES T 1 INCH.

most probably the latter. The former is about 21 miles, and the latter about 23 miles, in a direct line from Kanauj. Bāngarmāu is only about two miles south-east from Newal, and the two places, in fact, form a single site. Jogī Koṭ, about five miles north-east of Bāngarmāu, may be regarded as a suburb of the old city, and as the Ā-le of Fa-hian. Both Newal and Bāngarmāu are on the ancient line of road connecting Mathurā, Kanauj, and Ajodhya. Six ferries across the Ganges are in the neighbourhood. Sañchānkoṭ, or Rāmkoṭ, on the Sāī river, distant about 25 miles in a direct line from Kanauj, lies too far east to be Ā-le. The identification by Dr. Führer of Sañchānkoṭ with Shā-che is absolutely impossible.

Practically, the result is that the Ā-le of Fa-hian corresponds almost exactly with the Navadevakula of Hiuen Tsiang, Ā-le being Jogī Koṭ, four and a half miles east of Newal (Sheet 3 of Map of Oudh) and a suburb or appendage of the city Navadevakula, which was 20 *li* (or more than three miles) in circuit. From this point the difficulty begins.

The Chinese texts make Fa-hian go from Ā-le *ten yojanas* south-east in order to arrive at "the great kingdom of Shā-che." This statement takes the traveller to the neighbourhood of Dataulī in the Rāi Barelī District. This village, Dataulī, occupies a favourable position at a point where five important roads meet, eight miles north-west from the ancient crossing-place at Dalmāu. Ruins are known to exist at Sāthanpur, north-west, and at Bahāī, south-east of Dataulī. I do not know whether or not there are signs of antiquity at Dataulī itself.[1]

The Corean text gives the distance from Ā-le to Shā-che as *three*, instead of ten *yojanas*. This statement brings the traveller either to Pariār on the Ganges, opposite Bithūr,

[1] These places will be found on Sheet 5 of the Map of Oudh. Dataulī, being situated at a point where five roads meet, one of which comes from Dalmāu Ghāṭ and another from Baksar Ghāṭ, was probably in ancient times a place of some importance. It is now only a village. Bahāī, which lies between Dataulī and Dalmāu, has two large mounds strewn with bricks. There are ruins also at Sāthanpur and other places in the neighbourhood. Dalmāu, which I have visited, is a very ancient place. A considerable fair is held there annually.

or to Ūnwan, on the high road to Unāo, about six miles north-east of Pariār.[1] Ancient remains exist at Mākhī, Rāo, and probably other places near Ūnwan. Pariār is a sacred bathing-place, and was the scene, according to tradition, of a great battle in the olden time.[1]

The topographical details given by Fa-hian concerning Shā-che are so meagre that the site of almost any ancient town would suit his description, which merely mentions the spot where Buddha's tooth-brush became a tree,[2] and the usual *stūpas* commemorating the places where the four Buddhas walked and sat.

Shā-che is not mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang, and does not appear to have been visited by him. Consequently, it is impossible to check Fa-hian's statements and to decide which distance from Ā-le to Shā-che is correct—ten *yojanas* or three. There is no difficulty in finding an ancient site at either distance. I feel indisposed to believe that before turning northwards to Śrāvastī, Fa-hian went so far south as the neighbourhood of Dalmāu, and I am inclined to accept the Corean text as correct, and to place Shā-che at or near Ūnwan, which stands at a point where four roads meet, exactly 21 miles from Bāngarmāu, and about the same distance from Jogī Koṭ, or Ā-le. Local research is required to determine which of the ancient sites in the neighbourhood of Ūnwan should be accepted as the equivalent of Shā-che. For geographical purposes Ūnwan may be accepted as sufficiently accurate. From Ūnwan to the probable site of Śrāvastī the distance in a north-easterly direction is about 132 miles as measured on the map, or some 18 or 19 *yojanas*.

An obvious error in the distance and bearing of Śrāvastī

[1] Pariār is noticed by Führer in "Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions," p. 272. For the information that remains exist at Mākhī and Rāo I am indebted to Dr. Hoey. Ūnwan is situated in about lat. 26° 11′ N., long. 80° 27′ E., and about 15 miles a little east of north from Cawnpore.

[2] The tooth-brush legend was attached to many widely separated places, and does not help to fix the position of Shā-che. In using the spelling Shā-che I follow Legge. The name is spelled Sha-chi and Sha-chih by other translators.

and below the bend. We heard of ruins at Naniā, north of the bend, and also at Paṛarī, to the north of Naniā.

"Our investigations had to be hurriedly closed by the approaching darkness of night, and it was dark before we reached our tents. The people in Nepāl are very timid about giving information to Europeans, and we were consequently unable to extend our researches. Enough, however, was learned to prove beyond doubt that Inṭāwā marks the site of an extremely ancient and considerable settlement on the west bank of the Rāptī.[1]

"From native information we gathered that very extensive remains exist buried in the forest north-west of Bālāpur and west of Inṭāwā. The remains are said to extend over twelve villages in Tappa Dhaunrihār. We ascertained the names of seven of these villages, namely, Khajūrā, Manḍādih, Chaklā-Mahādeo, Kāṛī Langrī, Ijarwā, Kumdhīk, and Imiliā. Kumdhīk is the name given to the tract of forest south and south-west of Inṭāwā. So far as we saw, the only inhabitants are a few wandering herdsmen occupying temporary huts. Many mounds exist in the Kumdhīk region, but a hasty glance at some of them while passing through dense forests did not enable us to determine whether any of them were artificial or not. Shīsham (*Dalbergia sissoo*) trees are numerous, and look like the descendants of planted trees.

"The remains at Khajūrā are said to cover a very large area, and to be the most extensive of all. The position of Khajūrā was indicated as being about a *kōs* in a northerly direction from Bālāpur. The positions of Khajūrā, Bālāpur, Kamdī, and Inṭāwā are marked with approximate correctness in the accompanying map. They are not marked on the original map, and having little time and no surveying instruments, we could not determine positions with absolute accuracy.

"We heard vague accounts of some sort of ancient building at Manḍādih, which lies somewhere west of Khajūrā, and about five miles in a north-westerly direction from Bālāpur.

"Ruins are said to exist at another Bālāpur near the base of the hills.

"The distance from Bālāpur to the foot of the hills seemed to be about sixteen miles, although the map makes it much less. It must be remembered that the portion of the map based on actual survey comprises only a narrow strip, up to about the latitude of

[1] There are indications of old river beds near Bālāpur and Kamdī which may possibly mean that at some remote period the river flowed further west than it now does. It is now moving westwards.

Nepālganj, adjoining the present border. This strip was at one time British territory, and was ceded to Nepāl.

"The tract at the foot of the hills is said to be named Udāin, and the road into the hills ascends from Obarī.

"The general result of our inquiries and observations is, that ruins extend for a distance of six or seven miles in a northerly direction from Kamdī and Bālāpur, where our camp was, and for a distance of several miles west from Inṭāwā, which now stands on the bank of the river.

"The indications point to the existence of an extensive city with outlying towns and buildings occupying the tract between Bālāpur and the hills which is now covered with dense forest.

"We are of opinion that the remains in that tract which we saw and heard of are certainly the remains of the great city of Śrāvastī, which was already in ruins when Fa-hian visited it in or about A.D. 406.[1] No surprise need be felt at the fact that the remains of a city so long desolate are now indistinct and inconspicuous."

Although it is impossible at present to identify particular buildings at the site of Śrāvastī, it is desirable that the future explorer should know exactly what he has to look for. The ruins of the buildings in and around the Jetavana must form an immense mass extending over a wide area. It will be observed that the two pilgrims differ widely in their statements as to the distance of the town of Kāśyapa Buddha, which Fa-hian calls Too-wei (Legge). If the distance of "16 *li* or so," or three miles,

[1] "After Fa-hian set out from Ch'ang-gan, it took him six years to reach Central India; stoppages then extended over (other) six years; and on his return it took him three years to reach Ts'ing-chow." (Ch. xl; Legge, p. 115.)

Fa-hian started on his journey "in the second year of the period Hwăng-che, being the Kehâe year of the cycle." Legge interprets this to mean A.D. 399 (p. 9). Giles (p. x) points out that there may be an error of a year. "The reason is that at the above period the various States were separated from and contending with each other, and the style of the reign was recklessly changed, sometimes annually, sometimes even oftener, without there being any fixed rule." Fa-hian, therefore, started in either A.D. 399 or 400, and reached the valley of the Ganges, which he calls Central or Mid-India, six years later. His journey to Śrāvastī must have occupied a considerable time. He cannot have arrived there earlier than A.D. 405 or 406.

given by Hiuen Tsiang be correct, Maṇḍādih may prove to be Too-wei. We heard vague rumours of the existence of a conspicuous building at Maṇḍādih. The so-called "ditches" of Devadatta, Kukāli, and Chañca will probably prove to be deep pools in a *nāla* or ravine running north and south. The dry lake may possibly still be traceable. But the dense jungle and the decayed state of the ruins will always oppose great difficulties in the way of detailed identifications. The city seems to have extended to the Rāptī, which has carried away the eastern parts.

The frequent references in the Buddhist sacred books to Śrāvastī do not, so far as I know, give any geographical or topographical information of value.

The legend of Pramati and Navamālikā, daughter of Dharmavardhana, King of Śrāvastī, proves that the writer knew that the city was on the bank of a river, but does not name the river.[1]

The Dighwā-Dubauli copper-plate inscription of the Mahārāja Mahendrapāla, dated in (Harsha) Samvat 155 (A.D. 761), from the Sāran District, records that the village of Pānīyakagrāma (l. 8) in the Śrāvastī *bhukti*, and belonging to the Vālayikā *viṣaya*, which lay in the Śrāvastī *maṇḍala*, was given by Mahendrapāla.[2]

The local names here mentioned may possibly be at some time identified. Pānīyakagrāma should now be represented by Paniyaoṇ or some similar form. The exact meanings of the technical terms *bhukti*, *viṣaya*, and *maṇḍala* are, I believe, not known.

[1] Weber, "Ueber das Daçakumāra-Caritam," in *Indische Streifen*, Berlin, 1868. I am indebted to Dr. Hoey for this reference.
[2] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xv (1886), p. 107.

Art. XXII.—*Kapilavastu in the Buddhist Books.*

By T. Watters.

The recent discoveries in Nepāl associated with the name of Dr. Führer, Archaeological Surveyor in the employment of the Government of India, may lead at an early date to a revival of interest in the life of the historical Buddha, distinguished generally by the names Gautama and Sakyamuni, and in the district in which he is supposed to have been born.

The first of these discoveries was an Asoka pillar, found in 1893 near the tank of Niglīva, a village in the Nepalese Terai (or Tarāi), about 37 miles to the north-west of the Uska station of the North Bengal Railway. This pillar has an inscription which records that King Asoka, fourteen years after he had ascended the throne, personally worshipped the tope of the Buddha Koṇākamana, and added to it for the second time. From the travels of the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hsien and Yuan-chuang[1] we learn to some extent how this tope stood with respect to the site of Kapilavastu, visited by them. Then last year the official explorers discovered in the same district another Asoka pillar, also bearing an inscription. In this second inscription the king states that he set up this pillar in the Lummini village (presumed to be not far from Kapilavastu) at the very spot where Sakyamuni Buddha was born. Further investigations, we are informed, are to be made in this interesting district, and these may lead to more discoveries of still greater importance. The

[1] The common ways of writing the names of these pilgrims are Fa-hien and Hiouen-Thsang; they are also written Fa Hien (or Hian) and Hiuen Tsiang. In Chinese the name of the former is written 法顯 and that of the latter 元 (also 玄) 奘.

ruins in the neighbourhood are said to be very extensive, and it is not unlikely that among them some more old inscriptions may be found.

While waiting for the results of future explorations, however, we may find it profitable to make a review of the information we have about the city and district of Kapilavastu, and the connection of Gautama Buddha therewith. This information, unfortunately, is for the most part of a most unsatisfactory nature, being chiefly to be found in legends and romances, about which it is impossible to determine whether they are in any degree based on facts, and in narratives partly derived from the romances or other questionable sources. These narratives are to be found in the various editions of the Vinaya, and in other canonical works. There are also incidental notices to be found in these treatises of Buddha's visits to various towns and cities, and of his travels as a religious teacher. It is not to be supposed, however, that all these notices and records are to be regarded as authentic narratives of facts. They were probably believed to be true by the hearers and the narrators, but we have no means of deciding when they are and when they are not correct information.

The statements and opinions given in the following pages are mainly derived from Buddhist books in Chinese translations. These books are of very unequal value, and they often vary to a remarkable degree in their descriptive and narrative passages. It often seems to be impossible to reconcile their conflicting statements, or to regard them as being derived from a common original. No attempt can be made here to account for these discrepancies, or to estimate the correct value of the testimony of the various authorities. Our task is simply to try and find out what these scriptures tell us about the town and district of Kapilavastu in the lifetime of Gautama Buddha, and his connection with them.

The periods about which the few Pali and Sanskrit books quoted in the following pages were composed may be regarded as tolerably well known. For the works which are to be found only in Tibetan and Chinese translations we have only

the dates of the translations with occasional scraps of information as external evidence, and in a few cases the probable period of the composition is indicated by the contents. Such popular books as Hardy's "Manual of Buddhism," Foucaux's "Rgya Tcher Rol Pa," and Mr. Beal's "Romantic History" are supposed to be familiar to the reader, and little reference is made to them here. The works principally used as authorities are Chinese translations of Buddhist books not generally accessible, and belonging largely to the Vinaya and Āgama compilations on one hand, and to the group of Romances on the other.[1]

Origin and Supposed Site of Kapilavastu.

The legends and romances about the great religious reformer of India known as Gautama Buddha describe him as having been born in the Lumbini Garden, near the city of Kapilavastu. This city, according to the mythical accounts of the Buddha's royal ancestors, had been founded by the sons of an Ikshvāku king of the Solar race. The king, who reigned at Potalaka according to some or at Sāket according to others, yielding to the intrigues of his queen or concubine, drove his four sons into exile. These princes, accompanied by their sisters and a large retinue, went northwards, and after a long journey halted at a pleasant suitable site near the hermitage of a rishi named Kapila. The rishi welcomed the exiles, and with solemn rite gave over to them a piece of ground on which to settle and build their city. When the city was laid out and occupied, the settlers called it in gratitude Kapilavastu or Kapilanagara, from the name of their kind patron. This happened in a period of remote antiquity.

The city of Kapilavastu thus founded was, according to the generally received accounts, situated near or at the

[1] The texts used are those of the recent Japanese revised edition of the collection of Buddhist books kept in the libraries of the monasteries in China, Japan, and Korea. References are given, however, to Mr. Bunyio Nanjio's valuable Catalogue, and the dates of the translations are taken from that work.

southern slopes of the Himavat mountains, and in the kingdom of Kosala. It was on the banks of a river, it had a lake (or pond), and it was on the borders of a copse of śāka or teak trees. In the Chinese translations the river on which the city stood is called Bhagira or Bhagirathi or Ganges, and the name Rohini for it does not seem to occur.[1]

It must be noticed, however, that in some of the Chinese texts the site of Kapilavastu is placed in a district to the north of the Himavat, the royal exiles being represented as having crossed this range and settled on the south side of a mountain beyond. Thus, according to one version of the story, Siddhārtha (the Buddha), replying to King Bimbisara's questions about his home and family, says: "I was born to the north of the Snow Mountains in the Sakka country, in the city of Kapilavastu; my father's name is Suddhodana, and the family name is Gautama."[2] This conflict of authorities as to whether Kapilavastu was to the south or the north of the Himavat mountains is interesting in connection with circumstances to be related hereafter. But the majority of texts is in favour of the supposition that the city was situated on or near the southern slopes of these mountains.

Accepting this theory, however, when we try to learn from the Buddhist scriptures the precise situation of Kapilavastu with respect to other towns and cities, we are rather disappointed. We are told, for example, that it was in the centre of the world or of Jambudvīpa,[3] a description very unsatisfactory from a geographical point of view. More precise statements place the city not in Kosala but in the Vrijjian country, and the "Chang-a-han-ching" makes it to have been situated not far from Pāva, a considerable town of that country.[4] These statements are of

[1] Fo-pên-hsing-chi-ching, ch. 4 (Bunyio Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 680, tr. 587), here quoted by the short title "Hsing-chi-ching." Bunyio Nanjio's Catalogue is quoted by the abbreviation "Bun."

[2] Mi-sha-sai-ho-hai-wu-fên-lü, ch. 15 (Bun., No. 1,122, tr. 424), here quoted by its usual short title "Wu-fên Vinaya"; Ssŭ-fên-lü-tsang, ch. 31 (Bun., No. 1,117, tr. 405), here quoted by the short title "Ssŭ-fên Vinaya."

[3] I-ch'u-p'u-sa-pên-ch'i-ching, p. 2 (Bun., No. 509, tr. about 314); Hsiu-hsing-pên-ch'i-ching, ch. 1 (Bun., No. 664, tr. 197), the "Charya-nidana-sūtra."

[4] Chang-a-han-ching, ch. 12 (Bun., No. 545, tr. 413).

importance, as we shall see at a subsequent stage. From Śrāvasti, the capital of Kosala, to Kapilavastu was a journey of three days for Suddhodana's messenger, but one of seven days and nights for the wretched old king Prasenajit and his queen when fugitives.[1] From the two Chinese pilgrims Fa-hsien and Yuan-chuang (Hiouen Thsang) we learn that the Kapilavastu which they visited was about ninety miles distant from Śrāvasti in a south-easterly direction.[2] From Rajagriha to Kapilavastu the distance was, according to the "Jātaka," sixty yojanas (no direction being stated), according to the "Hsing-chi-ching" ten yojanas, and according to some other authorities fifty yojanas, the "Hsing-chi-ching" placing the former city to the south of the latter.[3] In the "Sutta Nipāta" certain Brahmins setting out from the neighbourhood of Aḷaka in the Deccan, made a pilgrimage to Buddha at Śrāvasti (Savatti) and back. Their route lay by Ujjeni and other places to Kosambi and Sāḳet, thence on to Sāvatthi, Setavyam, Kapilavatthu, and Kusināra, and round to Pāva and Vesāli, the Magadhan city, and the Stone Chaitya.[4] Dr. Oldenberg is evidently satisfied with the simple enumeration of places in this passage, but it cannot be said to add much to our knowledge and it is apparently second-hand.

It is not necessary here to refer at length to the identification of the site of Kapilavastu made by Mr. Carlleyle and accepted by General Cunningham. The discovery of the Asoka pillars in the neighbourhood of Niglīva shows us that the Kapilavastu of Asoka and the Chinese pilgrims was in that district. "Niglīva is a small Nepalese village in the Tarāi, or lowland below the hills, in the Tahsil Taulehvā of Zilla Butwal, about thirty-eight miles north-west

[1] Kên-pên-shuo-i-ch'ie-yu-pu-p'i-na-ye, P'o-sêng-shi, ch. 9 (Bun., No. 1,123, tr. 710). This and the other portions of the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādin School are here quoted by the short title "Sarvata Vinaya," with the title of each section added. Liu-li-wang-ching (Bun., No. 671, tr. about 300).

[2] Fo-kuo-chi, ch. 22; Hsi-yü-chi, ch. 6.

[3] Jātaka (ed. Fausböll), vol. i, p. 87; Hsing-chi-ching, chs. 23, 37; Ching-fan-wang-pan-nie-p'an-ching (Bun., No. 732, tr. 455).

[4] Sutta Nipāta, p. 184 (P.T.S.); Oldenberg's "Buddha," S. 110 (3rd edition).

of the Uskā Bazar station on the Bengal and North-Western Railway.[1] Paderia, the site of the Lumbini Garden, is about two miles north of the town of Bhagvāmpur in the same district. Here, we are told, are the ruins of Kapilavastu covering an immense space, "to be traced over a length of seven English miles and a breadth of about three English miles."[1]

We should remember, however, that Kapilavastu is not represented in all the Buddhist scriptures as a large and flourishing city endowed with many monasteries and other public buildings. In most of the romances and in the descriptions taken from or founded on these, it is generally a great and glorious city with the magnificence becoming a royal capital. But in several treatises it is also represented as a small unimportant town without any attractions. According to a legend given in the "Sarvata Vinaya" it was insufficient for the wants of the young Sakya colonists even at a very early period of their history. In that work we read that when the families of the Ikshvāku princes were growing up Kapila complained that their noise disturbed his religious exercises. He proposed to go away, but the Sakyas persuaded him to remain, and he assigned them a good site at a short distance from his hermitage. Here the city was built to which Kapila's name was given, and it was occupied by the families of the exiles. But this city was soon found to be too small, and the families had to remove to another place, where under the guidance of a deva they settled and built a new city, which they called Devadaha. This is the Kola and Vyāghrapattha (or Vyāghrapur) of various treatises, and a different origin for it is given in several other legends. Again, in certain Abhidharma treatises, such as the "Ta-chih-tu-lun," we find Kapilavastu referred to as a small town inferior to Śrāvasti, and in some enumerations of the great cities of "Central

[1] "The Birthplace of Gautama Buddha," by V. A. Smith, in Journal R.A.S., July, 1897, p. 616; Bühler, in Sitz. K. A. d. Wiss. in Wien, Phil. hist., January 7, 1897.

India" its name does not appear.[1] It is true, however, that Ananda is made to describe it as a beautiful and splendid city.

As we have seen, some Chinese translations of Buddhist texts put Kapilavastu far north beyond the Snow Mountains (the Himavat or Himalayas). This fact helps to explain some extraordinary statements to be found in other Chinese books. Thus the Life of the pilgrim Chih-mêng places Kapilavastu 1,300 *li* (about 260 miles) to the south-west of a place called *K'i-sha* (奇 沙), that is, perhaps, Gesh. In this latter country the pilgrim saw the Buddha's bowl and marble spittoon, and at Kapilavastu he saw a hair and a tooth of the Buddha, his ushnisha, and his luminous image in the rock. The pilgrim Chih-mêng was in India about the year 435 A.D. Then the Life of Buddhabhadra, a contemporary of Fa-hsien, describes that man, doubtless on his own testimony, as a Sakka, a man of Kapilavastu, and a descendant of Prince Amritodana. But this man is also described as having been born at the city of Na-k'o-li (那 呵 利) in North India. In these two narratives Kapilavastu seems to be identified or confounded with Nagar, a once famous place in the Jellalabad Valley, wrongly identified with the Nagarahara of a later Chinese traveller.[2]

For the names Kapila and Kapilavastu the Chinese seem to have obtained from their foreign teachers several explanations more or less correct. Thus we find Ts'ang-sê (蒼 色) or 'Azure-colour' given as the meaning of Kapila. This term 'Azure-colour' was also applied to the appearance of Siddhartha's face at the end of his long period of fasting and self-mortification, and in each case it is expressive of the man's sallow, starved appearance. But Kapila is better translated by Huang-fa, or Yellow-Hair, or by Huang-t'ou, Yellow-Head, and the city is Huang-t'ou-chü, as if Kapilavāstu, *the residence of Kapila*. Another interpretation of the

[1] Sarvata Vinaya, P'o-sêng-shi, ch. 2; Ta-chih-tu-lun, ch. 3 (Bun., No. 1,169, tr. 405).

[2] Kao-sêng-chuan, chs. 2, 3.

name of the city is Miao-tê (妙 德), *Excellent-virtue* or *Fine-qualities*. Then the Kapilavastu district or the Sakka region is mentioned by the name Chih-tsê-kuo (赤 澤 國), or Red-marsh-country, evidently the translation of a Sanskrit term. In connection with this last name it may be mentioned that in the year A.D. 428 an embassy from Yue-ai (月 愛), Moon-loved, king of the Ka-p'i-li (迦 毗 黎) country, arrived in China. This country—that is, its capital—was described as situated on the side of a lake to the east of a river, and surrounded on all sides by dark purplish rocks. Ka-p'i-li may be for Kapilavastu, or it may be for some other district in India, but it could not have been the Kapilavastu visited by Fa-hsien.[1]

KAPILAVASTU AS SEEN AND DESCRIBED BY ASOKA AND THE CHINESE PILGRIMS.

As is well known, the great King Asoka is represented as having made a personal visit, under the guidance of the venerable Sthavira Upagupta, to Kapilavastu and the Lumbini Garden.[2] Several centuries after his time these places were visited by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hsien, and two centuries later by another Chinese pilgrim, Yuan-chuang (Hiouen-Thsang).

It may be useful for us to recall here the various objects of Buddhistic interest at Kapilavastu as enumerated in the "Asokāvadāna" and in the narratives of the above-mentioned Chinese pilgrims. Fa-hsien describes the city as very like a wilderness, with no inhabitants beyond the congregation of Buddhist monks and a score or two of lay people, and all the country round as in a similar state of utter desolation. The second pilgrim found all the towns of the district in the same deserted condition, but he mentions the foundations of the walls of the city as still visible. For his information

[1] Sung shu, ch. 57. The name of this country, Ka-p'i-li, occurs also in other Chinese treatises, and it was evidently not Kapilavastu.

[2] Divyāvadāna, p. 390 ff.; A-yü-wang-chuan (Bun., No. 1,459, tr. about 300); A-yü-wang-ching (Bun., No. 1,343, tr. 512).

about these foundations the pilgrim was undoubtedly indebted to the local monks, and all the various sites were evidently known only by the memorials which had been erected on them.

At Kapilavastu on the site of Suddhodana's palace Fa-hsien saw a representation of the Prince's (i.e. the Buddha's) mother with the Prince about to enter her womb on a white elephant. This was apparently seen by Yuan-chuang also, who mentions another likeness (or image) of the queen and one of the king. Further, Fa-hsien saw topes (or chaityas rather) on the spots where the Prince outside the east gate of the city saw the sick man and told his coachman to drive back, and, it is to be inferred, outside the other gates where the old man, the corpse, and the religious ascetic were seen. These also are mentioned by Yuan-chuang, but Upagupta only pointed out to Asoka the place where Siddhārtha, oppressed by the thoughts of old age, sickness, and death, went away to the forest. The two Chinese pilgrims saw the memorial at the place where Asita predicted the infant Prince's future, and this spot was also pointed out to Asoka. The pilgrims further mention memorials at the places where the Prince, in competition with his kinsmen, shot the arrow which produced a spring of water, where the father met his son when the latter was coming to the city for the first time as Buddha, and where the 500 young Sakyas were admitted into the new Order. Fa-hsien alone mentions a tope at the place where, while the Buddha was preaching to the devas, the Four Deva-rājahs guarded the doors so that his father could not enter. Both pilgrims tell of the tope at the place where the Buddha, sitting under a banyan (or a large) tree, accepted a robe from Prajāpatī, the banyan being seen apparently by Fa-hsien at least. This tree, according to Yuan-chuang, was close to the Monastery of the Banyan Park, which he places three or four *li* (about two-thirds of a mile) to the south of the city. The Nyagrodhārāma (Nigrodhārāma) or Banyan Park (or Ārāma) was to the Buddhists one of the most interesting sights of Kapilavastu,

and one cannot understand why it is not mentioned in the "Asokāvadāna." Here the Buddha sojourned and delivered some of his discourses, and Yuan-chuang saw in it an Asoka tope at the spot where the Buddha preached to his father. We find the place called the "Sakyas' Ārāma" and the "Sakyas' Banyan-Park Vihara," but commonly it is simply the Banyan Park (or Ārāma). It is also called in Chinese translation the "To-kên-shu-yuan," the *Park* (or Ārāma) *of the many-rooted tree.* This was evidently a place of resort and temporary residence before it had a Buddhist establishment. It may be doubted whether there ever was any building here, at least in the time of the Buddha. We are told, indeed, of Suddhodana building a monastery here, and Yuan-chuang makes the Buddha, on the occasion of his first visit, stay in the Nigrodhārāma. But the Buddha is generally described as being in the ārāma sitting under a tree or under the trees. It was in the establishment here that he, as the pilgrims narrate, accepted from his devoted foster-mother the beautiful vestment which she had made for him, handing it over to the congregation of the brethren. Both pilgrims mention the topes which commemorated events in the invasion of the city and slaughter of its inhabitants by King Virūḍhika, and of the one which marked the place where the Prince sat under a tree (according to the "Asokāvadāna" a jambu) and watched the ploughers at work. Yuan-chuang alone mentions a temple or chaitya with a representation of the Prince on his white horse in the air, that is, in the act of flying over the city wall; also the temple to which the infant Prince was borne in order to be presented to the guardian deity. This temple was pointed out also by Upagupta to Asoka, then still the shrine of the "Yaksha who gave the Sakyas increase," but in Yuan-chuang's time a temple of Maheśvara. This pilgrim also tells of a chaitya with representations of Rāhula and of his mother, not mentioned by Fa-hsien, and he alone tells of the Elephant Ditch and the chaitya in which the Prince was represented as a schoolboy. The site of the schoolroom had been pointed out to Asoka by his guide.

Other places are mentioned in the Asoka romance which are not in the narratives of the Chinese pilgrims. These are the spot at which King Suddhodana prostrated himself in adoration of the infant Prince; the place at which the foster-mother Prajāpatī nursed the motherless baby; the place where the boy became accomplished in the arts of riding, driving, and the use of arms; the site of his gymnasium; and the place where, encompassed by 100,000 devas, he enjoyed himself with 60,000 pretty girls. The texts from which the Chinese translations were made do not make devas attend the Prince while he frolics with his maidens.

Now we cannot fail to observe that all the sites mentioned in the Asoka romance, and nearly all those described in the narratives of the pilgrims, derive their existence from the romances and legends about the Buddha's birth and early life. The romances generally terminate with an account of the triumphal return of the Prince as Buddha to his native city. As to subsequent events of his life-time, the Chinese pilgrims tell us only of memorials connected with Virūḍhika's invasion. This event is not referred to in the "Asokāvadāna," but, as we shall presently see, it is narrated with variations of detail in several of the old Buddhist texts.

On the other hand, there were certain objects in or at Kapilavastu of which the Asoka romance and the pilgrims' narratives do not make any mention. These objects are all referred to in the Buddhist scriptures, and they were all connected with the great Master's career. Now we know that Asoka and the pilgrims travelled in India with the express purpose of personally visiting the scenes of the Buddha's life and work. So their silence as to the sites and other objects now to be mentioned is very noteworthy.

Among the places which the pilgrims might have been expected to see and describe, one of the most important was the site of the great Santhāgāra or Assembly Hall. This hall, about which Yuan-chuang knew, was built by

the Sakyas of Kapilavastu in the Buddha's time, and it was evidently a large and solid structure with stone pavement and furnished with pillars. When it was finished the Sakyas of the city decreed that it was not to be used by anyone whatever until it had been formally opened and used by the Buddha. The use of the hall by the young prince Virūḍhika before the inauguration was resented by the Sakyas as a desecration, and, according to some authorities, led ultimately to the dreadful results presently to be described. There is some doubt as to the situation of the hall, some texts placing it inside the city, and others putting it a short distance outside.[1]

Another very interesting place near the city was the "Sow's Tank." By the side of this was the "Ārāma of the Parivradjaka tirthikas, called the place of the Sow." Another name for this ārāma was the "Udumbara Ārāma" of the Non-Buddhists (tirthikas). It was near this that Ananda found the mangled and scattered remains of the thousands of Sakyas killed with cruel torture by King Virūḍhika.[2]

Then there was a tope close to a banyan-tree outside that gate of the city through which the Prince passed when he went out into the wilderness to seek the way of salvation. There was also the tope erected at their city by the Sakyas of Kapilavastu over the share of the Buddha's relics which they had obtained from the Mallas of Kusinagara, and of this tope or its ruins there should have been mention.[3]

Further, near the Banyan Park was the Mahāvana or Great Wood to which the Buddha sometimes resorted. He is represented as passing the afternoon here absorbed in religious meditation (that is, sleeping) under a bilva-tree.

[1] P'i-na-ye or Chie-yin-yuan-ching, ch. 4 (Bun., No. 1,130, tr. 378); Tsa-a-han-ching, ch. 43 (Bun., No. 544, tr. 420 to 479); Samyut. Nikāya, vol. iv, p. 182 (P.T.S.); I-tsu-ching, ch. 2 (Bun., No. 674, tr. 222 to 280); Tsêng-i-a-han-ching, ch. 26 (Bun., No. 543, tr. 385).

[2] Abhidharmamahāvibhāsha-lun, ch. 105 (Bun., No. 1,263, tr. 659); Vibhāsha-lun, ch. 13 (Bun., No. 1,279, tr. 383); Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, p. 120.

[3] Hsing-chi-ching, ch. 17; Mo-ho-Mo-ye-ching, ch. 2 (Bun., No. 382, tr. about 560); Pan-ni-huan-ching, ch. 2 (Bun., No. 119, tr. about 350). In S.B.E., vol. xi, p. 134, Mr. Rhys Davids, by a slip, omits this tope, which is duly mentioned in the "Mahāparinibbana suttam" (Journal R.A.S., vol. viii, p. 260).

The Great Wood may be another name for the Kapilavat Wood, in which the Buddha sojourned once with his 500 arhats. We read also of the "*P'i-lo-ye-chi(ti)* (毗羅耶致) Clump," to which the Buddha walked from the Banyan Ārāma, and in which he was visited by the Daṇḍapani of Kapilavastu. This was perhaps a clump of bilva-trees in the Great Wood.[1]

At Kapilavastu there was also the "Sakyas' vihara of the Bamboo Wood," also resorted to by the Buddha for afternoon meditation. Here, too, he was visited by the Daṇḍapani of the city, who asked him about the essentials of his teaching and went away dissatisfied with the answer. We read also of the Buddha staying at Kapilavastu in the vihara called *Ka-lo-ch'a-mo-Shi-ching-shê* (加羅差摩釋精舍), that is, perhaps, Kāla-Kshama Sakya Vihara, the Vihara of the Black-earth Sakyas. Near this was the "Kāla Sakya Vihara, and this also was visited by the Buddha.[2] These were apparently large establishments, with accommodation for many bhikshus. Neither in the "Asokāvadāna" nor in the narratives of the Chinese pilgrims have we any reference to any of these interesting objects. There were also in the immediate vicinity of Kapilavastu other sites, of less importance perhaps, but hallowed by the presence of the Buddha or one or more of his great disciples. These also were apparently not pointed out to the pilgrims, and are not mentioned in their books.

Various Places in the Sakya Country.

The names "Kapila Country" and "Kapilavastu" are sometimes used to denote the city proper and sometimes the city together with the district in which it was situated. But this district was only part of a large region to which the Sakyas gave their name. In this region there were, we learn, eight or ten towns in addition to Kapilavastu.

[1] Maj. Nikāya, vol. i, 108 (P.T.S.); Tsêng-i-a-han-ching, ch. 35
[2] Chung-a-han-ching, chs. 28 and 49 (Bun., No. 542, tr. 398).

We find also certain villages, rivers, parks, and religious settlements in it mentioned in the scriptures as having been visited by the Buddha or as in some other way connected with his life and work.

The most interesting of these places is the Lumbini Garden, the scene of the Buddha's entrance on his last existence. This garden was in the territory of the King of Devadaha, and according to the "Hsing-chi-ching" beyond that city. But it is generally represented as on the Kapilavastu side of Devadaha, and in the "Jātaka" it is expressly stated to be between the two cities and used by the inhabitants of both.[1] According to the Chinese pilgrims the garden lay about 50 *li* (ten miles) to the east of Kapilavastu. The name is found transcribed in Chinese in several ways, pointing to differences in original authorities. Yuan-chuang, and he alone, writes La-fa-ni (臘伐尼), i.e. Lavaṇī, the Beautiful Woman; Fa-hsien writes Lun-min (or bin) (論尼), i.e. Lumin or Lumbin. In the "A-yü-wang-chuan" we have Lin-mou-ni (林牟尼) or Lummini, and in the "A-yü-wang-ching" and other books we have Lam-p'i-ni (嵐毗尼) or Lumbini. There are several other transcriptions, but they all stand for forms like Lummini or Lumbini.

According to some legends the Garden had its name from the beautiful queen of the King of Koli (or Devadaha), the mother of the Buddha's mother. But in the "A-yü-wang-ching" the name is explained as meaning 'the place of emancipation,' and we also find the word interpreted as denoting *mie*, 'extinction,' or *tuan*, 'cut off.'

According to the recent investigations the old name still survives in the "Rumindeī" of the Nepalese Terai, the place in which a pillar has been discovered with an interesting inscription. From this inscription we learn that King Asoka came to the spot and worshipped at it as the place at which the Buddha Sakyamuni was born: that the king set up here "a stone pillar with a stone

[1] Jātaka, vol. i, p. 52.

horse on it, and reduced the land-tax on the Lummini village" because it was the birthplace of the Buddha. This is said to "set at rest all doubts as to the exact site of the traditional birthplace of Gautama Buddha."[1] But it would be more correct to say that the inscription, if genuine, tells us what was the spot indicated to Asoka as the birthplace of the Buddha.

Another important place was the city of the Sakyan Kolians, which had its own king or governor. This city had the names Kola (or Koli or Koṭi) and Devadaha and Vyāghra-pur (or -patha). The Chinese pilgrims do not seem to have known anything about this city, and they, like some other authors, regarded the Lumbini Garden as within the territory of the King of Kapilavastu. Yet the town was connected with the history of the Buddha's ancestors and his own life, and it was visited by him. Thus we read of him that "once he was staying among the Sakyas in their town called Devadaha." The distance of this town from Kapilavastu is given in one treatise as 800 *li* (about 160 miles), but in most of the books the distance seems to be small. Thus we find the ladies of the two cities coming with offerings of flowers to the Buddha in the Banyan Ārāma.[2]

Between the Koli territory and that of Kapilavastu ran the river called in the Chinese texts Luhita or Luhoka or Luhitaka, that is, Rohita or Rohitaka, and in the Pali texts Rohinī. At the time of the Buddha's residence at Kapilavastu an enormous hard-wood tree had fallen into the river and sent all the water into the Kapilavastu fields, leaving the Koli lands without any means of irrigation. The inhabitants of the two districts were unable to remedy this disaster, and a great feud had arisen. According to one account the Buddha, on his arrival, restored peace and harmony by good advice. But according to another version of the story he hurled the tree of offence up in

[1] V. Smith, in Journal R.A.S., loc. cit.
[2] Shih-êrh-yu-ching (Bun., No. 1,374, tr. 392); Samyut. Nik., iii, p. 5; iv, p. 124.

the air and caused it to divide, one half falling on the Kapilavastu side of the river and one on the Koli side. Rockhill gives Kalyānagarbha as the Sanskrit name of the tree, but we learn from the "Chung-hsü-ching" that it was Sāra (or Sāla)-kalyāna. This name is translated by I-ching-shan-chien (善堅), *good-solidity*. We find mention also of a town Lohita, or Lohitaka, visited by Buddha, which was probably on this river. Some authors make the Rohita to be the boundary between the Kapilavastu territory and that of Srāvasti. In one text of the "Anāgata-vaṃsa" we have the Banyan Ārāma placed on a river called the *Rohanī*, but this is apparently a mistake.[1]

Another river in this country was the A-lu-na, or Aruna, which formed the boundary between the Magadha country and the territory of the Sakyas.[2]

At no great distance from Kapilavastu was a place which in one treatise is called the town of Ni-k'an (尼 鉗), that is, perhaps, Nigama or Nirgama. In another work, however, it is called the Mi-chu-lü (迷 主 廬)-yuan, that is, the Park (or Ārāma) of the hut of the strayed Lord. The Buddha is represented as lodging in a vihára here on one occasion near the close of his career.[3] We read also of the Sakya town Mi-lu-li (彌 樓 離), perhaps Mirul or Miruṭ, a place of some importance with a park and a monastery. Ha-li, or K'a-li (訶 梨), or Ka-li, was another Sakyan town of some note. It had a vihara in which the great Sthavira Kātyāyana resided, and Buddha once lodged here and was visited by King Prasenajit.[4] Other Sakya towns of which we find mention in the Buddhist scriptures are Uḷumpa,[5] Chātuma,[6] Khomadussa,[7]

[1] Chung-hsü-ching, ch. 4. The full title is Fo-shuo-chung-hsü-mo-ha-ti-ching (Bun., No. 859, tr. about 1000); Rockhill, op. cit., pp. 20, 52; Sarvata Vin. P'o-sêng-shih, ch. 9; Fausböll's Dh., p. 351; Thera-gāthā, v. 529 (P.T.S.): Journal P.T.S., 1886, p. 53.

[2] Chung-pên-ch'i-ching, ch. 1 (Bun., No. 556, tr. 207).

[3] Vibhāsha-lun, ch. 13; Abhidharma-mahā vibhāsha-lun, ch. 105.

[4] Chung-a-han-ching, ch. 59; Tsa-a-han-ching, ch. 20; Fo-shuo-han-t'i-ching (Bun., No. 660, tr. about 290).

[5] Fausböll's Dh., p. 222.

[6] Maj. Nik., vol. i, p. 456.

[7] Samyut. Nik., i, p. 184.

and one called in Chinese 'Yellow Pillow.'[1] A town which in the Chinese texts is Shih-chu, or Stone-Lord, that is, Śilāpati, is evidently that which in Pāli is called Silāvati.[2] We read also of the towns of Nava, in Chinese *Na-ho* (那 和, in one place *Na-ssŭ* 那 私 by mistake),[3] Sakkara[4] (known only as a correct reading given in a note), and Karshaka or Ka-li-sha-ka.[5] This last word, which means *ploughing*, is the name of the town and district to which Suddhodana sent Siddhārtha as chief magistrate. Here Siddhārtha, sitting under a jambu-tree, watched the ploughers at their hard work, and gradually became absorbed in Samādhi. There was also the Sakya town called Ku-lo-p'i-ta-ssŭ (鳩 羅 脾 大 斯), which perhaps stands for a name like Kaula-bhedas, meaning *Family-dividing*.[6] The Buddha once spent some time in this town, and during his visit had an interview with the presiding deity of the place. We find mention also of a town, apparently a busy trading centre, called Nyagrodhika, in Chinese 'the village of the tree with many roots.' This town was not far from Kapilavastu on the side next Śrāvasti, and it had a large banyan capable of giving shelter to 500 waggons with room to spare. The Buddha once went to this place from Rājagriha and lodged in it for some time. In this town was a Brahmin, whose wife, a Kapilavastu woman, gave alms to the Buddha, and received from him the prophecy that in a future birth she would become a Pratyeka-Buddha.[7]

Among the mountains of the Sakya country was one which was the home of the aged seer Asita. In the

[1] Tsa-a-han-ching, ch. 27. The words are Huang-ch'ên (黃 枕).

[2] Tsa-a-han-ching, ch. 39; Samyut. Nik., i, p. 116 ff.

[3] Ta-ai-tao-pī-chiu-ni-ching (Bun., No. 1,147, tr. about 400); Chung-pên-ch'i-ching, ch. 2.

[4] Samyut. Nik., i, p. 184.

[5] Chung-hsü-ching, ch. 4.

[6] Pie-i-Tsa-a-han-ching, ch. 9 (Bun., No. 546, tr. about 400).

[7] Divyāvadana, p. 67. The story is given from the same source in the "Sarvata Vinaya Yao-shih" (藥 事), ch. 8. This treatise, not being in the Ming Collection of Buddhist books, is not in Bunyio Nanjio's Catalogue.

"Chung-hsü-ching" this mountain is called Kin-shih-ki-t'ê (緊使吉陀),[1] and it is apparently the Kishkindha of Schiefner and the Sarvadhāra of Rockhill. There was also the Chung-shêng or Bell-sound Mountain, with a village of the same name, the home of the family to which Buddha's wife Gopā belonged. This "Bell-sound" is apparently the Kinkinisvara of Rockhill and the Gantasabda (Ghaṇṭāśabda), with a similar meaning, of Schiefner, the man's name being that of his home.[2]

Not very far from Kapilavastu was a wood with a river and village adjoining. This neighbourhood became celebrated as the place at which, according to some accounts, Prince Siddhārtha made his first halt in his flight from home. The wood and the district are called in Chinese texts A-nu-ye, and A-nu-mi-ka-ya, and A-nu hamlet or A-nu wood (阿耨林). It is also called the A-nu-mo country, and is placed 480 *li* (about 95 miles) from Kapilavastu. The river is called in the Pali books Anomā or Anayā or Annana. In this neighbourhood was the district called Mi-ni-ya, the home of the brothers Mahānāma and Aniruddha. The Buddha sojourned for a second time here when he came to pay his first visit to his native place as Buddha, and here he formally admitted Upāli and the young Sakya gentlemen into his Order.[3]

Near to Kapilavastu was a park or wood called Lu-t'i-lo-ka (盧提羅迦), from the name of the presiding deity. This park was a favourite resort of the young Siddhārtha, and there was in it a particular stone on which he was accustomed to sit. When Yasodhara is accused of having been unfaithful to her absent husband, she carries her little son Rāhula to this wood and places him on the stone. Then, in the presence of Prajāpatī and other relatives, she causes the stone with the baby on it to be cast into the

[1] Chung-hsü-ching, ch. 3; Rockhill, op. cit., p. 18, and note.
[2] Sarvata Vin. P'o-sêng-shih, ch. 3; Rockhill, op. cit., p. 21.
[3] Wu-fên Vin., ch. 15; Ssŭ-fên Vin., ch. 4; Hsiu-hsing-pên-ch'i-ching, ch. 2; Hsing-chi-ching, ch. 58; Hardy, Manual of Buddhism, p. 164 (2nd ed.); Bigandet's Legend of the Buddha, i, p. 64; Rockhill, op. cit., p. 26.

river. The stone floats, and so the innocence of the mother and the legitimacy of the child are openly established. This Lu-t'i-lo-ka may stand for Rudhiraka, from *rudhira*, which means *red*.[1]

It has been seen that the Banyan Ārāma at Kapilavastu had apparently been used as a place of resort for religious purposes by the Sakyas before their conversion to Buddhism. Another shrine in the Sakya country also connected with the older religions is that called the *Yu-lo-t'i-na* (優羅提那) *-t'a*, that is, perhaps, the Uradina Chaitya. The Buddha lodged here once, and during his stay was visited by the presiding deva of the place. No explanation of the name is given, but it may possibly be the Sanskrit form for Udena, the name of a celebrated old chaitya supposed to have been in the Vaisāli country.[2]

The Cities of the Buddhas Krakusandha and Konakamuni.

According to the narratives of the Chinese pilgrims, the cities associated with the two past Buddhas Krakusandha (or Kakusandha, or Krakuchanda) and Konakamuni (or Kanakamuni, or Koṇāgamano, or Konākamana) were apparently in the Sakya territory, but we have not any explicit statement to that effect. It is entirely to these narratives that we are indebted for our knowledge of the situations of these two cities, but the pilgrims do not quite agree on the subject.[3] Fa-hsien places Krakuchanda's city, which he calls Na-p'i-ka, twelve yojanas (about 96 miles) south-east from Śrāvasti, and so to the south-west of Kapilavastu. Yuan-chuang states that he went south from Kapilavastu 50 *li* (ten miles) to the tope at the old city, which was the birthplace of this Buddha. Then Fa-hsien places Konakamuni's city less than a yojana to

[1] Hsing-chi-ching, ch. 51.
[2] Tsa-a-han-ching, ch. 22.
[3] Fo-kuo-chi, ch. 21; Hsi-yü-chi, loc. cit.

the north of Na-p'i-ka and west of Kapilavastu, while Yuan-chuang places it 30 *li* (about six miles) north-east from Krakuchanda's city, and so to the south-east of Kapilavastu.[1]

In a passage of I-ching's translation of the "Sarvata Vinaya" we find that the Buddha, when proceeding from Kapilavastu to Śrāvasti, goes to the town P'i-shu-na-lo (毗 輸 那 羅) and thence to Kü-na (俱 那), or Kona, the city of the Buddha Koṇāgamamuni.[2]

The "Fo-ming-ching" calls Krakuchanda's city Wu-wei or Fearless, which may be a rendering of Na-p'i-ka, that is, Nabhīka.[3] But the Chinese words may also stand for Abhaya with the same meaning. Other names for this Buddha's city, but always without indication of situation, are Lun-ho (or ha)-li-t'i-na (論 訶 唎 提 那),[4] An-ho (安 和),[5] and Ch'a-mo (剎 末),[6] Kshamā, or Kshema. The word *kshamā*, which means 'earth,' means also 'endurance' or 'patience,' and *kshema* means 'peace' or 'security,' and the latter word may have been the original for An-ho, which has a similar meaning.

The city of Kanakamuni Buddha is also called Ch'a-mo-yue-ti or Kshamāvati.[4] Other names for it are Shu-p'o-fu-ti (輸 婆 跿 帝)[6] or Śubhavati, Chuang-yen (莊 嚴),[3] meaning *Adorned* or *Well-furnished*, and Ch'ing-ching (清 淨),[5] meaning *Pure*. These two Chinese terms may have been given as renderings for Śubhavati, which is used in the senses of *beautiful* and *pure*.

The ruins of two of the topes in honour of these two Past Buddhas have lately, as we know, been discovered in

[1] Nabhīka seems to have been known as the name of a place. In the "Hsing-chi-ching" (ch. 51) we have mention of a senior bhikshu who is called Senayana of Na-p'i-ka.

[2] Sarvata Vin. Yao-shi, ch. 7.

[3] Fo-shuo-Fo-ming-ching, ch. 8 (Bun., No. 404, tr. about 400). Cf. Mahāwaṁsa, p. 57.

[4] Ch'i-Fo-lu-mu-hsing-tzŭ-ching (Bun., No. 626, tr. about 530).

[5] Chang-a-han-ching, ch. 1.

[6] Ch'i-Fo-ching (Bun., No. 860, tr. about 975). So the Sapta Buddha Stotra calls the birthplace of Krakuchanda *Kshemavatī* and that of Kanakamuni *Sobhanavatī*.

Nepal. The site of the city and the tope of Krakuchanda were found seven miles south-west from the supposed site of Kapilavastu. Kanakamuni's tope was found near the tank of the village of Niglīva. Near the latter tope is a stone pillar with an inscription which records that King Piyadassi (Asoka) increased the stupa of the "Buddha Koṇākamana for the second time."[1] If this pillar had been actually set up by Asoka I think he would have stated on it that he first erected and afterwards increased the tope to the Past Buddha. We do not seem to have any reason for believing that there was any tope to Kanakamuni before Asoka's time. It was probably not until the teachings of the Buddha had lost much of their spiritual and allegorical meaning that topes and cities were assigned to the Past Buddhas. These beings were the spiritual forefathers of the Buddha, and their "old cities" were their teachings of the Four Truths and the Eightfold Way.[2] The topes also to their memory were not made by mortals, and were not on this earth: they were in Fairyland, in Nowhere Country, and were made by devas. Thus Kanakamuni, who was eight miles (25 yojanas) in height, had a tope which covered eighty miles. It was in a blissful region, full of shady trees and fragrant flowers, with cool, clear tanks; the haunt of tuneful birds, and the home of heavenly maidens, who with dance and song made endless delight. On the walls of its numerous chambers were portrayed in clear, bright colours the manifold vicissitudes of the aeonian lives of the devas in heaven, and hell, and on earth; the truthful representations of inflexible unfailing Karma. And after the manner of this tope was that to Krakuchanda, and apparently neither was ever seen by a human mortal. The devas worshipped at them, and the King of the wild geese, Good-time by name, at Krakuchanda's tope chanted the merits of that Buddha in high-piping Pāli understood by all who heard

[1] Academy, April 27, 1895.
[2] Fo-shuo-chiu-ch'êng-yü-ching (Bun., No. 902, tr. about 990).

him.[1] It is interesting to note that the magnificent tope to the honour of Krakuchanda at the place of his cremation was feigned to have been made by a king called Asoka.[2]

The Destruction of Kapilavastu.

The invasion of Kapilavastu and the destruction of the city and extermination of its inhabitants by King Virūḍhika form a curious and interesting narrative. The different versions of the story present some important differences of detail as to the circumstances which preceded and led to the invasion, but there is a tolerable agreement as to its principal incidents and its results. We find the narrative in the "Avadāna Kalpalatā," the Pali "Jātaka" and the Commentary on the "Dhammapada," in the Tibetan Dulva treatise translated by Mr. Rockhill, and in several Chinese translations of canonical books. It is from one of these, the Sarvāstivādin (or Sarvata) Vinaya, as translated by I-ching, that the following summary of the story has been condensed.[3]

There was a certain Sakya named Mahānāma, a rich landlord possessing lands and villages. He had an agent or steward who was a Brahmin, and by a Brahmin wife was the father of a son and daughter. In course of time the agent died owing a large sum of money on account of rents and dues to his lord, who took the daughter in satisfaction of his claim. This handsome, accomplished young girl accordingly became a slave in Mahānāma's household, and her business was to attend to the flowers and make garlands. On this account her original name was dropped and she was called Mālikā, the Garland-maker. But her name is commonly given as Mallikā (in Chinese Mo-li), which denotes a kind of jasmine.

[1] Chêng-fa-nien-ch'u-ching, chs. 47–52 (Bun., No. 678, tr. 539); cf. also ch. 43.
[2] Divyāvadana, p. 418.
[3] Sarvata Vin. Tsa-shih, chs. 7, 8 (Bun., No 1,121, tr. 710).

Now it came to pass that one day Prasenajit, King of Kosala, while out on a hunting expedition, became separated from his retinue and strayed into Mahānāma's garden. Here he met Mallikā, who showed such thoughtful kindness in getting him water and enabling him to have a safe and quiet sleep that the king fell in love with her. On learning her position he demanded her from her master, who replied that Mallikā was only a slave-girl and that there were many Sakya maidens better than she. The King, however, wanted Mallikā, and so she was sent to him and he made her his queen.

The marriage seems to have been a very happy one, and in due time Mallikā bore Prasenajit a son, who, on account of bad omens which preceded his birth, was called Ill-born (惡 生)—in Sanskrit, Virūḍhika. At the time of this prince's birth a great statesman of Kosala had a son born to him, and this child was named K'u-mu (苦 母) or Mother-distressing—in Sanskrit, Dukhamātrika—the Ambārisha of Rockhill. These two boys grew up together at Śrāvasti as playmates and friends. It happened that on one occasion they were out on a hunting expedition and wandered into the Sakyas' Park, near Kapilavastu. When the young Sakyas heard of this they became very angry, abused Virūḍhika as the son of a slave-girl, and were with difficulty restrained from violence. The Prince escaped, and he made a vow to his companion that as soon as he became king he would return to the city and wreak vengeance on the inhabitants for the insult.

The years went by and Virūḍhika succeeded to the throne of Kosala, and immediately proceeded to prepare for taking revenge on the Sakyas of Kapilavastu. Having collected his troops and put himself at their head, he was on his way to attack that city when a word from the Buddha softened him and turned him back. This was repeated, but at last the Buddha left his kinsmen to the working of their irremediable karma, and Virūḍhika, goaded on by his ruthless companion, carried out his invasion. After some fighting and much intriguing he became master of the city.

Hereupon he proceeded to carry out his long-delayed purpose of revenge for the wanton insult of the Park. His orders were that all the Sakya inhabitants, old and young, male and female, should be put to death. These commands were being carried out in a pitiless savage manner, and many thousands had been butchered, exception being made in favour of Mahānāma and his family. Then Mahānāma interceded for his countrymen, and obtained an order for a stay of the massacre for so long as he should be in the tank performing his ablutions preparatory to a conference. He then went into the water, tied his hair to the root of a tree, and drowned himself. The King was enraged when he discovered the trick, and ordered the carnage to be renewed. He demolished the city, massacred or drove away all its inhabitants, and then went back to his capital. But the punishment of his crime quickly overtook him, and a few days after his return he went in the fire of his fate down into hell.

This version of the story agrees in the essential points with the "Avadāna Kalpalatā"[1] and the Tibetan Vinaya,[2] but it differs in several particulars from the other versions. The Tibetans translate the name of the invader by "noble born" or "the high-born one." In Pali his name appears under the forms Viḍūḍabha and Viṭaṭūbha, and a form Viḍuḍha perhaps gave the Chinese Liu-li as if for Vaidūrya. According to the Pali accounts[3] and the "Tsêng-i-a-han-ching,"[4] when King Prasenajit's messengers demand one of their daughters from the Sakyas of Kapilavastu to be his queen, Mahānāma cleverly passes off his own daughter by a slave-girl as his legitimate daughter. The messengers are deceived and conduct the girl to the King, who receives her with great ceremony and makes her his queen. The "Wu-fên Vinaya,"[5] which also makes Prasenajit send to

[1] Journal Buddhist Society, vol. iv, pt. 1, p. 5.
[2] Rockhill, op. cit., p. 74 ff.
[3] Fausböll's Dh., p. 211 ff.; Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, p. 293; Jātaka, vol. iv, p. 144; Fick's Soc. Gliederung im N. Indien zu Buddha's Zeit, p. 30.
[4] Tsêng-a-han-ching, ch. 26.
[5] Wu-fên Vin., ch. 21.

the Sakyas for one of their daughters, represents Mahānāma as, with cunning guile, sending a slave-girl from his own household, and this was the version known to the Chinese pilgrim Yuan-chuang. These versions of the story of the marriage in which trickery is practised on the King are not only very absurd, but they are also inconsistent with the sequel of the narrative.

In the Pali stories, the "Wu-fên Vinaya," and some other treatises it was the violent conduct of the Sakyas to Virūḍhika on account of his thoughtless use of their new Hall which made him vow revenge. The Sakyas had recently built a fine new Assembly Hall in or near their city, and they had agreed that it was not to be used by anyone whatever until it had been formerly opened by the Buddha.[1] In the meantime, before this opening occurred, Prince Virūḍhika, a boy, comes to Kapilavastu with his retinue and instals himself in the Hall. Hearing of this the Sakyas become very angry, and had not the Prince fled they would probably have treated him with violence. As he had gone they contented themselves with abusing him as the son of a slave-girl, took up the tiles of the floor, and purified with milk and water the benches (or slabs) he had occupied. The personal force of the insulting term "son of a slave-girl" which the hot-tempered young Sakyas used to the Prince appears less when we recall that the same term was applied by the Sakyas to his father. Moreover the P'usa, while he was in Tushita Paradise, had declared that Virūḍhika's grandfather was of an impure family, being of Matanga blood. The Sakyas, however, were guilty of the offence of *abusing*—ākrośamāna—Prince Virūḍhika, calling him bad names.[2]

All versions of the story agree in representing King Virūḍhika as treating Mahānāma during the invasion with great respect and kindness. He calls him by names like Grandfather or Maternal-grandfather, and the "Liu-li-wang-

[1] Liu-li-wang-ching; Wu-fên Vin., loc. cit.

[2] Abhidharma-mahā vibhāsha-lun, ch. 14; see also chs. 83, 195; Vibhāsha-lun, ch. 13.

ching" makes the King to be much moved by Mahānāma's patriotism in dying for his fellow-citizens.[1] According to that work the King, on learning the circumstances, stops the massacre, takes charge of the children, appoints a new governor, and goes away. But the Pali story makes Mahānāma despise Virūḍhika, the alien, to the end, and drown himself to escape the loathed hospitality of the King. In all accounts, however, Mahānāma is the chief man among the Sakyas of the Kapilavastu district. He is styled *King* by the bhikshus and *General* by Virūḍhika; he is the father of Gopā; the friend of King Prasenajit and his son, and also of the Buddha. In the "Avadāna Kalpalatā" his name is not mentioned, and he is merely called "the great Sākya chief."

The story of the destruction of Kapilavastu and the massacre of its inhabitants by Virūḍhika is evidently of an old date. We find reference to the events of it in the "Vibhāsha-lun" and the "Abhidharma-ta-vibhāsha-lun," the former attributed to Sitavana or Katyāyanaputra and the latter to the arhats of Kanishka's Council. These treatises quote the same passage from an earlier and now unknown sūtra. According to this authority, Ananda went with another disciple to see Kapilavastu on the day after the departure of Virūḍhika. We read that Ananda was greatly affected by the ruin and desolation he found. The city was like a cemetery: the walls of the houses had been demolished and doors and windows destroyed; the gardens, and orchards, and lotus-ponds were all ruined; the birds made homeless were flying about in confusion; the only human beings to be seen were the orphaned children, who followed Ananda with piteous cries for help and compassion.[2] Deeply grieved, Ananda contemplated the fragments of the 70,000 (or 100,000) Sakya men who had been trodden to death by elephants and their bodies torn to pieces by harrows in the park near the Sow's Tank. In other treatises

[1] Ssŭ-fên Vin., ch. 41; Liu-li-wang-ching.
[2] Vibhāsha-lun, ch. 11, and references under note 2, p. 557.

also we read that Virūḍhika practically annihilated Kapilavastu and exterminated the Sakyas of that city. Beginning with children at the breast, we are told, he slew all the Sakyas and washed the stone slabs of the Hall with their blood as he had vowed to do. The total number of the massacred is given as 99,900,000 in one treatise, and from this the absurd total has been quoted by others. Yet the monks seem to have remained uninjured, and some of the people were left unhurt, while a portion fled into Nepal.[1]

It is hard to accept the story of the sacking of Kapilavastu and the extermination of its inhabitants by Virūḍhika, who, as king of Kosala, was king also of Kapilavastu. Was the story made up in order to get rid of the impossible city invented by the makers of the romances about the Buddha's birth and early life? There are many and strong arguments against such a supposition. As has been seen, we find the story assumed to be true and known in several treatises, and some of the incidents are related as the occasions on which certain Vinaya rules were made. Thus, the giving of garments to needy brethren, the prohibition against the wearing of jewellery by bhikshunis, and the permission to ordain boys of seven years of age are all referred to the state of affairs at Kapilavastu immediately after its destruction by Virūḍhika.[2] When Ananda went to visit the bhikshus, who had fled from the massacre into a cold district of Nepal, he found them protecting themselves against the frost by the use of the *fu-lo* (富羅) which the natives wore. He considered himself bound by rules not to wear this, and so he returned to Śrāvasti with skin rough and chappy. Hearing of the circumstances, the Buddha made a new rule allowing the use of *fu-lo* in cold countries. The meaning of *fu-lo* is not given, but it is probably the Sanskrit *vāla*, which means the *hair* or coarse

[1] Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching, chs. 14, 36 (Bun., No. 114, tr. about 430); I-tsu-ching, ch. 2; Mahāsaṅghika Vin., ch. 30 (Bun., No. 1,119, tr. 416); Sarvāstivāda Vinaya-vibhāsha, ch. 7 (Bun., Nos. 1,135, 1,136, tr. 400).

[2] Shi-sung Vinaya, ch. 21 (Bun., No. 1,115, tr. 404); Wu-fên Vin., ch. 21.

wool of animals used for clothing.[1] Then in the very interesting Dhammapada treatise called "Ch'u-yao-ching," translated in 399, we find Virūḍhika's punishment of the Sakyas introduced in order to enforce and illustrate the doctrine of Karma. The verse to which the reference forms a comment declares that "not in the air nor in the ocean nor entering the mountain-cave—it is impossible in these places to escape the punishment of bad Karma."[2] Again, in the "Sarvata-vini-vibhāsha," translated into Chinese about A.D. 400, we find a reference to the mutilation and massacre of the Sakyas by Virūḍhika. The writer introduces the reference in illustration of Buddha's power in mercy and kindness as he healed and comforted the wretched victims.[3]

When the Buddha went to see the ruin and desolation caused by Virūḍhika's army he professed to be and apparently was unmoved, being freed from earthly grief, but he confessed that the sight gave him a headache. This headache he connected with unbecoming conduct in one of his former existences. In this particular existence, while he was a small boy, he came one day to a place where a body of fishermen had taken the fish from a pond and cruelly left them to die on the banks. The little boy rapped one of the fish wantonly on the head with a stick. As this fish lay dying beside a brother fish the two vowed to come back into the world at the same time and have revenge. The cruel fishermen became the Sakyas of Kapilavastu, the two fish were reborn as Virūḍhika and his friend, and although these could not kill Buddha, the little boy, they

[1] Sarvata Vin. P'i-ko-shih, ch. 2 (translated by I-ching about 715, not in Bunyio). I-ching mentions an old rule that "*fu-lo* does not enter the Hall of Fragrance," that is, Buddha's temple (Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei, etc., ch. 2).

[2] Ch'u-yao-ching, ch. 11 (Bun., No. 1,321, tr. 399), and cf. Fausböll's Dh., v, 127. There are further references to Virūḍhika's invasion in ch. 25 and other parts of the "Ch'u-yao-ching," which is an interesting Dhammapada treatise.

[3] Sarvāstivāda Vin. Vibhāsha, loc. cit. In the Sarvata Vin. Tsa-shih, ch. 7, there is a pretty story of Mallikā, the slave-girl, giving her own breakfast to Buddha. The compiler of the Pali "Questions of Milinda" spoils this story by making Mallikā give, as alms to Buddha, some "last night's sour gruel." See Rhys Davids' "Questions of Milinda," iv, 8, 25.

were able to cause him a bad headache.[1] Nor was the Buddha altogether master of his feelings as he seemed, for when he went to the Banyan Ārāma with the broken-hearted Ananda he sighed over the lonely desolation of the place. Then he went away declaring he would never return, and from that time Kapilavastu almost passed out of existence.

It is to be noted that the Pali and Mahāsaṅghika Vinayas do not seem to have any mention of or reference to Virūḍhika's invasion and destruction of Kapilavastu. The latter treatise even tells of a congregation of Bhikshus at the city several years after Buddha's decease, and of a feud there between Ananda and Rāhula on account of an affair connected with a layman's children.[2] This estrangement had caused the regular services of the Church to cease for seven years, and a reconciliation was at last effected by the intervention of the aged Upāli. But, on the other hand, to the Tibetan, the Ssŭ-fên, the Wu-fên, the Shih-sung, and Sarvata Vinayas the whole story of the invasion seems to be an accepted fact. Mr. Rhys Davids, following Bigandet, ascribes the destruction of Kapilavastu to Ajatasatru, the parricide king of Magadha. There is, however, evidently a mistake here, as there does not seem to be any authority for the statement.[3]

Conclusion:

As we read the various Buddhist books composed at different times and at places wide apart, we seem to find in them three Kapilavastus or birthplaces of the Sakya Buddha.

We have first the Kapilavastu of the legends and romances, and the narratives based on these. This city, as has been seen, was supposed to be in the Happy Land of the Himavat, or region of the Snow Mountains, either on their south side

[1] Hsing-ch'i-hsing-ching, ch. i (Bun., No. 733, tr. about 195); Journal Bud. Soc., op. cit., p. 11.
[2] Mahāsaṅghika Vin., ch. 30.
[3] Bigandet, op. cit., p. 267; R. Davids' Buddhism, p. 77.

or away north to the east of the Gandhamārdana Mountain.[1] The site of this city was a pleasant one, full of natural charms, and impregnated with secret influences conducive to happiness and prosperity. The city was adorned with parks and gardens and ponds and palaces, and it was a heaven on earth.[2] At some distance from it was the Lumbini Garden, not a mere "Sāl Park" or ordinary garden, with beautiful trees and lovely sweet-scented flowers, and tanks of clear cool water. It was a place even more than divine, for here gods did the behests of a higher but unknown power. Everything in it, animate and inanimate, knew when the fulness of the time for the Buddha's appearance had come. At the moment when the great event occurred, the flowers in the garden bloomed out of season, the trees were covered with ornaments not their own, the very soil owned the presence of the great power, and unseen gods filled the air and tended the babe born to be a saviour.

It is probable that all Buddhists believed in the actual existence of this Kapilavastu with its Lumbini Garden. It is useless, however, to conjecture where the writers of the romances wished their readers to suppose the city to be situated. From the first it was little known to the Church, and even to the early writers Kapilavastu seems to be a vague, uncertain place. In the "Dīgha Nikāya" and the "Sumangala Vilasini" we have a record of a conversation which occurred in Kosala between the Buddha and a Brahman named Ambaṭṭha. In this the Buddha speaks of the city which was supposed to be his native place as if it were far away and a matter of old story.[3] The Lumbini Garden is not properly the place of Buddha's birth, but of his first appearance in the last stage of his existence. As the scene of his entrance on his last life, it is apparently of later invention than Kapilavastu. At least, it is not known to all

[1] Hsiu-hsing-pên-ch'i-ching, ch. 2.

[2] Fang-kuang-ta-chuang-yen-ching, ch. 2 (Bun., No. 159, tr. 683); Abhidharma-mahā vibhāṣha-lun, ch. 83.

[3] Dīgha Nik., i, p. 92; Sumang. Vil., p. 258 (T.T.S.). The same story is to be found in the Sarvata Vin. Yao-shi, ch. 8.

the authors, and in the "I-Ch'u-P'u-sa-pên-ch'i-ching," for example, there is no mention of it in the narrative of the Buddha's birth. It is remarkable also that when Asoka was taken by Upagupta to the Lumbini Garden, there was apparently no monument or memorial to mark the place. Asoka set up a tope at the place pointed out to him, and this was the first structure erected to indicate the Lumbini Garden.

We have next the Kapilavastu and Lumbini Garden, visited first by Asoka and afterwards by the Chinese pilgrims, and now rediscovered. This Kapilavastu, which seems to suit some of the narratives in the Buddhist scriptures, may also be the place with that name from which the Indian monk Dharmaphala in the second century A.D. brought to China two Sanskrit MSS. These were translated into Chinese with the titles "Chung-pên-ch'i-ching" and "Hsiu-hsing-pên-ch'i-ching."[1] They are short treatises giving an account of part of the Buddha's life, and they have been used by the present writer. But we have no records of any other pilgrims visiting this place, or of any great Buddhists residing at it, or of any human life, except that mentioned by the two pilgrims, at it between the Buddha's time and the present. No doubt pilgrims went to the place and worshipped and wrote their names on topes or columns, but they did not tell of their pilgrimages to the sacred sites, nor did others write their stories for them. So far as we know, this Kapilavastu has never been seen by anyone as a city or even as a heap of ruins. A few lay inhabitants and a small congregation of Buddhist monks were the only residents in the district when it was visited by the Chinese pilgrims. The foundations of what was supposed to have been the old city wall were pointed out to Yuan-chuang, and he saw also a well and a temple. If this last had survived, as the pilgrim in his simple faith believed, from the Buddha's birth-time its god had been changed, the Yaksha who gave increase to the Sakyas having been replaced by Siva. But, with a very few exceptions like these, topes

[1] Kao-sêng-chuan, ch. 1.

and chaityas built long after the Buddha's death and monkish traditions have since the first visit been the only evidence for the identification of sites and objects with certain descriptions in the Buddhist books. The Asoka pillars and the remains of old topes found by the Nepalese in the Paderia district of the Terai are doubtless those seen by the two Chinese pilgrims, but we are not obliged to believe that they are at the places where the historical Buddha was born and spent his youth. Bühler, however, and Oldenberg, with other learned students of Buddhism, seem to be thoroughly convinced that these monuments indicate the sites of the objects mentioned in the Buddhist scriptures as connected with the birth and early years of the Buddha.[1] This conviction may be regarded as based on the supposition that Asoka and the Chinese pilgrims saw a large quantity of ruins at the place which they were told represented Buddha's Kapilavastu. But this supposition is not warranted by the Asoka legend or the narratives of the pilgrims. In these we have sites and chaityas with images or pictorial representations, but very few ruins or ancient buildings.

The third Kapilavastu is the actual place at which the Buddha was born and educated as a boy. We must remember, however, that the honour of having been the Buddha's birthplace has been claimed also for other cities, such as Śrāvasti and Kusinagara, and that the former of these was evidently a sort of home for him and some of his kindred.[2] Practically, however, there is a general agreement that his native place was called Kapilavastu or Kapilanagara. As we have seen, the books vary as to its situation with reference to other localities, and it does not seem to be possible at present to form a satisfactory and definite opinion as to its precise situation. There are, however, various reasons for regarding it as having been probably in the territory of the Vrijjians and not far from Rajagriha of Magadha. It was probably

[1] Bühler, op. cit., p. 5; Oldenberg, op. cit., p. 110 ff; Waddell, in Journal As. Bengal, vol. lxv, pt. 1, No. 3, p. 275.
[2] Chang-a-han-ching, ch. 3; Fan-i-ming-i, ch. 3.

a small unimportant town, and its original name may have been something like Saka or Sāka. We have already seen that Kapilavastu is placed by some writers in the Vrijjian territory and not far from Pāvā, an important town of that people.[1] We read also of the Buddha going with his 1,250 disciples from Kapilavastu through the Vrijjian region to Vaisāli.[2] The relations between the people of this district and the Buddha and his kinsmen seem to have been very intimate. According to some accounts the elephant which Devadatta in his sulky displeasure killed at a gate of the city of Kapilavastu, had been sent by the Vaisālians as a present to Prince Siddhārtha. Moreover, some of the Buddha's relatives seem to have lived in or near Vaisāli all their lives, or at least from the time they entered the Order. Ananda also is represented as having had an intimate friend among the Mallas of Pāvā while he was a young layman. After the Buddha's decease, moreover, Ananda went to live at Vaisāli, and it was from that city that he and the arhats, according to one account, went to Rajagriha to attend the first Council.[3] Then we read of Mallas[4] and Licchavis among the population of the Sakya district, and also of Licchavi Sakyas. We may note, in passing, that when Yuan-chuang was at Vaisāli he was informed that the hereditary King of Nepal was a Licchavi Buddhist.

As to Rajagriha, it is very evident from some of the Buddhist books that their authors regarded it as not very distant from Kapilavastu. When the Prince Siddhārtha went out into the world, his first halt, according to several accounts, was, as has been observed, at Anuya (or Anomya), which was near to Rajagriha, and, according to some, on leaving his home he went gradually south from the borders of Magadha to Rajagriha.[5] The Sakya town called Koli

[1] See also Ta-an-p'an-shuo-i-ching, ch. 1 (Bun., No. 681, tr. about 150).
[2] Chung-pên-ch'i-ching, ch. 2.
[3] Ssŭ-fên Vin., chs. 41, 54.
[4] P'u-yao-ching, ch. 3.
[5] Wu-fên Vin., ch. 15; Ssŭ-fên Vin., ch. 31.

and Devadaha and, by other names was, we have seen, not very far from Kapilavastu. This important town, it will be observed, is not mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims, but their silence may perhaps be explained. I think it is the place which they call Rāma, and which they place at about forty miles to the east of the Lumbini Garden. At this place there was a celebrated tope over relics of the Buddha, and near it were certain memorials connected with his flight from home. Now in a certain Nirvāna treatise we read of the Buddha going from Rajagriha to Pataliputra, and from that city east to the Koli (Kou-li, 拘利) city, and thence on to Vaisāli. In this passage we find as a synonym for Koli the name Hsi-yü (喜豫), that is, *joy*, *delight*, in Sanskrit, Rāma. In the "Mahā-Parinibbāna Sutta" we find the form Koṭigāma instead of Koli. This Sutta also tells us how "Rāmagamika Koliyā," the Koliyas of Rāmagāma, obtained a share of the Buddha's relics. They claimed this on the ground that they were Kshatriyas and that the Buddha had been of the same caste.[1] It was also to this Rāmagāma or Lo-ma-ts'un that the prince went direct from Kapilavastu, according to the "Hsing-chi-ching," when he had passed through the Pi-ye-lo gate of the city.[2] Then, according to Yuan-chuang's travels, Rāmagrāma lay between the Lumbini Garden and Kusinagara; and in the "Sarvata Vinaya," Buddha, going in the opposite direction, journeys from Kusinagara to Devadaha (Koli) and thence to the Lumbini Garden.[3] Further, Mr. Rockhill's Tibetan authority represents the prince, while still a resident at home, as going "into the cemetery of Rajagriha."[4] This may be a slip of the pen, but the place at which Siddhārtha watched the ploughers as he sat under a tree was apparently not far from this city. We read also of Suddhodana being one of the Buddha's

[1] P'an-ni-huan-ching, ch. 1 (Bun., No. 119, tr. between 317 and 420); Journal R.A.S., Vol. VII, p. 65, and Vol. VIII, p. 259.
[2] Hsing-chi-ching, ch. 17.
[3] Sarvata Vinaya, Yao-shih, ch. 7.
[4] Rockhill, op. cit., p. 23.

audience at Rajagriha, and it was near this city apparently that Suddhodana was cremated.[1] The city was one of the favourite resorts of the Buddha, and his preference for it was noted and explained by early Indian Buddhist writers.[2] Some of his disciples also sojourned much here, and Upananda apparently settled permanently on the Griddhakūta Mountain.[3] Several texts put Kapilavastu a little or a considerable distance to the north of Rajagriha, but even when it is said to be on the side of the Snow Mountains, it is on the banks of the Ganges and not far from Magadha.[4]

To the Buddhist writers generally the Himavat or Snow Mountains, the fabled home of great rishis and of rare medicinal herbs, were of uncertain and varying location. Thus, in some texts we find them placed twelve yojanas from Kapilavastu in a north direction apparently,[5] in other texts they are to the east, and in a few they are to the south of that city. They were also regarded by some as near to Rajagriha, for the First Council, which was held at that city, is also described as having been held at the Snow Mountains.[6] So when we read in certain books of the Ganges being near Kapilavastu and the Snow Mountains, we are not obliged to regard it as far away among the Himalayas. It is, however, quite correct according to some Buddhist geography to place the Ganges in a very remote region to the north. It rises, we are told, in the Anavatapta Lake, and flows from that in an eastern direction. From the same lake the Indus flows south, the Oxus to the west, and the Sita to the north. When we read, however, of Kapilavastu being near the Bhagirathi or Ganges, we are to understand by these names the actual well-known river so called in India proper. According to the "Hsing-chi-ching," the old seer Asita went to Kapilavastu from

[1] P'u-sa-shêng-man-lun, ch. 4 (Bun., No. 1,312, tr. between 960 and 1127). This "Jātaka-māla" is a late work and of doubtful value.
[2] Ta-chih-tu-lun, ch. 3.
[3] Ssŭ-fên Vin., ch. 14.
[4] Sarvata Vin. Yao-shih, ch. 8; Divyādana, p. 548.
[5] Chung-hsü-ching, ch. 5.
[6] P'i-mi-mu-ching, ch. 4 (Bun., No. 1,138, tr. about 400).

"Ganges-town" of Magadha in the "Chê-p'an-ti" district of South India. In the "Mahāvastu" also this rishi is represented as living not on the Snow Mountains but on the Vindhya range.[1] Then in this connection we are reminded of the story of Prince Suddhodana obtaining permission to have a second wife. He had been successful in repelling the invasion of Sakyan territory by bands of plunderers from the border mountains. These invaders were called Pāṇḍavas, and one of the large mountains in the vicinity of Rajagriha was called Pāṇḍava.[2] Moreover, we find it stated that the Buddha's birthplace was in the "Middle Country," the Madhya-desa, and we are also informed that Magadha is the country in which the Buddhas are born.[3]

That there was a name like Saka or Sākya for Buddha's birthplace, appears probable from the use of these words in several Buddhist texts. According to the romances and legends, the banished princes who formed the Kapilavastu colony acquired the name Sakyas, or the *clever ones*, from their father's exclamation of surprised delight. This name, however, seems to have become the designation of a large tribe or people occupying a considerable extent of territory. But the place at which the first settlers took up their abode and built their town was at a Śāka-saṇḍo or Teak Wood, and from this the town and inhabitants seem to have acquired the names Sāka and Sākya. This supposition helps to explain the distinction which is plainly drawn in several books between Sakya and Sākya. The former is the general term, embracing the latter and much more. Thus we read of Buddha staying among the Sakyas at Kapilavastu in the Banyan Ārāma, but we also find that he "travels about among the Sakyas to the Kapilavastu country," that he lodges in the "Sakya town Silāpati" and "in Devadaha in the Sakya country." Both in the Pali and the Chinese versions of some treatises we find the "Sākiyāni" or Sakyas

[1] Hsing-chi-ching, ch. 7; Mahāvastu (ed. Senart), ii, p. 30.
[2] Rockhill, op. cit., p. 15; Hsing-chi-ching, ch. 22.
[3] Ta-chih-tu-lun, ch. 25.

of Kapilavastu distinguished from the "Kolyāni" or Sakyas of Koli.[1] The Sākiyā and Koliyā also are often mentioned together, and the word Sākya is frequently employed in ways which show that its application is restricted to Kapilavastu. Thus it was the wanton insolence of the Sakyas of this city which led to Virūḍhika's invasion, and the operations of the invader were, according to all accounts, confined to the Sakyas of the city and suburbs. So in the story the "Sākiyānam dosa" or "pubbakamma" is the *guilt* or *previous karma* of the Sakyas of Kapilavastu and not of the Sakyas generally.[2] And when it is recorded that "Sākiyavaṁso Viḍuḍabhena ucchinna," this means that the Kapilavastu Sakyas were exterminated by the king. The first word, we know, cannot mean, as Childers translates, the "Sākya royal line," nor the Sakya race.[3]

In one sūtra we find this expression—"the Āmalika Medicine-tree orchard of the Sakyas' Shê-i" or Sākya.[4] This passage, however, is evidently corrupt, and there is nothing in the text to prove that Shê-i here means Kapilavastu. But Buddha uses the term Sākya to designate his native place, and we find it expressly stated that the name (Shi-ka) is a synonym for Kapilavastu.[5] Then we read of the Shê-i-lu or Shê-i-road, which the context shows is the road to Kapilavastu,[6] and Suddhodana is called "King of Shê-i."[7]

The word Sākya came to mean also a relative of Buddha, a member of the Kapilavastu family to which the Buddha was supposed to belong, and so we sometimes find it

[1] Thera-gāthā, p. 56 (P.T.S.); Samyut. Nik., iii, pp. 5, 91; Mahāsaṅghika Vin., ch. 39, where we read of Sakya, Koli, Malla, and Licchavi bhikshunis all under Mahā Prajāpatī.

[2] Jātaka, iv, p. 152; Fausböll's Dh., p. 223.

[3] Fausböll's Dh., p. 224; Childers' Pali Dictionary, s.v.

[4] Shê-li-fu Mo-ha-Mu-lien-yu-ssŭ-chŭ-ching (Bun., No. 625, tr. about 195). In the later translation in ch. 41 of the "Tsêng-i-a-han-ching" the word Shê-i does not occur.

[5] Fên-pie-kung-tê-lun, ch. 2 (Bun., No. 1,290, trs. about 150, or according to others about 380); Ssŭ-fên Vin., chs. 3, 31.

[6] Chung-pên-ch'i-ching, ch. 1.

[7] Ching-fan-wang-pan-nie-p'an-ching, ch. 1 (Bun., No. 732, tr. 455).

interchanged with Gautama.[1] It also came to be used in the sense of "a Buddhist," and even in early times we find a woman declaring her separation from the Buddhist Church in the words "fei-Shi-chung-tsŭ," that is, "I am no more of the Sākya stock." [2]

The derivations and explanations given in the books for Sakya and Sākya do not seem to be very satisfactory. It is interesting to observe, however, that the inhabitants of Kapilavastu are connected with the Śāka or Teak tree, and those of Devadaha with the Koli or Jujube tree. But Saka was possibly the name of the real or fictitious founder of the family of the Sakyas. To some writers these are the clan otherwise called by the name Gautama, and to some they were evidently the Kshatriyas. In relating the origin and history of the Kshatriya caste, Buddha and his followers merely relate the mythical origin and descent of the Buddha's family. It may be worthy of investigation, however, whether Saka is not originally a foreign word meaning the *marshy* land or *wet* country, and Sākya the inhabitant of the country. This word may have been one of that large number of terms common to several old languages of Central Asia and still preserved to us in Chinese. One of the renderings given for the name of Buddha's native place is, as has been seen, *Red Marsh*. Now the word for *marsh* in Chinese is Tsê (澤), very like Shĭ or Sak (釋), and formerly pronounced Têh and Sak. The word for *wet* or *moist* in Chinese is also Shĭ (濕), and it also formerly had a pronunciation like *sek* or *sak*. The word Sak may have passed into the language of India and become confused with native words of similar sound. We have three Chinese versions made independently of a long and interesting sūtra, the name of which was apparently the Mahārudham sūtra. In this work we have an account of the origin and descent of

[1] Vinaya (ed. Oldenberg) Mah., i, 38, 11; Tsa-a-han-ching, ch. 41; Samyut. Nik., iv, p. 183.
[2] Mahāsaṅghika Vin., chs. 19, 37.

Buddha's family as Kshatriyas, and it is worthy of notice that there is no mention either of the banished princes or of Sakyas.[1]

[1] Ta-lu-t'an-ching, ch. 6 (Bun., No. 551, tr. about 300). Mr. Bunyio gives the title as "Fo-shuo-lu-t'an-ching," and suggests as its meaning "Sūtra on the Lokadhātu spoken by Buddha." But "Ta-lu-t'an" is evidently for "Mahārūdham," meaning the *great production*, that is the *origin of the world*. In Nos. 549 and 550 the Sanskrit title is translated by "Ch'i-shih-yin-pên" and "Ch'i-shih" respectively.

ART. XXIII.—*The Piprāhwā Stūpa, containing relics of Buddha.* By WILLIAM CLAXTON PEPPÉ, Esq. Communicated, with a Note, by VINCENT A. SMITH, I.C.S., M.R.A.S. With two Plates.

SINCE the discovery of the pillar at the Lumbinī Garden commemorating the birthplace of Gautama Buddha considerable curiosity has been aroused concerning the different mounds, or *koṭs* as they are locally called, which occur dotted over the tract extending from Kapilavastu on the north-west and the Lumbinī Garden on the north-east in Nepalese territory to a distance of several miles southwards inside the British frontier.

One such mound, more prominent than the rest, owing to its size and conspicuous shape, is situated near the village of Piprāhwā in the Birdpur Estate, Bastī District, on the Uskā-Nepāl road, at mile 19·75, and about half a mile south of Pillar No. 44 on the frontier of British territory and Nepāl.

Last year I excavated a trench across the summit of this mound, ten feet broad and eight feet deep, and found that the structure was built of bricks measuring $16'' \times 10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3''$, or $15'' \times 10'' \times 3''$, laid in clay mortar, layer upon layer, in concentric circles. Having thus satisfied myself that the mound was a Buddhist *stūpa*, I desisted from further exploration.

In October, 1897, Mr. Vincent Smith inspected it, and pronounced it to be a very ancient *stūpa*, and told me that if anything were to be found inside, it would be found in the centre, and probably at about the ground-level. Subsequent events have proved how correct was his surmise.

In the beginning of January, 1898, the excavation was continued, and a well ten feet square was dug down the centre of the *stūpa*.

At a distance of ten feet from the summit a small broken soapstone (steatite) vase, similar in shape to the vases found lower down, was discovered. This vase was full of clay, and embedded in this clay were some beads, crystals, gold ornaments, cut stars, etc.

Beginning at a depth of ten feet from the summit, a circular pipe, filled with clay, and encircled by brickwork, descended for a distance of two feet with a diameter of one foot. It then narrowed to four inches in diameter. The bricks surrounding this pipe were sometimes moulded, and sometimes roughly cut, into the required shapes.

After digging through eighteen feet of solid brickwork set in clay, a huge slab of stone was disclosed, lying due magnetic north and south, and placed 31·5 inches to the east of the centre of the clay pipe above described.

On further excavation the slab was perceived to be the cover of a massive sandstone coffer measuring 4′ 4″ × 2′ 8½″ × 2′ 2½″.

This cover was broken into four pieces, evidently by the pressure of the brickwork resting directly upon it, but, notwithstanding the fracture, the coffer remained perfectly closed. The lid or cover was provided with a deep groove which fitted perfectly into the flange of the sides of the coffer, and the pieces of the lid were thus firmly held together, and were removed without injury to the contents of the box.

On removing the lid the following articles were found :—

A soapstone vase 6 inches high and 4 inches in diameter;
A similar vase 7 inches high and 4⅓ inches in diameter;
A vessel shaped like a *lota* or *battohi*, of the same material, 5⅓ inches high and 5⅓ in diameter. The well-fitting lid of this vessel lay apart;
A small soapstone box 3¾ inches in diameter and 1⅓ inch high;

A crystal bowl 3¼ inches in diameter and 3⅛ inches high, including the cover. The bowl lay at the south end of the coffer, and the cover lay in the centre with its handle downwards. The handle is in the shape of a fish, hollow, and is filled with granulated stars in gold leaf.[1]

The steatite vases have been beautifully turned in a lathe, and the marks of the chisel are as fresh and distinct as if the articles were new. The crystal bowl, which is of exceptionally large size, is polished to perfection, and has all the appearance of a glass bowl of the present day.

There were evidently some wooden vessels also, but these had fallen to pieces. The fragments are clearly recognizable as wood, and the knob forming the handle of one vessel can be distinguished. All the fragments have been preserved.

The stone coffer is made of hard, fine sandstone of very superior quality. It is, except for the fracture of the lid, in a state of perfect preservation. It has been hollowed, at the cost of vast labour and expense, from a solid block of rock. The stone cannot, I think, have come from any of the hills to the north in Nepāl.

The weight of the lid is 408 pounds, and I calculate the weight of the whole coffer, lid included, to be 1,537 pounds.

The brickwork continued for two feet below the bottom of the box.

At the level of the bottom of the coffer, the clay pipe, which had so far been circular in section, assumed for the depth of a single layer of bricks the form of a rectangle, the edge of which was 21⅛ inches from the coffer.

Below this level the pipe resumed its circular form, four inches in diameter, and terminated with the brickwork two feet below the box.

I was most careful in searching this pipe all the way down, but nothing whatever was found in it.

[1] The fact that the covers of two of the vessels were lying apart from the vessels themselves is probably due to earthquakes. Two earthquakes have been noticed at Gorakhpur within the last four years. (V. A. S.)

The level of the surface of the ground inside is the same as the level of the ground at the outward circumference of the *stūpa*.

The relic urns contained pieces of bone, which are quite recognizable as such, and might have been picked up a few days ago.

The urns also contained ornaments in gold; gold beads; impression of a woman's figure, an inch long, on gold leaf, the upper part of her body being nude and the lower portion clothed; another smaller figure in gold leaf, nude; a large circular piece of rather thicker gold leaf, two inches in diameter, with scroll ornament; an elephant stamped on gold leaf; several pieces in gold leaf stamped with the figure of a lion, having a trident over his back and the Buddhist cross (*svastika*) in front; several pieces with the impression of the Buddhist cross; one piece of solid gold, measuring $\frac{3}{4}'' \times \frac{1}{4}'' \times \frac{1}{8}''$; and quantities of stars or flowers both in silver and gold, with six or eight petals each. The silver is tarnished, but the gold is beautifully bright, and was so when the box was opened.

Pearls of sizes, many being welded together in sets of two, three, or four, are numerous.

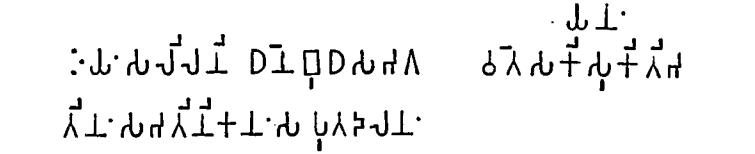
The treasure also includes quantities of flowers or stars, leaves serrated and veined, Buddhist tridents, pyramids, pierced and drilled beads of various sizes and shapes, cut in white or red cornelian, amethyst, topaz, garnet, coral, and crystal. Some of these objects seem to be made of shell. There is one bird in red cornelian, and another in metal.

I have compared these ornaments with those illustrated in Mr. Rea's work, "South Indian Buddhist Antiquities,"[1] and find that almost every form described by him is in my collection, which includes many not in the Bhaṭṭiprōlu deposit.

The only inscription of any kind is scratched on the cover of the smaller urn. The letters are in the Pāli character, and are about $\frac{1}{16}$ of an inch long. The letters

[1] Archaeol. Survey of India, New Imp. Series, vol. xv.

are so slightly scratched in that I have been unable to obtain an impression, but I have made a very careful pencil rubbing, of which the following is the result:—[1]



There is a bridge on the road opposite the *stūpa*, and I have taken the level of the north-west parapet as the datum level.

From the base of the brickwork, that is to say, from the surface of the ground inside and outside of the *stūpa*, to the summit, the height is 21·65 feet.

The diameter of the *stūpa* at the ground-level is 116 feet. At a distance of eight feet below the summit, at a point where the inside vertical walls are well defined, the diameter is 62 feet.

To the south of the *stūpa* is a raised platform, which indicates the site of some building.[2]

To the north there are the remains of a rectangular building, with walls well defined, but I have made no excavation here.

About 65 feet east of the *stūpa* is a rectangular courtyard, measuring 99′ 10″ by 118′, surrounded by a well-preserved wall, with small rooms opening off it on all sides. I have had a room on each side excavated. There is no flooring, and nothing to indicate what the roof consisted of.[3] I found wood at the bottom of the doorways, which has since crumbled to pieces. The walls were plastered with mud, which even now it is difficult to break off from the wall. I have not come across the outer wall to the north, but I have no doubt that it is there.

[1] For the transliteration and translation see J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 388, and the following Note.

[2] In my opinion this structure was an open platform, not the site of any building. Small votive *stūpas* of brick may have stood on it. (V. A. S.)

[3] This building was evidently a monastery. (V. A. S.)

The western side, that nearest the *stūpa*, is different in construction from the others, but I have not excavated sufficiently to judge what was the nature of it. The walls extend inwards from the main wall, and the centre room gives me the idea that it formed the main entrance.

I was inclined at first to think that this building was built of smaller bricks than those found in the *stūpa*, but, on closer examination, I cannot find any bricks of smaller dimensions than the following, namely: $15\frac{1}{2}'' \times 10'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$, $15'' \times 10'' \times 3''$, $16'' \times 11'' \times 3''$. There were also arch bricks measuring 10″ and $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 15'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$, $10\frac{1}{2}''$ and $9'' \times 16'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$, 11″ and $10'' \times 8'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}''$, 8″ and $7'' \times 13'' \times 3''$, and $14\frac{1}{2}'' \times 12'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$.[1] One or two rectangular bricks measured $15\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5'' \times 3''$. What appeared to be smaller bricks were only portions of the larger ones.

To the west there is the site of another building.

I had the sides of the tank to the south-west of the *stūpa* dug, but could not find any traces of brickwork round it.

East of the *stūpa* opened there is another (B), and there is a nest of *stūpas* (C and D) to the south.[2] The village of Gunwaria to the south-west also possesses one, and the village of Bharaulia to the north-west has another.[3]

A little above the stone box, and to the south of it, I found two small pieces of concrete made of stone lime.[4]

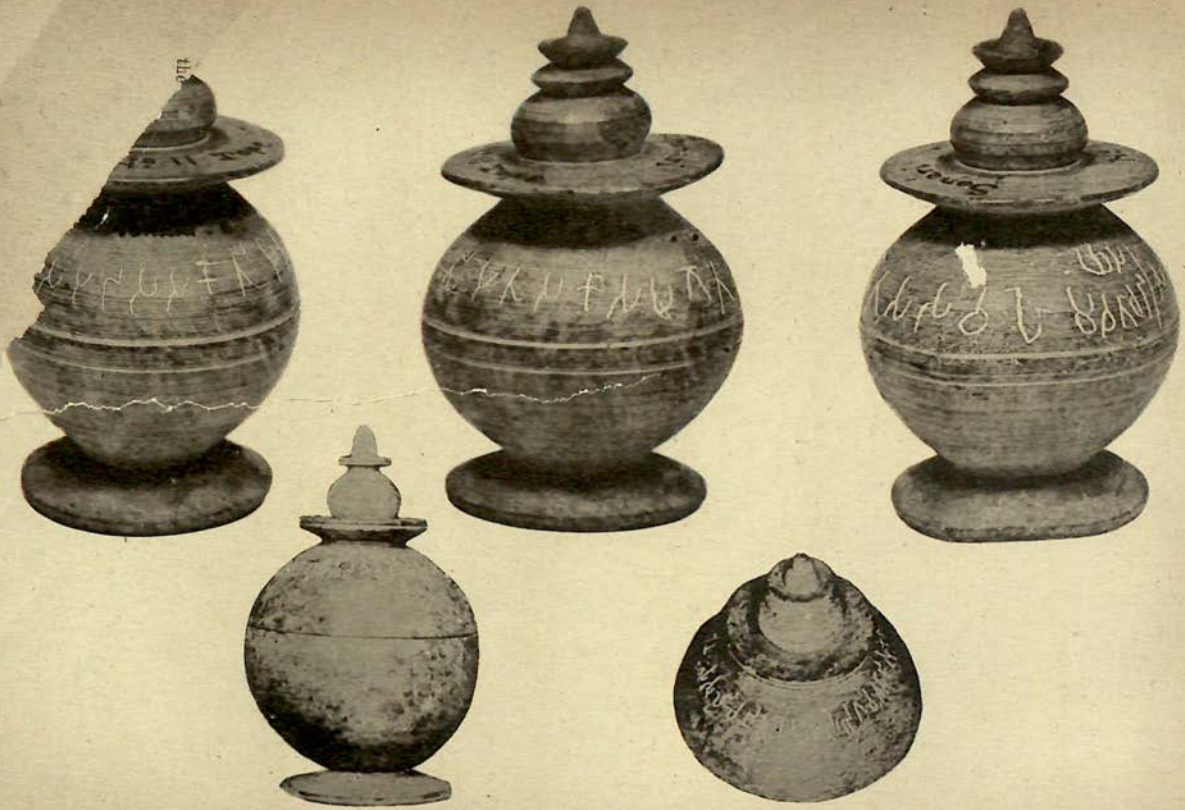
In the building to the east [i.e. the monastery] I found a small iron spear-head, with blade measuring $3\frac{1}{4}'' \times \frac{7}{8}'' \times \frac{1}{8}''$ and handle measuring $4\frac{1}{2}''$; and also an iron spike, nails with large heads, and sundry pieces of iron.

[1] The occurrence of these arch bricks is of special interest. (V. A. S.)

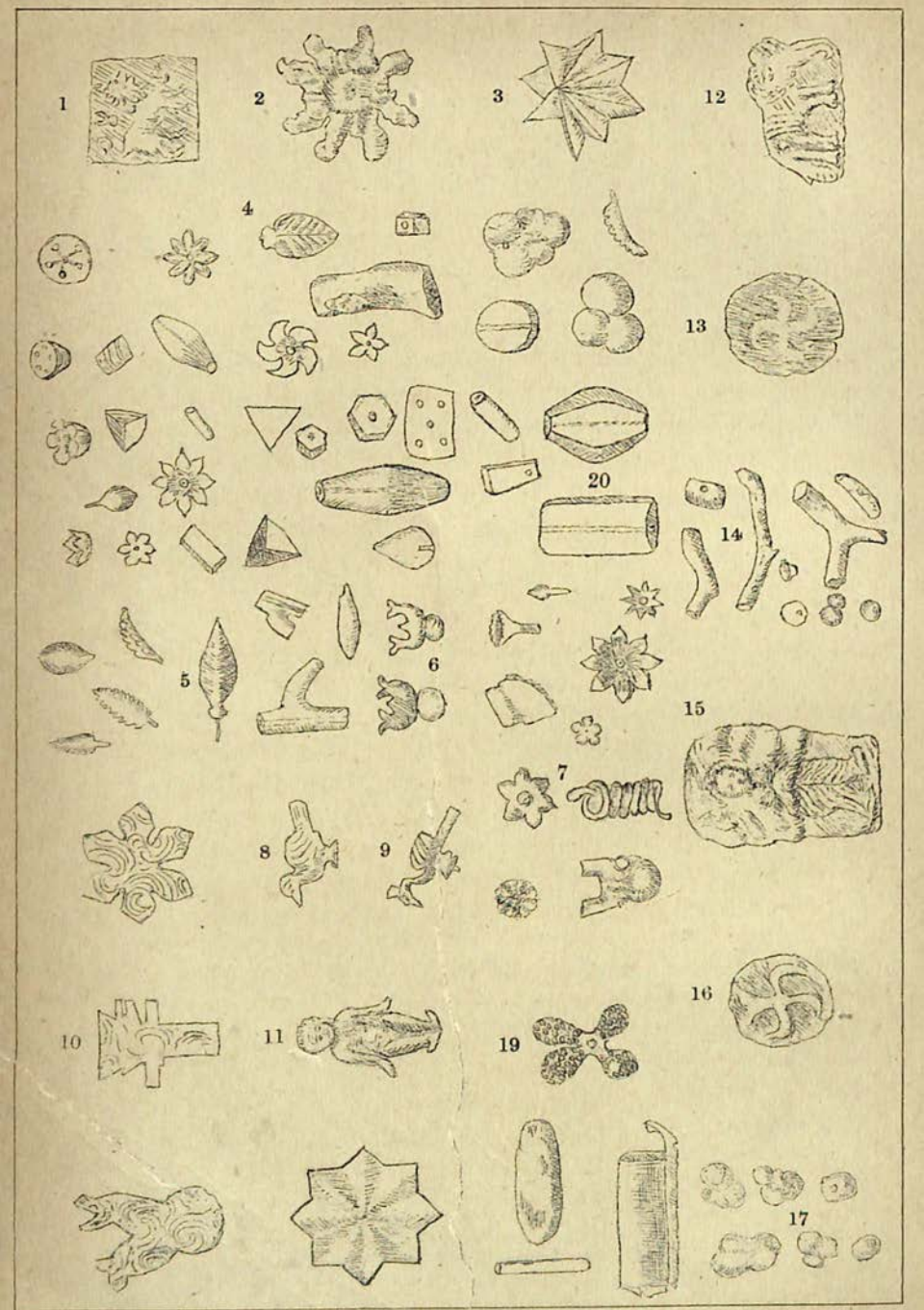
[2] Mr. Peppé's tracing of the map of the surrounding country has not been reproduced. (V. A. S.)

[3] It is to be hoped that Mr. Peppé will be good enough to continue his explorations. Other inscribed vases will probably be found in the numerous *stūpas* in the neighbourhood. (V. A. S.)

[4] These little pieces of concrete are the only indications of the use of lime in the building. (V. A. S.)



SONĀRI AND PEPPÉ VASES. R.A.S.



E. PEPPÉ, DEL.

CONTENTS OF VASES.

NOTE.

By V. A. Smith, M.R.A.S.

The discoveries made by Mr. William Peppé are of such exceptional value and interest that I think it desirable to publish them at once, although the excavations are still incomplete. Mr. Peppé, who is a trained engineer and surveyor, kept accurate notes during the progress of his exploration, and has thus been able to prepare satisfactory plans and sections.[1] He has confined himself to a trustworthy record of what he did and saw, leaving explanation and commentary to others. I shall endeavour in the following pages to give such brief explanation and commentary as may render Mr. Peppé's report more fully intelligible and more significant than it would be if left to speak for itself.

The north-eastern corner of the large Bastī District, which adjoins on the west the Gorakhpur District, is occupied by the estates of European grantees, who have within the last sixty years transformed vast acres of dense forest into rich and well-cultivated plains, inhabited by a numerous and prosperous peasantry.

The principal of these estates is the Birdpur Grant, the property of the Gibbon and Peppé families. The residence of the managing proprietors, Messrs. William and George Peppé, is at Birdpur, six miles from the Nepalese frontier, and fourteen miles, viâ Naugaṛh Bazaar, from the Uskā Railway Station on the Bengal and North-Western Railway.

[1] [These were unfortunately so injured in the post that they cannot be reproduced. But Mrs. Peppé's full-size drawing of the objects in the four vases has escaped destruction and is reproduced as a plate. The other plate reproduces the photograph of the inscribed vase (Figures 4 and 5). Above it is given a photograph (Figures 1, 2, and 3) of the very similar inscribed vase from Sonārī now in the British Museum. This was discussed in Cunningham's "Bhilsa Topes," p. 317.—Ed. D.]

The high road from Naugaṛh to the frontier runs for twelve miles through the Birdpur estate, and then comes to an abrupt termination in a rice-field. The Nepalese Government does not encourage the construction of roads, and leaves its subjects to make their way as best they can along rough tracks, or, when the crops are off the ground, across the fields. The line of frontier is a purely artificial one, and is marked by a narrow strip of "neutral ground" and by numbered masonry pillars at intervals of about a mile each. Birdpur House will be found marked on Sheet No. 188 of the N.W.P. and Oudh Survey (scale one inch to one mile), in about latitude 27° 22′ N. and longitude 83° 9′ E. The road from Naugaṛh runs nearly due north and reaches the frontier a little west of Pillar No. 44.

The Niglīva pillar with the inscription recording Aśoka's visit to the *stūpa* of Kanakamuni (Konāgamana) lies on the west bank of the Niglīva Sāgar, or artificial lake, about 17 miles almost due north of Birdpur House, and just outside the southern limit of the ruins of Kapilavastu, which extend for several miles east and west. The western end of the ruins of the city rests on the left or eastern bank of the Bāngangā River, a considerable stream which descends from the hills and joins the Rāptī in the Bastī District. The breadth of the city of Kapilavastu north and south was much less than its length east and west. The position of Kapilavastu may be defined as approximately in latitude 27° 37′ N. and longitude 83° 8′ E.[1]

The Aśoka pillar near Paḍariā, in the Rummindeī Tappā in Nepāl, is situated five miles from the frontier, and about six miles north-east from Mr. Gibbon's house at Dulhā in the Dulhā Grant, which is about six miles E.N.E. from Birdpur. The direct distance from Birdpur to the Paḍariā pillar, which marks the site of the Lumbinī Garden, the traditional birthplace of Gautama Buddha, is about 12 miles.[2]

[1] Niglīva and Kapilavastu are really close together, and only 31 miles from Uskā Station. The distances as stated by Dr. Führer in his reports are erroneous.

[2] Both of these Aśoka inscriptions have been recently edited by Dr. Bühler in "Epigraphia Indica," vol. v, p. 1.

The *stūpa* excavated by Mr. Peppé is near the village of Piprāhwā, and stands a little west of the high road from Naugaṛh and about half a mile from the frontier.

A group of *stūpas* (C and D in Mr. Peppé's report) lies about half a mile south-west of Piprāhwā *stūpa*, and there is another mound of ruins (B) more than a quarter of a mile to the east.

A fourth mound of ruins exists to the north-east near the Siswā reservoir, and there are several mounds, probably *stūpas*, in the Dulhā Grant. A small well-defined ruin in Mr. Peppé's stable-yard at Birdpur is more probably a temple than a *stūpa*. A large mass of ruins at Piprī, about three miles south from Birdpur, is also more probably Brahmanical than Buddhist, though of very early date.

I have thought it desirable to put these notes on record in order to define accurately the relative positions of Kapilavastu, the Lumbinī Garden, and the Piprāhwā *stūpa*, and to indicate the extensive field of exploration which lies open in the Grants of the Bastī District. I am well acquainted with the Grants, and on the 28th January, 1898, had the pleasure of visiting the Niglīva pillar and the western end of the ruins of Kapilavastu in the company of Mr. William Peppé.

I now proceed to deal directly with the subject of Mr. Peppé's report.

The building east of the *stūpa* is undoubtedly a monastery. It is desirable that both it and the small structure north of the *stūpa* should be fully excavated. Some small objects of interest will probably be found, and inscriptions may possibly turn up. I expect to find an image or images in the northern building, and this is the most likely position for an inscription.

Complete excavation of the exterior of the *stūpa* is also desirable. At least one procession path must have existed, and it is possible that it was surrounded by a rail. The principal deposit is commonly at the level of the procession path. In this case the stone coffer lay at a height of only 1·64 foot above the ground-level. This height is

probably the level of the brick pavement round the *stūpa* used as a procession path. The broken vase found at a depth of 10 feet from the summit almost certainly marks the level of a higher terrace or procession path.

The *stūpa* is evidently a solid mass of brickwork. The bricks are of the large size specially characteristic of the Aśoka period, and are well made. Rice-straw has been freely used to strengthen the cohesion of the clay. The bricks which I saw at Kapilavastu excavated from the small *stūpas* supposed to be those commemorating the slaughter of the Sākyas are of much smaller dimensions, being only 12 inches in length. Rice-straw has not been used in their manufacture.

The dimensions of the *stūpa* entitle it to rank in the second class of monuments of the kind. The diameter at the base is 116 feet. The Bhaṭṭiprōḷu *stūpa*, which the Piprāhwā building in several respects closely resembles, had a base 148 feet in diameter. The base of the great *stūpa* at Amarāvatī was about 138 feet in diameter.[1] The Mānikyāla dome had a diameter of 127 ft. 9 ins.[2] The present height of the Piprāhwā *stūpa* is 21·65 feet. Though the original height must have been considerably greater it must have fallen far short of half a diameter. According to a well-known rule this low ratio of height to diameter is a certain sign of high antiquity.

The central "pipe" or well is a curious feature, which is also found at Bhaṭṭiprōḷu and elsewhere. Mr. Peppé states that this "pipe" began at a distance of ten feet from the summit, and ran down two feet with a diameter of one foot, when it contracted to a diameter of four inches until it reached the level of the bottom of the stone coffer, when it assumed the form of a rectangle, 17 inches by 5 inches, for the depth of a single layer of bricks, and then resumed the circular pipe shape, four inches in

[1] Rea, "South Indian Buddhist Antiquities," being vol. xv of Archaeological Survey of India Reports, N.S., pp. 2, 3, 7, and 8.
[2] Cunningham, "Reports," v, 75.

diameter, for a further distance of two feet, when it stopped. The rectangle served as a "pointer" to the coffer.

The well in the Bhaṭṭiprōḷu *stūpa* extended from the summit of the building, which was only about 14 feet high when first examined, down to the bottom. For a distance of $5\frac{3}{4}$ feet it preserved a uniform diameter of $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and in the lower portion the courses were stepped, having alternate diameters of $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches and 1 ft. 3 ins.[1]

The central well of the Ghaṇṭaśālā *stūpa* was constructed in a third fashion, and is thus described:—

"The brickwork on the surface of the square in the centre of the *stūpa* appeared quite solid, and was laid in parallel courses. It extended thus for a depth of 3 feet. At that point, in the centre, was the top of a well, 9 inches square, filled with earth. Among the first earth removed, were pieces of a broken *chatti*," and its contents, a lead coin, beads, and some pieces of quartz. "Just below there was a small red earthenware *chatti*, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and height," which contained beads, pearls, etc. "The small well in the centre of the *stūpa* gradually increased in size, till, at 13 feet from the surface, it was 2 ft. 6 ins. square. For the lower half of that depth it was filled with clay. The well there was closed with a brick. Below that, the well was 9 inches and 12 inches square, each alternate course down to the foundations, 26 feet from the summit of the mound. This portion also was packed with clay. There were no other relics. The foundations rest on sand. The various sizes of the openings of each course, in a portion of the well, is a feature also observed at Bhaṭṭiprōḷu."[2]

"It has been thought," Mr. Rea observes, "that the curious small circular shaft in the centre of the Bhaṭṭiprōḷu *stūpa* might have been the receptacle for the strong wooden post that supported the covering umbrellas. A similar but square shaft was found in the centre of the Ghaṇṭaśālā

[1] Rea, op. cit., p. 9, pl. ii.
[2] Rea, op. cit., p. 33.

stūpa. That building has a greater proportional height of the dome intact, and the top of this shaft was closed with original brickwork, so that with it—unless the well had been again resumed at a greater height—it could not have served the purpose supposed. It may also have been so with the Bhaṭṭiprōḷu *stūpa*, though now, of course, it is impossible to ascertain whether it really was so. There seems reason to believe, from the fact of a stone umbrella post found at Nāgalapalle, from the umbrellas being stone, and from the sculptured representations, that the umbrella post also was of the same material.

"The small well may have served as a receptacle for fixing a sweep during the progress of building to guide the correct laying of the circular rings of brickwork."[1]

At Piprāhwā the central pipe or well only began at a distance of ten feet from this summit. For two feet distance it had a diameter of one foot, and then contracted to four inches, until it reached the level of the bottom of the stone coffer, where it changed to a rectangular section for the depth of a single course of bricks.

It is clear that this well cannot possibly have been the receptacle for an umbrella-post, and it is equally clear that its primary purpose is to mark the exact centre of the *stūpa*, but the reasons for the variations in diameter, and for the other details of construction in the various examples, are not apparent.

The stone coffer is remarkable for its great size and weight, and for being hewn out of a solid block of stone. The workmanship is excellent, and the cost must have been great.

The massiveness and costliness of the coffer, and the richness of the deposit of precious objects in the vases, are obvious proofs of the veneration attaching to the relics enshrined. Those relics are some scraps of bone, which are now mixed up with the fragments of the decayed wooden vessel. The inscription on one of the soapstone

[1] Ghaṇṭaśālā is 13 miles west of Masulipatam. (Rea, op. cit., p. 3.)

(steatite) vases proves that the depositors believed the fragments of bone to be part of the sacred body (*śarīraṁ*) of Gautama Buddha himself. Whether or not the depositors' belief was actually well-founded no man can say. Mr. Peppé, unfortunately, omitted to take a note of the contents of each vase separately. The omission is not of much importance.

The general character of the deposit of precious objects resembles, as noted by Mr. Peppé, that of the deposit at Bhaṭṭiprōḷu, but the Piprāhwā collection is the richer of the two. The number of individual objects must extend to several hundreds. Mrs. Peppé's careful and accurate drawings give an excellent notion of representative objects from the collection, which fully supports Mr. Sewell's remark concerning a deposit found at Guḍivāḍa that "the men of that day were highly experienced lapidaries." [1]

Even the few selected objects shown in the plate are too numerous for detailed description. I have appended numbers to a few, which may be briefly described.

No. 1, square of gold leaf, stamped with the figure of a lion, and symbols, which are perhaps Brāhmī characters. There are several specimens of this class. No coins occur among the collection. I think that Nos. 1, 13, and 16 are probably impressions of coins. At Bhaṭṭiprōḷu were found "twenty-four small silver coins. They are plain on the reverse, and on the obverse have *Śrī-pādas*, *triśūlas*, lotus-flowers, and other emblems more or less legible." [2] Nos. 1, 13, and 16, at Piprāhwā, seem to be impressions of similar one-faced coins.

Nos. 2 and 3 are examples of very numerous classes of gold-leaf stars.

Nos. 4 and 5 are examples of a considerable class of very delicately wrought miniature leaves, executed in crystal and various other substances.

[1] Rea, op. cit., p. 20. Guḍivāḍa is twenty miles north-west of Masulipatam.
[2] Rea, op. cit., p. 12.

No. 6, two examples of the *triratna* symbol.

No. 7, a coil of fine wire, apparently silver.

No. 8, a bird in cornelian.

No. 9, a bird in metal (? silver). These are the only objects of the kind.

No. 10, a gold-leaf cross.

No. 11, a minute human figure in gold leaf.

No. 12, an elephant in gold leaf. This is unique.

Nos. 13 and 16, gold leaf stamped with the *svastika*, probably impressions of coins.

No. 14, fragments of coral.

No. 15, female figure in gold leaf, with aureole. Nos. 11 and 15 are the only human figures in the collection.

No. 17, small pearls, some of which are stuck together. The pearls are numerous.

No. 18, a large disc of gold leaf, with wavy ornament, unique.

No. 19, an example of a large class of granulated gold-leaf stars. The hollow fish-handle of the crystal vase is filled with stars of this kind.

No. 20, beads of beryl, topaz, etc. Most of the solid objects are pierced for stringing, and two or three have fragments of fine silver wire still attached.

The inscription on the lid of vase No. 1 reads as follows:—

Line 1. "*Iyaṁ salila nidhane Budhasa bhagavato Sakiyanaṁ sukiti bha—*

Line 2. *tinaṁ sabhaginikanaṁ* [1] *saputradalanaṁ.*" [2]

[1] [Mr. Peppé's pencil rubbing reads quite clearly *sabhatiṇikanaṁ*—where the *ti* may be a slip of the pencil for *gi*, but the *ṇi* is doubtless right.—Rh. D.]

[2] [The rubbing has clearly *saputa-* not *saputra-dalanaṁ*. The letters on the photograph are quite clear. Unfortunately, as it gives only the first half of the inscription, these two words do not appear in it. A large photograph of the whole inscription on the Peppé vase, to be taken if necessary on two or three plates, is greatly to be desired.—Rh. D.]

Dr. Bühler translates (see above, p. 388)—"This relic-shrine of divine Buddha (is the donation) of the Śākya Sukiti-brothers,[1] associated with their sisters, sons, and wives."

The alphabet, as Dr. Bühler observes, is essentially the same as that of the neighbouring Aśoka inscriptions, with the important exception that long vowels are not marked.

The dialect is like the Māgadhī, substituting *l* for *r*. *Salila* thus represents Skr. *śarīraṁ*.

The final character of *bhagavato* looks like *te*, with a stroke to the left, but must be read either as *to* or *ta*. If it be read as *ta*, we must suppose with Professor Bühler that the character *sa* was accidentally omitted.

Dr. Hoey, Professor Bühler, Dr. Hoernle, and Dr. Bloch all concur in the reading *Sakiyanaṁ*. The characters *-yanaṁ* were accidentally omitted by the scribe and were then inserted above the line.

Sukiti is treated by Professor Bühler as a proper name. Apparently it might be interpreted merely as an adjective signifying 'celebrated' or 'renowned,' and this interpretation seems to me preferable.

The exact age of the inscription cannot as yet be settled with certainty. The record is probably older than the reign of Aśoka, which, I am inclined to think, must be placed rather earlier than the current chronology allows.

This *stūpa* cannot be the monument erected by the Morians or Mauryas of Pippalivane, as Dr. Hoey suggested in the *Pioneer*. The Pippalivane *stūpa* was the ashes or charcoal *stūpa* erected over the charcoal from the pyre, and that *stūpa*, we know, was far from Kapilavastu in a south-easterly direction. The name Piprāhwā is probably modern. Scores of villages are named after conspicuous *pīpal*-trees.

The Śākyas of Kapilavastu, "as the relations of Buddha," obtained a share of the relics of the master at the time of the cremation. It is possible that the Piprāhwā *stūpa*,

[1] Or "of the renowned Sakya brethren," that is, as I understand, the brethren of *Buddha bhagavata*. This suggestion is due to Dr. Hoey, and seems sound. The reading Sakiyanaṁ was first published by Dr. Hoey in the *Pioneer*. [V. A. S.]

which is only eleven miles from Kapilavastu, may be that erected by the Śākya brethren immediately after the death of Gautama.[1]

[1] [The words are as follows (Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta in J.R.A.S. 1876, p. 260):—

Kapilavatthavā pi Sakyā Kapilavatthusmiṃ Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ thūpañ ca mahañ ca akaṃsu.

In my English translation ("Buddhist Suttas," S.B.E., vol. xi, p. 134) this clause has been, by inadvertence, omitted.

In Pāli the inscription would run—

Idaṃ sarīra-nidhānaṃ* Buddhassa bhagavato Sākiyānaṃ Sukitti-bhātikānaṃ* sabhaginīnaṃ* saputtadārānaṃ.*

So that among these few words there are no less than four that show a slight difference in dialect between Pāli and the language of the inscription, even allowing, as is undoubtedly the case, that the omission of long vowels and doubled consonants is purely a matter of orthography; and further, the phrase *sarīra-nidhānaṃ* seems awkward in Pāli prose in the sense intended, since *sarīra* in the singular means not 'relics' but 'body,' but the corresponding compound *sarīra-thupa* occurs in the sense of 'stūpa over relics' in the last sentence of the Sutta above quoted.

It is misleading to render *bhagavato* by 'divine.' The word means merely 'august, auspicious, *felix*.'

An alternative rendering of the inscription would be: *This shrine for relics of the Buddha, the August One, is that of the Śākyas, the brethren of the Distinguished One, in association with their sisters, and with their children and their wives.*—Rh. D.]

Art. XXIV.—*Vasco da Gama.* By H. Reade, F.R.G.S.

Vasco da Gama, though not a man of words, was, as Camoens says, a man of strenuous deeds, and it is for the sake of his deeds, and of the results which during four centuries have flowed from them, that we are now commemorating him. We celebrate in him the man whose courage and perseverance gave India to Europe and to England, and who, all unknowingly, was, with Columbus and Magellan, one of the three men who saved the Europe of the Renaissance and of the Reformation from being laid in ruins by Turkish tyranny seconded by French treachery. Had not Columbus and Da Gama, twenty years before the battle of Mohacs and the successes of Barbarossa in the Mediterranean, bestowed upon Spain and Portugal the riches of Asia and America, Charles V could never have hurled back from the German frontiers and the Italian coasts the all but overwhelming inrush of the hordes of Suleiman the Magnificent. But what could the defenders of Christendom have done save for the coffers of the Fuggers and the Welsers, of the bankers of Antwerp and the bankers of Genoa? and whence did these derive their wealth but from the newly-opened Spice Islands of the East and the new-found gold-mines of the West? By discovering the sea road to India, Vasco da Gama made Lisbon and Antwerp the emporia of the world. In 1517 the Turks conquered Egypt, and thus closed the last of the roads along which the world's wealth had of old passed from East to West. But twenty-five years earlier the loss of this Eastern trade would have paralyzed the strength of Germany and of Italy, at the very moment when the fall of Hungary and the treason of

Francis I were to leave the walls of Vienna and Doria's galleys as the only bulwarks between Turkish savagery and the printing-presses of Basle, the studios glowing with the canvasses of Titian, and the universities where the germs of our modern civilization were just bursting into vigorous life. But the tender plant of culture did not thus perish. Thanks to Vasco da Gama, who had formed new trade routes far beyond the reach of the Sultan's power, Europe at this most critical moment was not deprived of the riches of the East. "The Kings of the Isles could still send their presents, Arabia and Saba could still bear their gifts" to the foot of the Cross; and thus strengthened, Europe was able to stand up against the utmost efforts of her foes. Vasco da Gama, then, was one of the chief saviours of our modern civilization, nor need I remind you how in later years Holland drew from her Eastern trade the strength which enabled her to break the yoke of Louis XIV from off the neck of Europe, nor how the wealth of India in the hands of England helped her to free our continent from the tyranny of Napoleon.

Vasco da Gama was not only a saviour of civilization; with Albuquerque and Almeida he was one of the first pioneers on the road which, in the end, led England to her Empire in the East. He it was who taught Europe how to conquer and how to hold the East. To the detriment of his own country he failed to teach Europe a lesson she has not yet learned, and which, perhaps, will never be learned by any race of Latin or of Teutonic blood. He failed to perceive how Europe was to rule Asia sympathetically and with the consent of the Asiatics, and his failure in the end cost Portugal the Empire he had won her in the East.

Yet Vasco da Gama was the first discoverer of the true means of utilizing sea power as the foundation of a colonial empire. He clearly saw that when a commercial nation can send its goods more cheaply by sea than by land, and at the same time fails to maintain an efficient fleet, its independence is practically at the mercy of any power which can, by means of its navy, control the routes along

which those goods are conveyed to their markets. Knowing, as he did full well, the unchanging meteorological and oceanographic conditions of the Indian Ocean, he clearly saw that by stationing a few caravels on the trade routes into which these conditions forced the clumsy vessels of Ormuz, of Jeddah, and of Tor, and by securing for these caravels a fortified port—he only asked for one, Calicut, Cochin, or Cranganor—to which they could withdraw at need, Portugal might secure for herself the control of the whole coastline of the Asiatic and of the African world, and with the control of the coastline that of the vast hinterlands, whose well-being depended upon the unchecked flow of trade through their natural ports. These hinterlands she could rule indirectly through their native kings, secure in her knowledge that she could at any time enforce the unquestioning obedience of her vassals, by closing the trade routes by which they lived. His theories were carried into practice, and eleven years after his discovery of India the victory of Chaul transferred the sceptre of the world's commerce from Egypt and from Venice to Portugal.

The discovery of the value of those factories, which in his day served all the purposes of our modern coaling stations, is also mainly due to Vasco da Gama.

Look out on the map the former seats of Portuguese power. You will see that they correspond, for the most part, as nearly as the requirements of those days will allow, with the strategic points which are of prime importance in the eyes of our naval scientists to-day. In the sixteenth century, sheltered ports of a moderate depth, which could be reached without the necessity of contending with adverse currents, or with adverse winds, were those best fitted to meet the wants of the Portuguese seamen, and so it comes to pass that the only world centre of any actual importance which was known to but left unoccupied by them was Table Bay; probably they failed to annex it because their heavy carracks were ill-suited for struggling on to India against the Mozambique current, or for beating up against the gales which so often rage

around the Cape of Storms.[1] But to look elsewhere, it is only since the introduction of our modern steamships, that is to say, for all practical purposes, within the last thirty years, that, on the East African Coast, Delagoa Bay, Beira, and Zanzibar have replaced Sofala, Mozambique, Kilwa, Mombassa, and Melinde as important centres. Now, of these five, four were chosen by Vasco da Gama and his predecessor, Pero de Covilham, as suitable sites for Portuguese factories; nor were their selections less happy on the Indian coast. It is true that the naval power of Timoja forced Da Gama to refrain from occupying Goa; but Calicut, and even Cochin, were far more suitable centres than Bombay would have been for the spice trade with the Further East; and, indeed, Bombay could only rise into importance when the enterprise of Waghorn had established steam communication with Suez, and when the railway had been carried through the Western Ghats. In our great-grandfathers' day, Madras and Surat, the successor of Cambay, were far more important to our trade than was the "Good Bay" which had passed to England in the dowry of Catherine of Braganza.

Yet even more important results of Vasco da Gama's voyage remains to be mentioned. Portugal was in the fifteenth century the one world power whose genius fitted her to serve as an intermediary between the East and the West.

France, England, and Germany, wasted by centuries of foreign war and of civil broils, and as yet but little civilized in comparison with the nations of Southern Europe, were in no ways fitted to undertake the task of colonizing lands densely peopled with races which in many respects were far more civilized than themselves. The hard, unyielding temper of the Teutonic races had sufficiently shown

[1] The Portuguese, through not occupying Table Bay, lost the command of the healthy routes which lead thence into the interior of Africa, and were thus forced to content themselves with ports which are separated from the plateaux of the interior by "Fly Belts" and marshes. This is probably the explanation of their failure as colonists in Africa to which Lord Loch has alluded. Mossamedes, the one really healthy port in Portuguese Africa, was completely off the route taken by ships going to India.

its inability to adapt itself to altered conditions and surroundings in Ireland, in Poland, in Bohemia, and in the Baltic provinces. Italy, a nation of statesmen, of bankers, and of merchants, was divided into a crowd of rival states, whose commercial jealousies had already, three centuries before, rendered them unable to profit by the magnificent inheritance which had come to them at the capture of Constantinople, whilst the Papacy, itself an Italian power, and owing its existence solely to the skilful adjustment of the balance of power between its rivals in the Peninsula, would have been utterly unable to carry out the task of partitioning two new worlds between Venice and Genoa, between Florence, Milan, and Naples. It was a Spanish and not an Italian pope who signed the Borgian Grant. Spain, embittered by her secular struggle against the Jew and the Moor, was but an ill training-school for men who would be called upon to govern lands filled with civilized Pagans, with followers of Mahomet allied by religious sympathy, if not by actual ties of blood, with her own lately conquered vassals of Granada, and with Christians, who bowing the knee as they did to the successors of St. Thomas, but not to the successors of St. Peter, were to rigid Catholics more hateful than even infidel, heathen, or Jew. Had Columbus really reached the eastern shores of Asia, and had it fallen to the lot of Spain to undertake the conquest of the lands of Chathai and of Zeiton, of the Great Khan and the Great Mogul, Spanish "Inquisitors" and Spanish "Conquistadores" would in a few years have rendered the future rule of a European nation over India for ever as impossible as the memory of the Jesuits has rendered it over Japan or over Abyssinia, or as centuries of "passive resistance" may render it in China. Only Portugal remained. For three hundred years her soil had been free from the presence of the Moor; her ecclesiastics were far removed from the ambitions and from the influence of the Roman Curia; her kings, since the first conquest of Ceuta, had been guided in their self-imposed task of world exploration

by wise men trained in the schools of the Torah and of the Koran, and had not scorned to seek the advice of pagans as to the means of reaching the Christian realms ruled over by Prester John. Vasco da Gama's own expedition had, indeed, been chiefly decided on in consequence of information obtained by John II from the pagan king of Benin during his visit to Portugal in 1484, and his instructions had been drawn up by Don Manoel in consultation with the learned Hebrew astronomer Abraham-ben-Zaccuth. The fire of the Catholic faith burned brightly in Portugal, but in the fifteenth century the Portuguese were, as yet, far from being a fanatical race, and though Vasco da Gama might be eager to bear the Standard of the Cross through the length and breadth of Asia and Africa, yet we never find him, except, perhaps, in one or two instances for political reasons, forcing unwilling converts to the baptismal font. His men, many of whom had already lived in friendly intercourse with the negroes of Manicongo, interested themselves whilst in Calicut in obtaining vocabularies of the native language and in drawing up memoirs on the geography and commerce of the Further East from information obtained from friendly Moors. Thus the way was paved for a system of alliances between the Portuguese and the native kings, which materially facilitated the introduction of European rule and European religion into India, and which certainly could not have been established by any other Europeans of that day. The unknown author of the "Roteiro," compiling with the help of his Moorish and Jewish friends his scanty notes on Eastern Geography and his scantier vocabulary of Malayalim, was the true forerunner of St. Francis Xavier, of Gonçalvo da Silveira, of Sir William Jones, of Professor Max Müller, and of Sir William Hunter. The Archbishop who burnt the Aztec Manuscripts, the Governor who cast the art treasures of Cuzco into the melting-pot, were Spaniards; but the discoverer of Sanskrit, the first philosopher who conjectured, in some measure, the tie of blood which unites the Aryan peoples of India

and the West, was an Italian Jesuit, working under the protection of the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa. It was, indeed, fortunate alike for Europe and for the East that it was Portugal who was called upon by Providence to take upon herself the task of pulling down the barrier which had so long kept apart the two worlds.[1]

But what manner of man was Vasco da Gama in himself? For my part I believe that we find him as he lived and breathed, rather in the simple words of the "Roteiro," than in Correa's exaggerations, in the rhetoric of Da Barros, or even in the glowing poetry of the "Lusiad," albeit that, with true poetic insight, Camoens appears to have kept closely in many places to the sober words of the oldest journal of the voyage. If we could be sure that this journal is really the one compiled by Dom John Figueira, who seems to have been one of the chaplains to the expedition, which Correa professes to have used as the foundation on which he reared his "Indian Memoirs," we could accept it as a true portrait of Vasco da Gama with very little hesitation, but, unfortunately, the authorship of the "Roteiro" will, in all probability, never be satisfactorily ascertained.

Taking, then, Vasco da Gama as we find him in the "Roteiro," I seem to see a plain seaman, to whom the task of leading the expedition, which was destined to open the sea road to India, appears to have fallen very much by chance. Correa, indeed, states that he was entrusted with the command merely because he happened to enter the room where King Manoel was deliberating with his council on the coming expedition, and, as Mr. Stanley points out, this view is shared by Camoens, who makes Da Gama say:—

> "I, whose foreboding heart would still project
> Great things like this, as if for me designed,
> But who had scarcely hoped to give effect
> To such ambitious longings of my mind.

[1] "Lusiad," canto vii, 3.

I know not for what reason, what respect,
Or what good omen in my star divined,
The King entrusted to my hands the key
Of this reluctant stubborn mystery."

Lusiad, canto iv, 77. (Quillinan.)

Others say that he simply took the place of his father, Estevam da Gama, who had been named to the command, but who died before the expedition was ready to sail. However this may be, Da Gama had evidently not made any special studies to fit himself for his task. Unlike Columbus, he had not pored for years over the pages of Strabo, of Ptolemy, of Seneca, and of Cardinal d'Ailly; he was not the correspondent of Toscanelli, nor would he have been prepared to defend the existence of a sea road to India before an assembly of theologians by combating the "dictamina" of Lactantius and of Saint Augustine with quotations drawn from Holy Writ. On the contrary, he knew nothing of the literature existing on the subject of India even in his own day, had certainly never read either Josafat Barbaro or Niccolo Conti, and possibly had never even heard of Marco Polo, but had prepared himself for his tasks solely by consulting the reports, invaluable it is true, of his predecessors, Bartholomew Diaz, Joam Ynfante, and Pero de Covilham, or, at most, by studying Martin Behaim's globe and some faulty copy of Fra Mauro's map. If we may judge from an incidental description of the geography of the Indian Ocean in the "Roteiro" (cf. p. 49, ed. 1861), it is very doubtful if he even knew of the existence of the Persian Gulf, unless, indeed, he confounded it with that of Cambay, and he evidently was ignorant of the name of the Koran, or he would have used it in speaking of the "books of their law," which he captured in the Moorish pirogues at Mozambique (cf. "Roteiro," p. 33, ed. 1861).

He shows not the slightest trace of any literary knowledge. All his comparisons and similes are derived from his practical experience in Portugal. The birds and

dogs at St. Helena Bay (cf. "Roteiro," p. 5, ed. 1861) are "pretty well the same as those of Portugal." At Mossel Bay, he buys a black bullock, "the beef of which was as tasty as our own in Portugal" (cf. p. 11). The riding oxen of the Hottentot ladies "are as large as those of Alemtejó, and have pack-saddles like those used in Castille" (cf. p. 13); and the shore of Cape Delgado is fringed with trees "like elms" (cf. p. 30). He is entirely ignorant of the existence of any religions save those of Mahomet and of Christ. All that is not Moorish must, therefore, necessarily be Christian: and under the name of Christian he confounds together, with charming, if ignorant, impartiality, the Kali-worshipping Hindoos of Calicut (cf. p. 56, etc.); the devotees of Krishna, whom he voluntarily hails as "Christ" when he meets them at Melinde (cf. p. 47); the Buddhists of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula in Pegu (cf. p. 111) and Siam ("Xarnauz," p. 109); the Abyssinian Jacobites of the East African coast (at Mombassa, p. 41); and the Christians of St. Thomas, in Southern India ("Quorongoliz," "Coleu," "Cael," p. 108). On his first arrival at Calicut, he attends a ceremony in honour of Kali at the Tali Pagoda, in the full belief that he is assisting at the Christian Mass: he allows his head to be smeared with the sacred sandal-wood paste; describes the "thread of the thrice-born" worn by the Quafees as "a stole, such as is worn by our deacons"; and adores in an image of Gunpâti the Blessed Virgin and her Blessed Son. He merely remarks incidentally that the pictures of the saints drawn in fresco "on the walls of the church were in a different style to ours, for although they wore halos, yet their teeth were so long that they stuck an inch out of their mouths, and every saint had four or five arms" (cf. pp. 56, 57). The spiritual director of the Zamorim is described "as a squat old man who is like a bishop, and by whom the king is directed in all church matters" (cf. p. 58), just as if he had been the Indian equivalent of Dom Manoel's own confessor, Bishop Calçadilha himself. We can well imagine how Vasco da

Gama would have laughed at the fine speeches and classical comparisons, in the best style of Sannazzaro or of Jorge de Montemayor, which Camoens so often puts in his mouth.

On the other hand, although he might be neither a philosopher nor a savant, Vasco da Gama had a keen eye for economic facts. The description of the route followed by the spice trade up the Red Sea (cf. p. 88), and the notes on the trade of the Bay of Bengal and Indo-Chinese Peninsula (cf. pp. 107–113), are admirable; and his observations on the essential poverty of India, drawn from the conduct of the beggars of Calicut (cf. p. 77, etc.) in begging scraps from his sailors, would have appeared strange to the contemporaries of Edmund Burke. He takes a great interest in the habits and customs of the nations he visits, as we see from his remarks on the Hottentots and Caffres, on the Moors of the East African coast, and the Indians of Calicut; and knows well that the great advantage which Portugal will derive from his discovery is, that it will transfer the spice trade of the Further East from Venice and Alexandria to Lisbon, although it is evident that he thinks India itself far poorer than the East African coast, at least so far as its own natural productions are concerned. For the rest, he appears to have been well acquainted with the Mediterranean and its peoples; knows the difference between the Arabic spoken in Spain and that current in the Hedjaz; and is aware that the language of Manicongo is identical with that of the Caffres on the Limpopo. His astrolabe he can use well, and he takes some interest in the history of birds. Thanks to Fra Mauro's map, he has the geography of Africa at his fingers' ends. In short, Vasco da Gama is the type of the navigator who has received the education given at such schools as that which we know Columbus had kept at Lisbon in his youth, but who had never gone through the classical curriculum reserved in his day for those who desired to enter either Holy Orders or the Civil Service of the Crown. We may safely say that but for the previous explorations of Pero de Covilham

and Joam Ynfante, Vasco da Gama would never, by his own unaided exertions, have found out the sea road to India. He could not of himself have devised a plan for doing so; but he was the very man to carry through such a plan when it had been drawn up for him by others.

If I may be allowed to compare him with a man known in our modern world I should say that Vasco da Gama must greatly have resembled Mr. Cecil Rhodes. Like Mr. Rhodes, Vasco da Gama was a man of indomitable perseverance,[1] and was, in the domain of statesmanship, a man of singularly original ideas, who relied solely and entirely on his own efforts. In his Indian diplomacy he had to invent everything, as he had no precedents whatsoever to guide him, save such as he might draw from the intercourse of the Portuguese with the half-savage potentates of Benin and Manicongo; yet, like Mr. Rhodes, he was able to devise the means by which a great empire was built up on an undertaking which, in its origin, had been purely commercial. Out of the arrangements necessary for reorganizing the spice trade in the interests of Portugal, Vasco da Gama shaped the foundations of her Empire in the East, as Mr. Rhodes reared Rhodesia upon the consolidation of the diamond mining companies of Kimberley. Like the South African statesman, he was, perhaps, not overscrupulous when he thought the interests of his country at stake. His conduct at Calicut recalls many episodes in recent history in South Africa.

Lenient as he was, as a rule, to those under him, he could at times be terribly severe. His courage during the mutiny off the Cape, and during his detention on shore at Calicut by the king's intendant, deserves all praise. With the native races he seems to have been not unpopular, although he could, when necessity demanded, display a rigour which might seem cruelty to men who have not lived through such experiences as the Matabili rising and the Indian Mutiny. He was far from being intolerant,

[1] "Lusiad," canto vi, 95–99.

and won the friendship of Moors like Monçaide and the King of Melinde, and of Jews like Don Gaspar das Indias, and seems to have been greatly liked by the Hindoo fishermen of the Goa coast; but to treachery or suspected treachery he was implacable, as he showed only too plainly at Mossel Bay, at Mozambique, and in his attack on Timoja's fleet (cf. "Roteiro," pp. 12–30, etc.; 93). In bombarding Magadoxo (cf. p. 102), he appears to have been guilty of a wanton piece of cruelty. One is glad to feel that, in many instances, Da Barros does not confirm the accounts given by Correa of Da Gama's treatment of his prisoners, and that we may, for instance, reasonably doubt Correa's assertions (cf. "Lendas da India," Second Voyage, pp. 329–331, Hon. H. Stanley's translation) as to the tortures inflicted by him on the Brahmin envoy of the King of Calicut, and as to the murder of his Malabari prisoners. He was, however, fully authorized by the habits and customs of his own day in inflicting torture on suspected spies, as in the case of his hostages at Mombassa (cf. "Roteiro," p. 39), whilst, probably, the Portuguese Empire could never have been established but for the terror which he inspired by the signal vengeance which he took upon Calicut for the treachery of its king towards the expedition of Pedr' Alvarez Cabral. "Fear and Dread," in other words, "The Power of the Sword," is, indeed, the real foundation of European rule over Asiatic and African races, and Vasco da Gama may, like Mr. Cecil Rhodes in Matabililand, have done a kindness by drowning rebellion in blood.

As Viceroy of India, Da Gama's policy reminds me much of that followed 250 years afterwards by Lord Clive.[1] Like Clive, Da Gama was, as Correa (cf. p. 396) points out, "very zealous for the king's revenue, and used to say that men came to India very poor and enriched themselves, and that he, if he could, would make the king rich, as the greatest benefit the people could obtain was to have the king well supplied." "He inspired everybody" (cf. p. 406, Correa)

[1] Lord Clive, who was well acquainted with the Portuguese language, may have had some knowledge of Da Gama's history from Da Barros, Castanheda, etc.

"with great fear, especially the captains of the forts: for if he found them in fault he would chastise and execute them, and if they remained alive he would send them to the king with the charges against them; because if they were bad, so also would be the officers of their fortress, and the officers of justice and the revenue, and these all together destroyed the people; because the injuries committed by the Moors sprang from the robberies which the captains committed upon them, and therefore no one should go to Portugal to escape from the evil which he had done in India during his time, because as he would chastise the great the small men would be afraid. Therefore, whenever he found a man aggrieved or injured by the great, or by sentences wrongly given, he would redress it all and chastise with strict justice; and he had no need of the gentlemen for fighting, but only for props, to set up one when another was rotten." Does not this remind us of Lord Clive's attitude to Johnstone, to the private traders, and to the English officers who resigned their commissions in the mutiny at Fort William of 1765? (Cf. Macaulay's Essays, "Lord Clive," pp. 535–537, ed. 1869.) Da Gama well proved his sincerity by his conduct to the murderer Fernan Gomes de Lemos, Captain of Ceylon (Correa, pp. 424–5), and to the swindling Governor of Ormuz, D. Duarte de Menezes (p. 408 et seq.).

As a diplomat Vasco da Gama was, perhaps, even more fortunate, for by his alliances with the kings of Cananor and Cochin he was, as I have already pointed out, the first to introduce that system of governing India through her own native princes as feudatories of the imperial power, which we see at work in our own day both in the Dutch East Indies and in the 308 principalities whose rulers, as they have but lately once more shown, are such true and faithful vassals of Victoria Queen-Empress of India. May I end by pointing out that, to his honour be it said, Vasco da Gama never appears to have been guilty of the wanton destruction of a Hindoo temple or of a Mahometan mosque, nor, in that age of intolerance, does

he ever seem to have done any man a wrong merely on account of his religion. He had his reward, for he found faithful friends and loving servants alike amongst Moors, Jews, and even amongst those Nestorian Christians who, in orthodox eyes, were far worse heretics than either.

Such was the man whom we are met together here this day to honour, three hundred and seventy-four years after he was laid to his rest in the Monastery of St. Antony at Cochin.

Like David from amongst the sheepfolds, like Cecil Rhodes from the coffee-groves of Natal, Vasco da Gama was suddenly and unexpectedly called from the anteroom of a Lisbon palace to take the command of that great undertaking which, in the course of Divine Providence, was not only destined to bind together the Eastern and the Western worlds, but also to give Europe the means of saving her civilization, and that of the empires which she carried in her bosom, from the inrushing flood of barbarism which threatened to overwhelm it in the germ. This undertaking Vasco da Gama faithfully carried out, and to this day we enjoy the fruits of his labours. Are not these sufficient reasons to justify your Council in proposing the resolution which I have been asked to support, and which I trust you will pass with acclamation?

NOTE I. "Lusiad," Canto VII, 3.

Ye Portuguese, as few as ye are brave,
Who never pause your feeble strength to tell;
Ye, who your varied tolls to Death have paid,
To spread abroad the Law of Life eterne;
This is your lot, so Heaven itself decrees,
That ye, poor little flocklet though ye be,
Should do the more in Holy Christentie,
For thus dost Thou, O Christ, exalt humility.

Note II. "Lusiad," Canto vi, 95–99.

'T is mid these threatening dangers ever nigh,
Amid these days of toil and constant fears,
That they who 're born to be of Fame the friends
Gain honours that fade not and seats above;
Not ever leaning on the moss-grown trunks
That bear the names of noble ancestors,
Nor on their gilded couches, 'twixt the sheets
Of finest sable that Muscovia sends:

Not with new cates, which cooks' racked brains
devise,
Not with soft idle games to kill the hours,
Not with the varied, infinite delights
Which set a woman's heart in brave men's breasts;
Not with those appetites, ne'er overcome,
Which Fortune aye makes seem so loveable;
She ne'er her thrall allows to haste his step
To dare some deed of prowess virtue bids.

But thou must seek her with thine own stout arm,
And honours win to rightly call thine own,
In watchings and thy good steel girding on;
Bearing the tempests and the cruel waves,
Th' Antarctic's bosom's numbing chills o'ercome
In regions where no sheltering haven opes;
The rotting victuals smiling gulp thou down
Seasoned alone with biting suffering.

Force thou thy face, the paler it doth grow,
To seem the franker, merrier, more care-free,
For all the glowing bullets whistling by
To tear away thy comrade's leg or arm;
'T is thus thy breast with honour callous grows,
And turns alike from honours and from gold,
From honours and from gold that chance hath won,
Chance and not virtue's efforts, just and hard.

'T is thus the mind itself from darkness clears,
And from each trial a god-like calm doth draw,
So that it gazes, as from heaven's seats,
On man's poor feeble stumbling steps below.
Such is the man to whom sound sense gives strength,
Sense sound and never by mere passion swayed,
Who 'll rise (as well he should) to high command
Unsought by him and much against his will.

Art. XXV.—*The Origin of Village Land-Tenures in India.*

By B. H. Baden-Powell.

In the Journal of this Society for July, 1897 (pp. 628–641), an interesting communication was made by Mr. J. F. Hewitt regarding the existence of a real community of ownership in land, among the earliest Kolarian and Dravidian village settlers. I had hoped to see this followed up by some further local and other details, as the matter is one of great importance, and one that cannot be elucidated except by the aid of such special local knowledge as Mr. Hewitt, from his long residence on the Central Provinces and in Chutiya Nāgpur, undoubtedly possesses.

It will be well briefly to recall the condition of the question regarding the original form of village land-owning. For a long time we were accustomed to rely on a generalization which was, in fact, based on the extremely imperfect information recorded in the *first* series of Settlement Reports of the N.W. Provinces, and on some general descriptions of the joint-village to be found in official minutes and histories. When the fact became known that in North-Western India there were village 'estates' in large numbers, where each village area had an independent proprietary body of co-sharers who claimed to own, collectively, the entire area, waste and arable together, in a ring fence, and that this ownership was in certain shares which were, in some cases, not actually divided out on the ground, it was argued that here we had a primitive, or archaic, condition of land-owning, in which the body or 'community' were the owners, not the individual. It was further assumed that the whole population was mainly Aryan, and that this collective ownership was essentially an Indo-Germanic

institution, and was therefore justly brought into relation with the Teutonic 'mark' and similar (real or supposed) European forms.

It was, however, rather a remarkable feature that none of the advocates or adopters of the theory ever told us precisely what was meant by land being 'owned in common.' It is very easy, owing to similarity of sound, to drop into a kind of literary confusion between 'community' as indicating a body of *persons* (related by blood or otherwise) who have local interests and customs affecting them in the aggregate, and 'community' in the sense of owning or enjoying the land (or other goods) 'in common.' It might be asked, for example, whether a group of, say, fifty persons, each having his fixed *fractional share* in the entire estate, even though such shares had not been divided out on the ground—only the corresponding share of the rental or produce paid him by the manager—can properly represent 'ownership in common'? Even if a large part of the area is waste and is really used 'in common' for grazing, woodcutting, etc., because it is not yet required for cultivation, and yet it is understood that every member has a right to a distinct fractional portion whenever partition is called for, is it exactly right to say that even this land is owned 'in common'? Does not the idea of common holding necessitate that no one should have any particular lot or share, but that all should cultivate and should take from the store of general produce what each family happens to require, without a thought that A is entitled to $\frac{1}{2}$, B to $\frac{1}{3}$, C to $\frac{1}{2}$ of $\frac{1}{3}$, and so on? Common-ownership does not seem to be identical with joint-ownership.

Then, again, no one thought of inquiring who these groups or communities were—to what tribe, Aryan, Jat, or other, they actually belonged; and if (as certainly was very often the case) these questions could be answered, and the approximate date ascertained, whether the mode of joint-enjoyment really implied anything archaic.

When the later series of Settlement Reports and district monographs and gazetteers began to appear, roughly

speaking after 1870, it became increasingly possible[1] to marshal the facts, to classify the villages as to origin, and to show how they were owned; and that, in fact, 'community of ownership' did not exist. It also became evident that these co-sharing bodies, often established over the heads of an earlier cultivating group (who then became 'tenants'), chiefly belonged to the immigrant, conquering class, representing the descendants of chiefs whose domains were acquired in Northern India—north of the Narbada River. By far the larger part (according to area) of India was marked by another type of village which was, in fact, the older of the two; for the co-sharing village, however formed, might be observed to be established over the heads of an earlier group in the other form; but the second type certainly was never produced out of the joint-village by any process whatever.

On this point—the distinction of two types of village, the supporters of the older theory were especially weak. Some writers simply ignored the distinction; others imagined that the more widely spread village of separate peasant owners was a decayed form of the other. The fact is that when the communal theory was first brought forward, the village forms of Central, Western, Southern, and Further-Eastern India were little known, and there was not much on record about them. But I must not attempt any details as to the modes of getting over the difficulty adopted.

A consideration of well-established ethnological facts shows that there were other pre-Aryan or non-Aryan races in India, which certainly had permanent village cultivation, and *not* in the joint form. But (as I have already remarked) it was an essential part of the theory that the 'common ownership' was particularly Aryan; in short, '*the* Indian village' was introduced by the tribes whose first appearance in India is traceable in the Vedic Hymns and pursued traditionally from allusions in the Epics, Purānas, Jātakas, etc. But these tribes were not

[1] Largely owing to the impulse given by Sir H. Maine's writings to systematic inquiry. It is to this distinguished author's method and principles, rather than to his tentative theory, that we owe so great a debt.

particularly, or indeed at all, agricultural. Village cultivation essentially belonged to earlier races over whom the Aryans took the rule! The form of village which was most prevalent, and was marked by a powerful headman and *separate peasant holdings*—which, for want of a better name, I have called the *raiyatwārī* village—survived over all that large area, south of the Vindhyan barrier, because there the Aryan element extended least. Aryan influence ultimately prevailed over a large part of that area no doubt, but it was not by any racial immigration *en masse* (as in Northern India), but by the gradual establishment of Brahman teachers and by the local acquisition of military commands and rulerships by adventurous 'Kshatriya' chiefs. Here and there traces of old joint-villages formed by families of the ruling (foreign) caste were found in the Dakhan, as I have explained in an earlier paper (J.R.A.S., 1897, p. 265). They are the vestiges of local lordship over the earlier village settlements.

In my study of "The Indian Village Community,"[1] the attempt has been made to collect all the details I could find regarding the vestiges of Dravidian and Kolarian village customs, preserved (much better than elsewhere) in the secure plateau-lands of Chutiya Nāgpur (South-West Bengal) and in parts of the Central Provinces and the Orissa highlands. It seemed to me that these still traceable village institutions explained the probable origin of the separate holding or *raiyatwārī* village. They accounted for the prominence of the headman ('pātel')—the representative of the old tribal leader of the group that established the village; they accounted for the special holding of land attached to the office, as well as to some of the hereditary village artizans and servants, and which were called by the later Moslem administrators 'watan' lands. No one was owner of the whole village, nor was there a superior body of co-sharers who jointly constituted the owners. This was clearly illustrated by the case

[1] London, Longmans & Co., 1896.

of the curiously preserved Kāndh tribe of Orissa, among whom the agricultural village was a well-established institution, but where joint-ownership and the joint-family and joint-inheritance (as developed by the Hindus) were unknown.

It is very important, now, to notice that Mr. Hewitt (if I understand him rightly) regards the Kāndh village as not representing the earliest stage. The Kāndh tribal area is divided into 'mutthā.'[1] Each such division is again divided into 'goṭī.' The latter term refers to the aggregate *area* allotted to one group (wider-kindred); it also refers to the *persons*, and then each goṭī is subdivided into 'klambu' (close-kindreds). As to the way in which each family holding is allotted and held by the father of the household (as I have described in my "Village Community," p. 172), I do not understand that that is called in question. The analogy (not identity) of this with the Chutiya Nāgpur village custom is also marked. But the immediate point is that this is not *the original* Kolarian form. And here the great value of Mr. Hewitt's remarks is apparent; for the system spoken of certainly depends on the *father* of the house being recognized as owner and head of the holding. But where this is not the case, and the chief men of the village group are not the fathers of households, but brothers of the *mothers* of the village children, the principles of village constitution and landownership must necessarily be very different. And here I should like to ask, can we draw any distinction between Dravidian and Kolarian in this matter? did both begin with an early stage of matriarchal life; and, definitely, what are the grounds for asserting that the matriarchal principle actually prevailed? Allusion is made (p. 631) to 'the Nāgā and Urāoṅ villages.' If we could learn something about the *locale* and the actual features of these villages it would be valuable. But even when the mothers of the village

[1] Mr. Hewitt writes 'muta,' but the word is surely 'mutthā,' and means 'a handful, a group'; it has nothing to do with 'mother' or parent-village, as far as the meaning of the word goes.

children are so by means of temporary (but customary or lawful) cohabitation, or by intercourse at the village festival, so that the fathers need not be known, or, at any rate, have no place as such in the social organization of the groups, there must still be some kind of principle on which the groups are formed and separated, so that one group of brothers and sisters are placed in one village settlement, another group in another, and the brothers of the village mothers manage their affairs. And when such groups are formed, some kind of village chief or headman must soon emerge.

In passing, I should remark that Mr. Hewitt has not quite correctly appreciated my remarks (or the passage from Sir H. Maine) about the *headman* (p. 629). What was meant is, that where the village group is the result of some primitive tribal aggregation and fission, there is sure to be some leader or chief; and as the first little group expands, so there remains the old chief of the original body, with chiefs of the subsequent clans or branches, and so on down to the head of each ultimate group. Now in the *pattidārī* and (the true) *bhaiāchārā* village of Northern India we have the case of a family derived from one founder (not tribal at that stage) coming in by conquest or adventure, and obtaining the lordship of one or more villages; and each gets gradually divided into main lots (*patti*) for the sons of the founder, sub-lots (*thok*) for the grandsons, and so on: but here, as each is of equal dignity in descent from the same head, they manage their joint affairs by the 'panċayat' or aggregate of heads of chief families, and would not submit to one headman. It is true that on the N.W. frontier where the *tribal organization still subsists*, in addition to the village elders, the 'malik' (local chief) and 'khān' (clan chief) remain, but their functions can be distinguished; but let me repeat, in the other villages spoken of where there is no tribal organization, the existing families are too jealous of their equal position to allow anyone to be head (like the pātel in a raiyatwārī village). Some kind of panċayat or committee of elders will be, or

may be, found under all circumstances even where the village headman exists in all his former power; but in the joint-village a headman does not (naturally) exist at all.[1]

To return to the primitive *parhā* expanding into a group of villages or hamlets; I suppose that something must have determined the separation of the groups originally, though it was not the patriarchal principle of the head of the eldest family. I understand further, that even in this early stage a 'headman' early emerges; and that he allots lands (of equal quality for each kind of soil) for the cultivation (on behalf of the village) of each family; or did they all go out and work at one general plot or set of plots? At page 633 (after a reference to Mr. W. C. Benett and the Gonda district of Oudh [2]) allusion is made to headmen and to the villagers "dividing among themselves the soil of the parhā under the head Munda or Manki." Still, we are told, there was no such thing as a separate ownership or appropriation of the portion so cultivated: the whole produce was brought to the common stock, to one central store (?), and thence issued for the common meals, which all the village working youth partook of together. Are there any traces of custom still surviving, to show that once the cultivator had no separate interest in the plot (or aggregate of plots) he was told to cultivate? This seems to me very improbable, and it needs to be proved. The village children were carefully instructed (not by their fathers, for they were not necessarily known, but) by the elders (maternal uncles) in the practical knowledge possessed of hunting, agriculture, etc. They were brought up to think that

[1] In other words, it is not the *existence* of the panċayat that distinguishes the joint or landlord village, it is the *absence* of the headman. Sir H. Maine does not refer to the *tribal* constitution but to the joint *village* constitution (as he understood it).

[2] But the extract has no direct reference to the state of things in question. It refers to a village form in which the holdings are distinct and individual, and the point is that each holder does not conceive himself entitled to the *whole produce* of his toil; he recognizes that the rājā, the headman, the servants, the Brahman, etc., has each his customary right to some portion of the heap. And it is the division of the grain heap that is in practice the foundation of various interests connected with the soil. But those dues paid, each holder enjoys the balance in complete severalty.

"their first duty was to obey their teachers and work for the prosperity of the village." It is only to be wished that we had some more local references to actual details which would enable us to verify these inferences and statements. The suggestion (p. 632) that the "property in the soil was vested in the collective owners of the parhā" is perhaps not meant to be read too literally; but under such primitive circumstances it is natural to ask whether they had much idea of 'property' or of its 'vesting' in anyone: could they even distinguish between 'collective' property and 'individual' property? May it not be that the parhā was formed by a body of tribesmen obliged to keep together for safety and to get their food, and that as yet they had hardly formed any idea of 'property' at all, except the vague feeling that the group had some kind of general claim to the locality occupied, which others had not, and which would find expression in the forcible expulsion of intruders, if it came to that?

Mr. Hewitt next tells us (p. 633) of a further or later stage which followed on "the coming of northern immigrants," who brought the custom of *marriage* and the division into (patriarchal) *families*. The soil then began to be divided out on this basis; villages began to be sufficiently near one to another to need distinct boundaries; and there is now a boundary-god, with his priest or Gorayat, and a snake-deity believed to coil round the village and form the boundary-line. The land is divided out into *koont* (khūṇṭ) or *laka* (lakkā)[1]—large lots usually five in number, one for the headman, one for the deities, and so forth. The rest is divided out into fields so that every cultivator has his share, which, however, is subject to redistribution, in order that all may get an equal benefit; and also (I may add) when new members are admitted or fresh holdings are required for growing numbers, the occasion of a

[1] Both these words are 'Hindī'; but as they have no Sanskrit originals, and not even any probable Prakrit derivation, may they not be Dravidian words originally? Were the "northern immigrants" 'Nāgā' tribes who introduced the modified Dravidian idea?

redistribution may be taken to add in more waste to be cleared, and so rearrange the whole area to suit the altered number of holdings. I pass by the interesting allusion to the Chattīsgarh districts at p. 634.

It was, in fact, *this* stage that I was aware of, and that I intended to represent as having furnished the origin of the raiyatwārī village and its institutions. And the defect of my account seems to be that I imagined this stage (as seen also in the Chutiya Nāgpur tenures) to have been *the* 'Dravidian and Kolarian' primitive form, which I ventured to argue must have been widely spread over India south of the Vindhyan ranges, and very likely, at one time, in parts of Northern India also. It appeared to me that the Dravidian tribes, with their greater powers of coalition and concentrated government, were able to take the rule, even peaceably, over the Kolarian tribes, at any rate in these parts of Eastern-Central India, and that they adopted with only slight modifications the Kolarian form of village.[1] What I now understand is, that this stage was preceded by one in which the group of hamlet settlements (that gradually grew out of one original village and filled the parhā or union) were not owned in allotments or holdings of separate individuals or households, but by the whole (*matriarchal*) group, however that group may have become separated or been constituted, and that cultivation was carried on solely with a view to collecting a common store of grain, out of which the common meal for the men (and for the women separately?) was daily provided. At some subsequent period the village headman *did* arise, and allotments of land to be cultivated *were* made. I do not understand that Mr. Hewitt objects to my suggestion that the raiyatwārī village, with its influential pātel and his hereditary allotment, arose out of this *later* or modified Dravidian form, but that there was a 'communal' form (Kolarian) before that.

I have no theory to support and never supposed that all

[1] Introducing the plan of setting apart a 'lot' for the support of the king or chief, etc. This is well explained in Mr. Hewitt's paper read to the Society of Arts (May 6, 1887, p. 622), also in Asiatic Quart. Review for 1887, p. 403.

had been said about village origins; but it is important to know definitely what further can fairly be ascertained, and I am anxious to learn whether I have rightly understood what is now brought forward. I suppose that even while a 'communistic,' or, at least, a non-individual, idea of land-holding lasts, as soon as convenience suggests that different members of the group should take in hand different plots of land to cultivate, an idea of appropriation tends to take root: the cultivator begins to think that what he has specially laboured at and shown his skill in clearing and hoeing up, he has some indefinite preferential, if not exclusive, claim to. And so with the aid of the transition to the definite family and the house-father, the individual lot is established, and a vestige of the idea of working *for the community* remains in the undisputed yielding of a share in the grain heap of the holding, to the headman, village servants, priests, etc., and (later on) to the rājā's manager.

It is hardly necessary to observe that if this primitive Kolarian community of land is to be admitted, it is something different, *toto cælo*, from what the popular theory of village-tenures supposes. It has no resemblance to any common (or collective) property among the comparatively advanced, and often monarchically governed, Rājput, Jat, and mixed-race communities of the Ganges plain. For the 'collectivity' there is simply a misrepresentation, either of the joint-family and the co-ordinate claim of all the heirs together, or (locally only) of some peculiar tribal custom of formal, equal, allotment to all members of the clan or sub-clan coupled with a certain degree of clan cohesion and solidarity.

I may perhaps remove beforehand an objection likely to be made: it is perfectly true that the traces of early common-holding such as have been alleged can be only extremely local and scanty, and very much a matter of inference from certain indications and peculiarities of surviving custom: it cannot be set forth with the detail that can be produced regarding later institutions and tenures. In asking for further information I do not expect too much;

but the *statement* of whatever facts and inferences are in evidence can be made as clear as possible, and the grounds of belief explained, apart from all subsidiary matter however interesting in itself. I do hope we may be permitted to hear something more about the actual localities where traces of Kolarian communism can be fairly followed up, as prior to the growth of the village, with its headman and its allotments of land and family holdings.

I trust I shall not be understood as calling in question Mr. Hewitt's views or defending any opinions of my own. I have none to defend. If I have seemed to criticize, it is only on points of detail where the matter is not clear, or where my own expression has been misunderstood. I am quite sure that the hitherto received theory about '*the* village' (really the North Indian villages) is wrong. I am equally convinced that the widespread *raiyatwārī* village of Dravidian countries is not a decayed form of *pattidārī*, or anything of the kind: it is an independent growth with a history of its own; what that is, remains still to be completed. In my published essay I tried to take it back to what appeared to be the earliest stage at which a definite village constitution could be said to emerge. I am interested to hear that 'the village' had an earlier stage still, and that was when the group (at that time connected by the mother only) had a recognizable conception of ownership, but that it was 'ownership in common,' and had no reference to any allotment to a unit household or appropriation in virtue of labour and skill bestowed. Only I want to be sure that I have rightly understood what is intended, and that the matter will stand examination.

Let me only add, as Mr. Hewitt has noted the subject under a separate heading (p. 628), that his paper does not appear to establish (or even to mention further) an objection to my view denying the existence of a "claim to property in *waste land* until the land was cleared . . . ." I have always admitted that the settling clan-group must have had a feeling of general territorial right to the whole area —waste as well as cultivated; it was within their exclusive

'sphere of influence.' What I have urged is, that this vague sense is not the same thing as a definite idea of property (whether collective or individual). Such a definite idea does not arise till the labour and skill exercised in clearing and tillage have (naturally) produced a feeling of some special claim or right. The 'waste' (as such) is on much the same footing as the air or water. In the joint-village, on the contrary, the adjacent waste was, from the first, part of the allotment by grant or conquest, etc., which originated the superior tenure: it was always part of the 'property' and liable to regular partition in the *same shares* as the rest, when the heirs required it.

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. The Red Sea: Why so Called.

Dear Professor Rhys Davids,—Numerous attempts have from time to time been made to account for the denomination "Red" as applied to this sea, but all the theories appear to me to be unsatisfactory. The one which I am about to mention occurred to me some years ago, when I happened to be reading Playfair's "History of Yemen" while sailing up the Red Sea; but I have not hitherto brought the theory to notice, nor has anyone else, as far as I am aware.

Some authorities say that the sea derives its name from the colour of the coral with which it abounds; but as there is no *red* coral found in the Red Sea, this theory cannot be correct.

Others derive it—with more probability—from Edom or Idumaea (signifying 'red'), the country occupied by the descendants of Esau, to the west of the Elanitic Gulf, now called the Gulf of Akaba. It seems, however, unlikely that so comparatively small a nation, with a very limited coastline, would give a name to so extensive a sea.

Quintus Curtius (lib. viii, cap. 9) says:—"It derived its name from King Erythros (signifying 'red'); on which account the ignorant believe the water to be red."

The Greeks called it the Erythrean Sea, but the term had a much wider signification than our Red Sea, as it included also the Gulf of Aden, the Persian Gulf, and a considerable portion of the Indian Ocean.

There being no striking redness visible either in the sea itself or its shores, we must seek among the names of bordering nations of antiquity for a derivation of the name which it has borne for so many centuries in even widely

different languages. With this idea before us, the Himyaritic (or Hamyaritic) nation, subsequently called Sabean, is the first that suggests itself. It derived its name from Ḥamyar, the son of Sāba, the founder of the dynasty, who was so called from the habit he had of wearing red garments, and was the first who wore a golden diadem in token of regal power. Very probably the "King Erythros" mentioned above is merely the Greek translation of Ḥamyar, whose name is derived from the Arabic *aḥmar*, 'red.' From him descended the whole of that race of princes who reigned in Yaman to the time of Islām. Their capital was Ṣāba, the modern Mārib; and Balkīs, the celebrated queen of Sheba, is said to have been a sovereign of this dynasty.

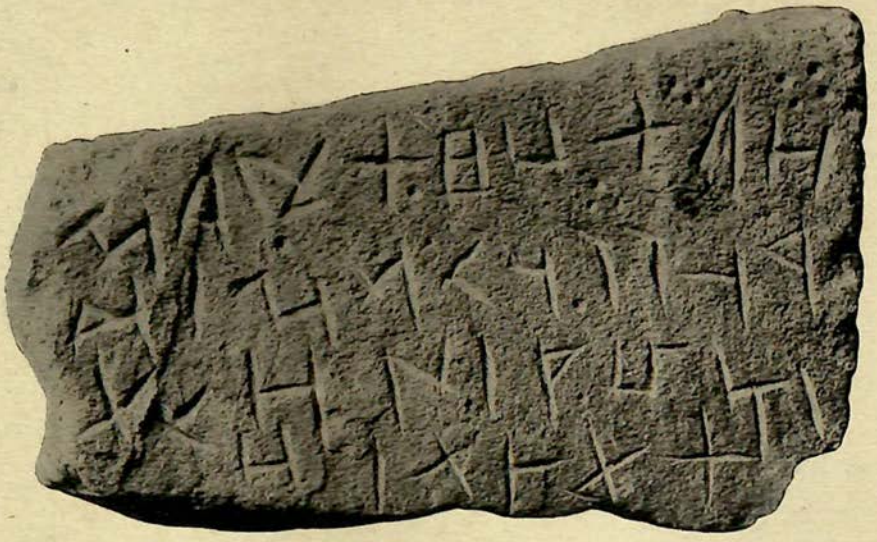
The country of the Himyarites or Sabeans pretty nearly corresponded to the modern Yaman. For a long period they monopolized the commerce of India, and acted as the intermediate agents between the merchants of that country and those of Egypt; it is not, therefore, surprising that the sea washing their coastline should be called after them.

While on the subject of the Red Sea, it will perhaps not be out of place to mention a suggestion which may be of use to those interested in identifying the locality of the Ophir of Scripture. The idea occurred to me when reading Mr. J. Kennedy's paper on "The Early Commerce of Babylon with India" in the April number of this Journal.

The usual native name of the Dankali country, lying between Abyssinia and Somāli-land, is 'Afar. The similarity of this name with Ophir is very striking; but whether the country fulfils the requisite conditions as to gold and other products, I am unable to say. Professor Reinisch, of Vienna, some ten or twelve years ago published a grammar and vocabulary of the Dankali language under the title "Die Afar Sprache," and presented me with a copy. —Yours faithfully,

J. S. King (Major).

Southsea, April 23, 1898.



INSCRIPTION FROM MALAKAND.

R.A.S.

2. An Inscription from the Malakhand Pass.

Dear Sir,—Thanks to the good offices of our Hon. Secretary, Dr. R. N. Cust, we are able to publish the accompanying reproduction of an inscription, which may possibly prove to be of considerable importance. The original is in the possession of the Rev. Canon Edwards, of Exeter, who thus describes it:—"Inscription on a stone, $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. × from $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. to 5 in., brought from Malakhand Pass by Captain Fox-Strangways." The inscription is interesting as being a particularly clear, and apparently quite complete, specimen of a class, which has been made known to the world chiefly by the discoveries of Major Deane, and the publications of M. Émile Senart (*Journal Asiatique*, 1895, pp. 332, 504), and Dr. M. A. Stein (*J.A.S.B.*, 1898, p. 1). The language of these inscriptions, and the alphabet in which it is conveyed—particularly tantalizing from its similarity to certain well-known alphabets—have hitherto baffled all attempts at decipherment. There seems to be a consensus among scholars who have studied the matter, that the language will probably prove to be some dialect of Tūrkī, and Hofrath Dr. Bühler (quoted by Dr. Stein, p. 13) has pointed out that the Turkish inscriptions from the banks of the Orkhon have more than a dozen signs in common with these; but, beyond these generalizations, no advance has been made. It is probable that we may have to wait until either a bilingual inscription is discovered, or some lucky accident gives a clue to this strange puzzle. All that ingenuity can do from an examination of the inscriptions themselves has been done by the scholars above mentioned. In the meantime it is important to publish reproductions of as many specimens as possible.

E. J. Rapson.

3. The Sambodhi in Asoka's Eighth Edict.

The Buddhist ideal is a subjective state to be reached, in this world, by going along an eightfold path, so called

because of the eight good qualities or characteristics which make up its eight parts. Progress along this path is divided into four stages in which certain evil dispositions, the ten so-called Bonds, are got rid of. The *Sambodhi* is the insight, wisdom, intelligence, awakening, which is essential to the three higher stages of this state of Arahatship. And what is connoted by the term can best, perhaps, be understood by bearing in mind its seven constituent parts, the *Sambojjhangā*—self-possession, investigation into the truth, energy, calm, joy, concentration, and magnanimity.

In describing the first and lowest of the four stages of the Path, it is always stated (Dīgha, I, 156; M.P.S., II, 27; A., II, 238, etc.) of the disciple—not that he has then attained the *sambodhi*, he has only attained *abhisamaya*—but that he is *sambodhi-parāyano*. Childers (*sub voce parāyano*) explains this as 'having the Four Truths as his support.' But Buddhaghosa (Sum., I, 313) says: "He has the *sambodhi*—by which is meant that of the three higher stages—as his furthermost aim; in other words, he will attain to that."

Buddhaghosa's explanation is the only one possible in the context, and is confirmed by every other passage in the Pāli Piṭakas where the word *sambodhi* has been traced. It never means the wisdom of a Buddha, but always the insight of the higher stages of the path to Arahatship. But it is necessary to point this out because the distinction is of the first importance for the history of Buddhism; and also because the erroneous rendering of Burnouf has been followed by Childers in the Dictionary *sub voce sambodhi* ('attainment of Buddhaship, Buddhahood'), and has not been corrected by any of the distinguished scholars who have discussed the meaning of Asoka's eighth edict in which the word occurs.[1] The king there says that he "set out for the *sambodhi*." If this means that he had started, in his own opinion, along the line of the Pārāmitās, towards the attainment, in some future birth, of Buddhahood, then

[1] See Senart, "Inscriptions de Piyadasi," 1. 186, and the other authorities referred to at 1. 182 and 2. 223.

it is most interesting and important as giving us the earliest mention of a doctrine not found in the Pāli Piṭakas, and entirely opposed to their view of Buddhism. But the word does not necessarily imply this, nor does the context require it. The doctrine spoken of with contempt, by the Mahāyānist doctors, as the 'Lesser Vehicle' is quite possible here, and more in accordance with all the rest of the Asoka expressions. There would seem to be no sufficient reason why we should not understand Asoka to mean that he had started, in his own opinion, along the Eightfold Path, towards the attainment, doubtless in some future birth, of Arahatship. Whether this be so or not, this is the only meaning of the word so far found in the Piṭakas.

And further, this entering on the Path—the Eightfold Path to the wisdom of the Arahat—is a quite different thing from becoming a Buddhist. There are numerous passages where the very nature of the discourse held not only to *upāsakas*, but even to *bhikkhus*, shows that they were not supposed to have attained as yet to the state of mind described as 'entering upon the Path.' Both the rules of the Order, and the precepts laid down for laymen, are, from the Piṭaka point of view, on a different plane altogether, lower than, apart from, that of the Path. Acting up to those rules, carrying out those precepts, can never even result in 'conversion' without the awakening of the new life. It is therefore very doubtful whether the word 'conversion' should be used, in English translations of Buddhist texts, to express a man's becoming an *upāsaka* or a *bhikkhu*. For though the word 'conversion' is used in English in two senses—either that of joining the outward organization of a new faith, or that of having one's eyes opened to the higher life—the second is the more accurate use of the word, and ought always to be implied in the first.

The word *sambodhi-parāyano* occurs in the passage first above quoted (Dīgha, I, 156) in the answer to the question, "What is the aim of the life of the recluse (that is, of the member of the Buddhist Order)?" Opponents and controversialists are fond of asking this question, and it is interesting

to notice how it is answered. It is never the attainment of Buddhahood, but always (though the phraseology differs) the attainment of Arahàtship. Thus, in the standing phrase used to state that so and so has become an Arahat (M.P.S., p. 60, at the end of chapter 5, and often elsewhere), it is said he has realized the aim of the higher life (*brahmacariya-pariyosānaṃ*). The Ratha-vinīta and the Culla Sakuludāyi Dialogues (Nos. 24 and 79 of the Magghima Collection) lead up to the same conclusion. In the Saṃyutta, 4. 51, the aim is said to be the complete understanding of sorrow (*dukkhassa pariññā*), and the same reply is expanded further on in the same book (4. 233) by the explanation that the way of gaining this understanding is to follow out the whole of the Eightfold Path to Arahatship. And this is repeated further on (S., 5. 6: compare Mil., 49, 101). In the Anguttara (4. 7) the object is said to be the destruction of the seven bonds, the destruction of which is precisely Arahatship.

So *sambodhi-patto* is used in the Sutta Nipāta, 478, 503, to describe the Arahat, of whom it is said (Itivuttaka, No. 47, p. 42: compare ibid., p. 117=A., 2. 14, and also A., 2. 200, 202; S.N., 765) that even here, in this world, he will reach up to the *sambodhi*, the way to which is said to be the Eightfold Path (M., 1. 431, and the Dhamma-cakkappavattana Sutta, etc.). And *sambodhi-parāyano*, with which we started, is only another way of stating what is expressed by *amata-parāyano* ('having the ambrosia of Arahatship as his aim') in a Sutta, not yet traced, but quoted by Moggallīputta Tissa at Kathā Vatthu, xxii, 7.[1]

Of course the above is not intended to imply that the Buddha had not attained the *sambodhi*. He was an Arahat, and, as such, had all the graces an Arahat should have.[2]

T. W. Rhys Davids.

[1] Compare *brahma-parāyano* at Mil., 234, *brahmacariya-parāyano* at A., 3. 75, and *daṇḍa-parāyano* at M., 1. 88.

[2] Childers thinks *sambodho* is merely another form of *sambodhi*. As the former is only found as yet in one ambiguous phrase, the discussion of its meaning would be premature.

4. Angaṇa as now used in Western India.

102, *Cheyne Walk, Chelsea,*
London, S. W.

Dear Professor Rhys Davids,—I have heard the following places called 'angan' in Western India:—

(*a*) The square courtyard surrounded by buildings, mentioned by Mr. Beames.

(*b*) Court with buildings on two or three sides, and a screen wall or walls completing the enclosure, like Burlington House in the sixties.

(*c*) Space in front of a house, fenced off more or less lightly; from the gravel before Buckingham Palace to a kitchen area. Buckingham Palace Gardens are *not* an 'angan,' for a reason stated apart.

(*d*) Space in front of or around a house or hut, or even cattle-shed, with no screen or fence, but having boundaries recognizable in some way, generally by the ground being gravelled, paved, or rammed hard and plastered with cow-dung mud.

(*e*) Similar space before a hut, of which the boundaries are known to its owner, but to a stranger only conjecturable from the use made of the ground for domestic purposes, and by its *not being tilled.*

These two last are like your '*midula*' in Ceylon. In the garden villages of the Bombay Konkan, such ground is often deducted from the area assessable to land revenue. There have often been disputes as to whether they have been surreptitiously enlarged or originally overestimated by bribed measurers.

(*f*) An assigned and limited space for the pitching of a tent or tents, as on the Esplanade of Bombay, where one can rent such a site from Government by the month, and live on it in private tents.[1] These sites are, or were, only marked off with whitewash lines on the ground, over which tent ropes should not be carried,

[1] There are often twenty or more families on 'the Cooperage ground' at a time; a little city of tents.

and there is 'no thoroughfare' but by courtesy and understanding between neighbours. I don't know what they may be called in the 'Bombay bat'—"a particoloured dress Of patched and piebald languages, English and Urdu on Marathi, like beetle wings on kus-kus tatty." But my establishment, marching in from the mofussil in the enjoyment of a pretty pure dialect, at once recognized my patch as an 'angan.'

All these places have one character in common, that is, that they are set apart from the surrounding ground for some special purpose. Whether that land be pasture, garden, field, or forest, its general use does not extend to the 'angan.' The ploughshare never touches it. One flower is always present, if the occupant be an Hindu, that is, the sacred Tulti (*Ocymum sanctum*); there may be a few others, generally such as are used in domestic worship or for personal decoration. They are apt to be in pots, or in some substitute for pots, or in little raised mud pies. Flower beds of any size are rare in 'angans,' and vegetables still more so. You will sometimes see a few stalks of Indian corn (*Zea mays*), and often enough one or two little Chili plants (*Capsicum*).

Trees are usually kept to the boundaries as far as possible. Exceptions to this are generally those whose leaves or flowers are used in worship. If a shade or fruit-tree is included, there will probably be a little platform round its foot, or some other sign of its being something different in use from similar trees outside.

In the trial of trespass cases the plaintiff makes a good deal of fuss about the sanctity of his 'angan,' and finds it difficult to understand that breach of the same is not 'house trespass' under the Penal Code, any more than the invasion of a 'pratie-patch' or of the now famous 'kailyard.'[1]

W. F. SINCLAIR.

[1] It is for this reason that I can't use the law-word 'curtilage' as a satisfactory rendering. It sometimes includes too much.

5. The Settlement of the Danes at Tranquebar and Serampore.

Dear Sir,—Sir William Hunter, in his "Imperial Gazetteer of India," vol. vi, p. 372 (art. 'India'), says:—"The first Danish East India Company was formed in 1612, and the second in 1670. The settlements of Tranquebar and Serampur were both founded in 1616, and acquired by the English by purchase from Denmark in 1845." These statements Sir William Hunter repeats verbatim in his "Indian Empire" and "Brief History of the Indian Peoples." Again, in vol. xiii of the "Imperial Gazetteer," p. 340 (art. 'Tranquebar'), we are told that "In 1612 a Danish East India Company was formed at Copenhagen, and in 1616 the first Danish ship arrived in India. The captain, Rodant [*sic*] Crape, to effect a landing, is said to have wrecked his ship off Tranquebar, at the expense, however, of his crew, who were all murdered. He then contrived to make his way to the Rájá of Tanjore, and obtained Tranquebar for the Danish Company, with land around five miles long and three miles broad. A fort was built, and in 1624 Tranquebar became the property of the King of Denmark, to whom the Company owed money." The above, in an abbreviated form, is copied into Balfour's "Cyclopaedia of India," third ed., vol. iii, p. 921 (art. 'Tranquebar').

I do not know whence Sir William Hunter obtained the information given in the above extracts; but, as it is extremely erroneous, and is in danger of being repeated as authentic by other writers,[1] I venture to ask you for

[1] See, for instances, Birdwood's "Report on the Old Records of the India Office," second reprint, 1891, pp. 31 (note), 211, 253 (note). As an example of the unreliable statements of earlier writers on this subject, I may quote the following from Percival's "Account of the Island of Ceylon" (second ed., 1805), p. 28:—"In 1620 a Danish fleet arrived at Batacolo; but the King of Candy, finding that the ambassador in whom he chiefly confided was dead, and taking offence at some conduct of these newcomers, refused to enter into any league with them, or even to permit them to land. The Danes in consequence were obliged to abandon the enterprise, and to set sail on their return to Europe. Being in want of refreshments, they put into Tranquebar, on the Coromandel coast; and this circumstance gave rise to the first settlement of the Danish colony which has continued there ever since."

a little space in which to record the main facts connected with the first settlement of the Danes in India.

The first Danish East India Company was formed at Copenhagen in 1616, a royal patent being granted to it by Christian IV, dated at Anderskov, March 17, 1616, and a large sum of money being advanced to it by the King. While arrangements were in progress for an expedition to the East, under the guidance of Dutch seamen who had entered the Danish service, there appeared on the scene in Copenhagen, in 1617, the *ci-devant* Dutch under-merchant Marcellis de Boschhouwer, who, after a residence of over three years in Ceylon, now returned to Europe as the plenipotentiary of the King of Ceylon, by whom he had been created 'Migommerale' or 'Migomme Bandar' (correctly Mīgamurāla, Mīgamubaṇḍāra, i.e. Chief or Prince of Negombo). This man, not meeting with the encouragement he anticipated among his fellow-countrymen, had turned to the Danes, and was welcomed by King Christian, who concluded a treaty with him, as Ceylonese ambassador, on March 30, 1618, and in October of the same year granted a large sum of money for the expenses of an expedition to Ceylon. This expedition, consisting of five ships under the command of a Danish noble, Ove Gjedde, set sail on November 29, 1618, and arrived at the south-east coast of Ceylon on May 16, 1620. Boschhouwer, who had given great trouble on the voyage, had died in October, 1619; and the Kandyan monarch repudiated his credentials as forgeries. Thereupon Gjedde caused Boschhouwer's corpse (which had been embalmed) to be buried without any ceremony; that of his infant son, however (who had also died on the voyage), was interred with all the respect due to the godchild of King Christian. Boschhouwer's widow (a Sinhalese or a half-caste) was sent up to Kandy, and his property was confiscated by Gjedde. Subsequently one of the Danish ships struck on a rock in Kottiyar Bay and sank. Altogether, so far as Ceylon was concerned, the expedition was a lamentable failure.

Some months previous to the departure of Ove Gjedde's

fleet, however, Roelant Crape, a Dutch seaman in the Danish service, had sailed (in August, 1618) for Ceylon and India as the pioneer of the Danish East India Company. Calling at Ceylon, Crape landed to apprise the King of Kandy of the intended visit of Gjedde; and while he was on shore his officers seized a number of small Portuguese vessels (*champagner*) laden with rice and areca-nuts. Tidings of this outrage having reached the Portuguese at Jaffnapatam, Andre Botelho da Costa set out with six galleys to chastise the insolence of the interlopers. He found Crape's vessel, the *Öresund*, lying off Karikal, and forthwith attacked it. In the conflict the Portuguese commander and seven of his men were killed; whilst on the Danish side eight were slain, several were burnt to death, and forty were captured by the Portuguese. The *Öresund* in attempting to escape was stranded; and Crape and thirteen of his company managed to swim ashore, where they were received graciously by 'Ragnado' (Rāghunātha), the Nāyak Rājā of Tanjore,[1] who made a concession to the Danes, on certain terms, of the town of Tarangambādi (Tranquebar), with permission to erect a fortress for their defence. These events appear to have taken place in the early part of the year 1620.[2]

Soon after Gjedde's arrival at Ceylon, a messenger from Crape informed him of the above facts; and in September, 1620, Gjedde proceeded to Tranquebar, where, after considerable negotiation, a treaty with the Nāyak was signed, dated November 19, 1620. Having appointed the various officials for the new Danish settlement of Dannisborg, with Crape as chief, Gjedde sailed in February, 1621, for Ceylon, and after a short stay there left, on May 31, for Denmark, where he arrived in February, 1622.

[1] T. Venkasami Row, in his "Manual of the District of Tanjore" (1883), p. 754, says, "It does not appear who that Náyak Rája was"; but the Danish authorities leave no doubt as to his identity.

[2] Hunter's "Imp. Gaz.," vol. xiii, p. 183 (art. 'India'), says: "Tranquebar settlement, ... which the Danes acquired from the Naik Rājá of Tanjore in 1620." And yet on page 340 of the same volume we have the erroneous statements that I have quoted above.

The above is a brief but, I believe, accurate account of the settlement of the Danes at Tranquebar.

With regard to Serampore, curiously enough, the Danish authorities that I have consulted do not give the exact date when the settlement there took place. In the "Diary of William Hedges" (Hakluyt Society), vol. iii, p. cciv (note), Sir Henry Yule, commenting on the map of 'Bengale' in Valentyn's "Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien," vol. v, points out an anachronistic and erroneous interpolation of three place-names[1] on the east bank of the Hughli, one being "Deense Logie" (Danish Factory), which he explains as "the Danish settlement at Serampore, ... established long after 1664." Hunter's "Imp. Gaz.," vol. xii, p. 318 (art. 'Serampur'), says simply "Serampur was formerly a Danish settlement"; and nearly all the gazetteers and cyclopaedias that I have consulted are equally vague. The "Penny Cyclopaedia," vol. xxi, p. 259 (art. 'Serampore'), says: "The Danes obtained possession of Serampore in 1676"; and the "Gazetteer of the World," "edited by a member of the Royal Geographical Society" (no date), vol. vi, p. 545 (art. 'Serampore'), says: "About the year 1676, the Danes obtained a site here for their factory from the Nabob, Shaista Khan." That the Danish factory at Serampore, or Frederiksnagar, dates from *circa* 1676 is very probable, for Thaarup, in his "Historiske og Statistiske Efterretninger om det Kongl. octroierede Danske asiatiske Compagnie,"

[1] Sir Henry Yule considered the insertion of these names as "interpolations," because the map professes to have been compiled "under the direction of Mattheus van der [den] Broucke, who was Directeur of the Dutch affairs in Bengal from 1658 to 1664" (and died in 1685). But Colonel Yule appears to have overlooked the statement of Valentyn, on p. 160, that the map was the work of different hands at various periods, the latest to add to it being Johan van Leenen (whose name appears on the map). Sir Henry also does not seem to have noticed that the map varies considerably in different copies of Valentyn's work. For instance, in my copy the title is on the left centre, the country is represented as studded all over with hills, and the names of places are very few. On the other hand, the map in one of the British Museum copies (the other copy lacks the map) has the title in the right-hand top corner; rice-fields to a large extent take the place of hills; and the place-names are very numerous (including the so-called "interpolations"). This map also embraces a larger extent of country.

p. 30, says: "In the meantime the Company had in 1673 succeeded in coming to an agreement with the inhabitants of Bengal, whereby the protracted hostilities were brought to an end, and the Danes once more came into possession of factories on the Bengal coasts." Thaarup, however, though his summary comes down to the end of the last century, never mentions Serampore; and Valentyn (op. cit., p. 162), writing *circa* 1725, and describing the various European factories on the Hughli, simply says: "The Danes have here only an ordinary house, two miles lower still than the French factory" (at Chandernagore).—Yours very truly,

DONALD FERGUSON.

Croydon, April 29.

6. AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROBLEM.

SIR,—In India and beyond the boundaries of it there are many objects of antiquity, the origin and circumstances of the growth of which have yet been obscure to the scholar, and far from being definitely known to the ordinary traveller.

Every summer dozens of European ladies and gentlemen and many eminent Indians pass through the long and ever-winding Jhelum Valley Road, with high mountain walls generally on the right and the powerful stream flowing in an almost ever-changing form on the left. Many such travellers must have halted at the Dak Banglow of Rampur, and noticed a very large workshop near it. Just a little higher up from the State workshops, on the right side of the road, is to be found a very large temple built of blocks of well-cut stone of cubical form. The building is of a rectangular form, and having altogether a compact appearance. The height will not be less than some of the noteworthy temples of Brindaban, to which pilgrims and travellers resort by hundreds. There is nothing about the face of it except its immensely tall doorway with a pair of pillars on either side. A balcony or shade, strongly

built of stone pillars with very high floor, surrounds the whole of the inner compound. The temple proper is very near to the back row of the buildings. The height of the floor of it must exceed six feet, and a staircase slopes down just on the middle of the front. The doors are worn out, apparently untouched by carpenters and ironsmiths for centuries. Just on the opposite side of the buildings, across the road, is to be found a large wooden house for brahmin priests of the temple.

The temple is called by travellers and the people of the locality the temple of Bhūnear. But it is more popularly called Pandu Mandir. Judging from the antiquity of the building, the architecture of it is of no small interest.

It is probable, indeed, that this temple in the Kashmir territory is one of the most ancient Hindu temples in and beyond the frontiers of India. Cannot some archaeologist inform us, through the pages of this Journal, what this ancient temple is?

M. N. Chatterjea.

7. Query, "Ságri."

Sir,—I shall be much obliged for information as to the use of the word *Ságri* or something like it, to mean a 'shark' or 'dogfish,' in any[1] language, but especially in Arabic. I find it, in the dictionaries, applied to the skins of such fish, to those of horses and asses prepared in imitation, and even to their backs and cruppers. All authorities seem to agree that 'chagrin' in the sense of 'annoyance' is a metaphorical word, originating in the use of shark-skins to rasp down or smooth wood.

One would expect an Arabic word like *Ságri*, meaning 'a shark,' to be the origin of the Persian, Turkish, and European words; the more so as the inhabitants of the south coast of Persia are very largely of Arab descent and speech. There seem to be few or no Caspian fish of the sort.

[1] I have two French instances and two Italian.

But the only authority that I can find for such an use of the word is the traveller Thevenot, who names amongst fishes of the Red Sea "the Chagrin, which is a fish shaped like a sea-dog, and about seven or eight Foot long" (Lovell's English translation, London, 1686, part i, p. 175). It may be observed that Thevenot was well acquainted with artificial "shagreen," which he calls, quite correctly, "the Sagri, which is that we call Chagrine in France," and describes its manufacture in Turkey and Persia (part ii, p. 34). He does not connect or confuse it with his "sea-dog," but it is not clear whether he got the name of that from an Oriental or a Frank. The usual Arabic name of artificial shagreen appears to be *zarghab*, and at least one Red Sea name for a dog-fish is the equivalent *Kalb-al-Bahr*.

The subject seems to be Oriental enough for our Journal, the more so as the state of its terms implies the very ancient use of both genuine and manufactured shagreen in Asia.

W. F. Sinclair.

8. The late Dr. Bühler on the Gaṇēça Legend in the Mahābhārata.

Dear Professor Rhys Davids,—As I stated in my last letter (above, p. 380), it was the late lamented Dr. Bühler who first pointed out to me the occurrence of the Gaṇēça legend in the Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava Nāṭaka. When my letter was printed, I sent a proof to him, and on March 16 he wrote (how little did I think that it was to be his last letter to me!) that he intended to write a '*ṭīkā*' to my remarks on the Gaṇēça legend, and that this '*ṭīkā*' was to appear in the next (that is, in the present) number of the Journal.

As he (alas!) can no longer speak for himself, I feel it incumbent on me to state here briefly his views about the Gaṇēça legend in the Mahābhārata, as they are opposed to those which I expressed in my last letter.

In Dr. Bühler's opinion, Rājaçēkhara must have known the Gaṇēça legend from the Dēvanāgarī text of the Mahābhārata. By speaking explicitly of a *chala* and *praticchala*, Rājaçēkhara tried to make the legend of the Mahābhārata clearer. He replaces *manasā kalpitasya* (of Mahābh., i, 1, 77) by *vṛtaḥ*, and adds *tapōbhiḥ* in order to show that Gaṇēça could not dare to refuse to do Vyāsa's bidding. The word *tapōbhiḥ* may even have been suggested to Rājaçēkhara by the words *tapōviçiṣṭād api* in Mahābh., i, 1, 71.

My hypothesis that Rājaçēkhara may have taken the Gaṇēça legend from some other source requires (Dr. Bühler wrote) a '*sapakṣa*': I should have to show that in other cases, too, Rājaçēkhara inserted legends which do not occur in the Mahābhārata itself. Besides, I ought to have proved that the Gaṇēça legend occurs elsewhere independently of the Mahābhārata.

My appeal to Kṣēmēndra was thought insufficient by Dr. Bühler. For Kṣēmēndra omits even much more 'characteristic' features of the Mahābhārata, which he was obliged to do in trying "to measure the elephant with the closed fist." Kṣēmēndra's work has no other value but that from what he gives we may conclude that it existed about 1050 A.D. in the Kaçmīrian Mahābhārata. But from what he omits it is impossible to say whether it was in his Mahābhārata or not.

These were Dr. Bühler's views on the subject, as far as I can gather from his last letters to me. No doubt, he would have stated his arguments far more fully and more vigorously if he had been spared to write his intended '*ṭīkā*.'

Dr. Bühler's loss, irreparable as it is for all students of Indian history and literature, will be felt most keenly by all those who try to grapple with the difficult problems of Mahābhārata criticism, and who will constantly miss the ingenuity and the historical instinct of that great scholar and teacher.

M. WINTERNITZ.

Oxford, June 5, 1898.

9. The Thūpavaṃsa.

Dear Sir,—In connection with the notice of the Colombo edition of the Pāli Thūpavaṃsa in Sinhalese character, which appeared in the January number of the Journal, a detailed description of the Sinhalese Thūpavaṃsa upon which this Pāli work was founded, as well as some notes regarding the differences which exist between the Sinhalese and the Burmese copies, may, perhaps, be of interest to students of Buddhist history and literature.

The Sinhalese Thūpavaṃsa is also called in the introduction *Ruvanveli-dāgeb-varṇanāva*, possibly because of the sanctity attached to Ruvanveli-dāgaba, a description of which was probably the author's main object in writing this book, all other accounts of dāgabas, etc., in the work being incorporated more or less by way of introduction.

Being written in elegant Sinhalese prose, interspersed with Pāli stanzas, the work holds a high position in Sinhalese literature. It treats of the following subjects:—

1. *Sāvisi-vivaraṇa*, called in the Pāli version *Abhinīhāra-kathā*, being an account of the twenty-four 'assurances' of Gotama's future attainment of Buddhahood, received in his bygone births from anterior Buddhas.

2. Gotama Buddha's birth, his life as a layman, his *Mahā-bhinikkhamaṇa* or 'the great renunciation,' and the enshrining of the hair which was shorn off his head on his assuming the ascetic life, in the Cūḷāmaṇi-dāgaba. This section is called in the Pāli version *Cūḷāmaṇidussa-thūpa-dvaya-kathā*. See p. 16 of the printed edition of Colombo, 1896.

3. His war with Māra, his attainment of the Buddhahood, and his preaching of the following sermon.

4. *Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta*, the Buddha's first sermon in Pāli, extracted from the Anguttara-nikāya. This sutta is not included in the printed edition of the present work.

5. The Buddha's ministry, his death and cremation, the distribution of his relics, the erection of ten dāgabas (*Dasa-thūpa-kathā*), and the ceremony of enshrining some of these relics by King Ajātasattu (*Dhātu-nidhāna-kathā*).

6. The story of King Dharmāsoka, his religious acts, especially in the building of dāgabas (*Caturāsīti-sahassa-thūpa-kathā*), and an account of the Buddhist missionaries sent out by him.

7. The arrival of Asoka's son Mahinda as missionary to Ceylon, the establishment of Buddhism in the island, the building of the Thūpārāma dāgaba, and the depositing in it of the right collar-bone relic of Gotama Buddha (*Thūpā-rāma-kathā*).

8. *Bodhi-āgamana-kathā*, the story of the bringing of a branch of the sacred Bodhi-tree of India to Ceylon.

9. *Yojana-thūpa-kathā*, on the future dāgabas.

10. An account of Ceylon kings, from Devānampiyatissa (*circa* B.C. 307) to Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (B.C. 161).

11. [*Duṭugemuṇu-rajahugē utpatti-kathāva*], the story of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.

12. *Nandimitra*[1]*-yōdhayānangē utpatti-kathāva*, the story of the warrior Nandimitra.

13. *Suranirmala* . . . . *utpatti-kathāva*, the story of the warrior Suranirmala.

14. *Mahāsena*[2] . . . . *utpatti-kathāva*, the story of the warrior Mahāsena.

15. *Gōṭimbara*[3] . . . . *utpatti-kathāva*, the story of the warrior Gōṭimbara.

16. *Theraputtābhaya* . . . . *utpatti-kathāva*, the story of the warrior Theraputtābhaya.

17. *Bharaṇa* . . . . *utpatti-kathāva*, the story of the warrior Bharaṇa.

18. *Vēḷusumana* . . . . *utpatti-kathāva*, the story of the warrior Vēḷusumana.

19. *Khañjadeva* . . . . *utpatti-kathāva*, the story of the warrior Khañja-deva.

20. *Phussadeva* . . . . *utpatti-kathāva*, the story of the warrior Phussa-deva.

[1] *Nandhi-mitta* in the Pāli version (printed edition, p. 45).
[2] *Mahāsoṇa* in Westergnard's Cat., p. 73, and in the Sinhalese printed text.
[3] *Goṭhayimbara* in the Pāli version.

21. *Labhīyavasabha*[1] . . . . *utpatti-kathāva*, the story of the warrior Labhīya-vasabha.

22. An account of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's dispute with his brother Tissa.

23. *Miyuṅguṇu-dāgaba-kathāva*, the story of Mahiyaṅgaṇa-dāgaba.

24. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's war with Elāla, the Tamil king then ruling at Anuradhapura.

25. *Mirisaveṭi-vihāra-kathāva*, the history of the Mirisaveṭi-vihāra.

26. *Lōvāmahāpāya-kathāva*, the history of the 'brazen palace.'

27. *Ruvanveḷi-dāgaba-varṇanāva*, the history of the Ruvanveḷi-dāgaba.

(*a*) *Arthasādhana*[2]*-kathāva.*
(*b*) *Thūpārāma*[3]*-kathāva.*
(*c*) *Dhātugarbha*[4]*-varṇanāva.*
(*d*) *Dhātu-nidhāna-kathāva.*
(*e*) *Ruvanveḷidāgaba-kathāva.*

The copy in the British Museum gives no information respecting the author or the date of the work, but both Westergaard, in his Catalogue, p. 73, and Weliwiṭiyē Dhammaratana Thera, the editor of the portion printed at Colombo in 1889, ascribe its authorship to Cakravarti Parākrama Paṇḍita, who according to the former lived in the eleventh century A.D., and according to the latter in the middle of the twelfth century. Weliwiṭiyē Thera states further in his preface that the author held the same literary position as the contemporary paṇḍits Sūrapāda and Dharmakīrti-pāda,[5] and that, having succeeded his uncle, King Parākrama Bāhu the Great, on the throne under the title Vijaya Bāhu, he reigned one year at Polonnaruva.

[1] *Labhiyya*° in the Pāli version and in the Sinhalese printed edition.
[2] *Thūpasādhana* in Westergaard's Cat., p. 73, and *Thūpasādhana-lābha* in the Pāli version.
[3] *Thūpārambha*, ibid.
[4] *Dhātugabbharūpa-vaṇṇanā-kathā* in the Pāli version.
[5] See also the Nikāyasaṅgraha, p. 24 of the printed edition.

The following arguments, however, may be adduced against the foregoing supposition. First, no historical work, so far as is known, mentions that Parākrama Bāhu's nephew was called Cakravarti Parākrama before he ascended the throne; nor does the Mahāvaṃsa give any other clue to the identity of the one with the other than that this nephew was "a man of great learning and a poet withal of great renown" (ch. lxxx, vv. 1–3). Secondly, there is a marked difference between the language of the present work and that of the inscriptions of Parākrama Bāhu the Great, and other kings of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In style and phraseology it agrees more with works of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, such as the Pūjāvaliya, the Elu Bodhivaṃsa, etc., than with Guruḷugomi's Amāvatura and Dharmapradīpikāva, which were written about a century earlier than the first of these. Lastly, according to Weliwiṭiyē Dhammaratana himself, the author of the present work was a contemporary of Vācissara Thera, who made an adaptation of it in Pāli in a summarized form,[1] but who, according to the preface of the printed text of this Pāli version,[2] must have lived in or after the reign of K. S. S. Paṇḍita Parākrama Bāhu (A.D. 1236–71). It should, however, be mentioned that the Pāli colophon of the same version is not very explicit regarding the date of Vācissara. It only states that he was a monk attached to the Dhammāgāra (preaching hall?) of a king named Parākrama Bāhu, and that he was also the author of the Līnatthadīpanī Tīkā, the Saccasaṅkhepa-sannaya, and the Visuddhimaggasaṅkhepa-sannaya.

According to De Zoysa,[3] a certain Vācissara Mahāthera, who lived in or before the eleventh century, was the author of an old scholium (Porāṇa-tīkā) on the Saccasaṅkhepa, but the Saccasaṅkhepa-sannaya mentioned above as having been written by our Vācissara is entered in his catalogue without the name of the author.

[1] See his preface to the printed edition, p. iv.
[2] Edited by Baddegama Dhammaratana Thera, and published at Colombo in 1896.
[3] See p. 12 of his Catalogue of Pāli, Sinhalese, and Sanskrit MSS. in Ceylon.

Further, Vācissara, in his introduction, refers to an earlier Thūpavaṃsa in Pāli, but says that as this was imperfect, and as the usefulness of the Sinhalese Thūpavaṃsa was necessarily limited on account of its language, he wrote the present Pāli work.

The India Office copy of the Pāli version in Burmese character (MS. No. 139), which seems to be complete in itself, contains only the twenty-seventh section, dealing with the history of the Ruvanveli-dāgaba; whereas the copies in Sinhalese character include in their usual order almost all the subjects treated of in the Sinhalese recension. Thus the Burmese copy commences with the *Thūpasādhana-lābha-kathā*. The text as far as fol. 26, line 9, is not found in the Sinhalese copies. That beyond the ninth line agrees to some extent only with the Sinhalese text, commencing at p. 54, line 21, of the printed edition.

DON MARTINO DE ZILVA WICKREMASINGHE.

10. GOTAMA IN THE AVESTA.

Bombay, June 11, 1898.

To Professor T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, Ph.D., LL.D.,
Secretary and Librarian, Royal Asiatic Society.

DEAR SIR,—In reference to the Avestic *Gaotema* it may be of interest to supplement my correspondence with the following note.

The passages containing *nâidyâo* are Yasna, xxxiv, 8, and lvii, 10, in the extant Avesta. Herein the name *gaotema* does not occur. Yasht, xiii, 16, is the only passage in which *nâidhyâo* and *gaotema* come together. The latter is nowhere else mentioned. In the Gâthic Yasna, xxxiv, we have: *hyaḍ as aojyâo nâidyâoṅhem* (according to the general interpretation), "when (the oppressor of thy holy vows) was as the stronger oppressing the weaker," which the Pahlavi translates: *amat aêtô zak ī aôjhômand aharmôyô*,

ôlman î nâ-aîtô-dahishnô hâvishtô, "when there is a powerful apostate, a disciple of him who preaches the non-existence (of God)." In the Srosh Yasht, or Yasna, lvii, 10, we have the same combination cited: *yatha aojyâo nâidyâoñhem*, "just as the stronger (oppresses) the weaker," which the Pahlavi renders: *chîgûn aôjhômand ôlman î nîhân dahishnô*, "just as a powerful man (does to) him who is of obscure origin." It is quite possible that the contrast with the *powerful* one, as expressed in the Avesta *aojyâo*, may have suggested the idea of interpreting *nâidyâoñh* as a comparative adjective denoting *weaker*; because the Pahlavi translators seem to have no distinct idea of the meaning of the word, and hence European and Parsee scholars have simply to trust to guesswork in interpreting it. It is not, therefore, difficult to indicate that the meaning attached to the word *nâidyâoñhem* by translators in Yasna, xxxiv, 8, is not authentic but conjectural.

From the general drift of thought and language observable in the Farvardin Yasht, in which the son is generally named, in a majority of passages, along with his father or ancestor, we can easily understand the word *nâidhyañhô* as the name of the son of *Gaotema*. The spelling of the expression is, doubtless, a corruption of the Avesta transliteration of the Vedic name *Nôdhâh*, as there is no lack of such errors or corruptions in the text of Yasht, xiii, owing to the ignorance of copyists (vide § 65 *paourush*, § 111 *khshtâvaevaen*, § 120 *Yôushtahe*, § 125 *Fraturâo*, and § 144 *Sainunâm*). In fact, two of the MSS. already give the nearest variant *nâoidhyañho*.

Consequently, it is certain that the Avesta does nowhere allude to Buddha, as Darmesteter supposes. If there were a Zarathushtrian polemic against Buddhism, the names and expressions would be different, and not ambiguous. Instead of *Gautama*, which, besides Buddha, is the name of a Rishi and other distinguished characters in the ancient Indian literature, the author of the Yasht in the Avesta would have used rather *Buddha* or *Śâkyâmuni*, and spoken more emphatically if he had wished to refute a false religion.

Since I wrote to you last my attention has been drawn to the identification of the Avestic *Nâoidhyañho* with the Vedic *Gautamasya Nodhasa*, which has been hinted at and supported by Windischmann in his *Mithra*, 25, in the *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Bd. i, S. 29, in 1857 (before there was any Avesta Grammar or Lexicon). Windischmann considers Nodhasa to be the sage "Changraghâch mentioned by Anquetil," but the latter has been since identified with Sankarâchârya of much later time.—I am, yours truly,

DARAB DASTUR PESHOTAN SANJANA.

11. ASOKA'S BHABRA EDICT.

As the seven passages (*pariyāyā*) mentioned by name on this Edict have now been (with various degrees of certainty) identified, it may be of use to record the result:—

ASOKA.	PĀLI.	WHERE FOUND.
1. Vinaya-samukkaṃsa.	(? Pātimokkha.)	J.R.A.S., 1876.
2. Ariya-vasāni.	Ariya-vāsā.	Dīgha (Sangīti Sutta).
3. Anāgata-bhayāni.	Anāgata-bhayāni.	Anguttara, iii, 105–108.
4. Muni-gāthā.	Muni-sutta.	Sutta Nipāta, 206–220.
5. Moneyya-sutta.	Moneyya-sutta.	It., No. 67 = A., i, 272.
6. Upatissa-pasina.	(Upatissa-pañho.	Vin., i, 39–41.)
7. Rāhulovāda.	Rāhulovāda-sutta.	Majjhima, i, 414–420.

Nos. 1 and 6 are the most doubtful. The Pātimokkha can scarcely be rightly called a *dhamma-pariyāya*, and it does not correspond to the meaning of the title used by Asoka. The noun *samukkaṃsa* has not been found in the Pitakas. The verb always means 'to exalt.' (S.N., 132 = 438; M., i, 498; Th., i, 632.) 'The Exaltation of Vinaya' or 'of the Vinaya' is much more probably meant, as the title of some short sutta or passage in praise of Vinaya in one or other of its two senses, ethical or legal. And I quite agree, therefore, with M. SENART (p. 204) in regarding this identification as unsatisfactory.

As to No. 6, short edifying passages of the Vinaya are distinguished by titles. Vin., i, pp. 13, 14, §§ 38–47 (=S., iii, 66–68), is the Anatta-lakkhaṇa-sutta; Vin., i, pp. 34, 35 (=S., iv, 19, 20), is the Āditta-pariyāya, etc. And the passage identified with No. 6 might have been called Sariputta- or Upatissa-pañho. But no mention of the title has yet been found in the Pitakas, and the identification, though otherwise suitable, is therefore at least uncertain.

No. 2 is no doubt the passage on the ten Ariya-vāsā, not yet published, but contained in the Sangīti Sutta of the Dīgha. A similar passage may also be looked for in the Nipāta of the Anguttara dealing with the Tens. The difference of gender is no objection. So *pariyāyāni*= pariyāyā.

With regard to No. 7, it is not without reason that a special qualification is introduced in the Edict. There are so many 'Exhortations to Rāhula' in the Pitakas that it was necessary to specify the one meant. The ones excluded, or some of them, will be found at S.N., 325–342 (dated in the 14th year after the Nirvāṇa); M., i, 420 foll. (dated in the 12th year of the Nirvāṇa); S., ii, 244 foll.; and S., iii, 135 and 136. All these are spoken by the Buddha. The expression in the Edict would seem also to imply that there is at least one other, not yet published, spoken by some one else.

No. 4, the Muni-gāthā, called Muni Sutta in the Pāli, is called Muni-gāthā (exactly as in the Edict) in the Divyāvādana. Other instances of such slight variations in titles are given in my article on this Edict in the Journal of the Pāli Text Society, 1896.

Nos. 2 and 5 are, I believe, identified here for the first time.

T. W. Rhys Davids.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

MANUAL OF SANSKRIT PHONETICS. By Dr. C. C. UHLENBECK. Small 8vo; pp. 112. (London: Luzac, 1898. Price 6s.)

One would expect from this title a treatise on the methods adopted in Sanskrit for expressing sounds. What we have is a very clear and admirable summary of the relation of Sanskrit to the original language from which all the Indo-European languages are acknowledged to be descended. That language is, of course, a purely hypothetical reconstruction. But the labours of many scholars have now resulted in a sufficient consensus of opinion to give a practically complete working hypothesis. The method followed by the author is perfectly simple. He takes first each vowel agreed upon as having existed in this primeval dialect, and gives a list of words showing the forms under which it appears in Sanskrit. He then takes each vowel in Sanskrit, in succession, and gives a list of words showing the form which that vowel has in the Indo-European dialect or in Latin, Greek, etc. Then each of the consonants in the original Indo-European, and after that each of the consonants in Sanskrit, is treated in the same way. There follow a few lists to illustrate the parallelisms in the use of Sandhi, and a few more to show the relation of the use of the accent. This gives us about a hundred such lists, so arranged that it is easy for a student of comparative philology, not knowing Sanskrit, to ascertain at once the present state of opinion among the leading comparative philologists as to the parallelisms discovered between the Sanskrit letters and those of the mother language.

This is, in the sub-title, stated to be the object of the little book, and the work is about as well done as the narrow limits of space would allow. The author's own translation shows such a knowledge of our language as is highly creditable, but there are several points left where a friendly supervision might have saved him from the use of phrases which sound odd to us. 'Though this theory may not claim a high degree of probability': the meaning is 'cannot claim.' We say 'has written a monograph,' not 'a monography,' and that languages 'are descended from,' not 'descend from'; we cannot say 'whether they stood or not stood'; and the frequently used expression 'fell together with' is not idiomatic in the sense intended.

HINDU MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND CEREMONIES. By the Abbé J. A. DUBOIS. Translated and edited by HENRY K. BEAUCHAMP. 2 vols.; 8vo. (Oxford, 1897. Price 21*s.*)

The Abbé Dubois, ordained in 1792, became soon afterwards a Catholic missionary, and spent about thirty years in the Madras Presidency in that capacity. He adopted the native dress, and, living much among the people, formed the design of writing an account of their manners and customs. At that time there was no such account in existence. Oriental scholarship had then scarcely begun. Neither texts nor translations were available—much less any of the numerous monographs since published, in which the conclusions of scholars on various points of interest in Indian beliefs and customs are now set forth. This design, as carried out, was finished in the year 1806; and through the influence of powerful friends the MS. was purchased by the East India Company for 2,000 star pagodas (about £800). This purchase was reported to the Board of Directors as a matter "of great public importance," and the MS. was sent to them for publication in England. The translation did not, however, actually appear until 1816. Meanwhile a copy of the MS. was preserved in Madras, and

the Madras Government, apparently ignorant of the fact that a translation was being made in London, communicated in 1815 with the Abbé, with a view of publishing the MS. with the author's latest revision. The revision was made and sent to Madras, and then, in its turn, was sent to the Directors for publication. But before it reached England, the translation of the original MS. had at last appeared; and the revised copy, though published by the Abbé himself in French, has never appeared in English. The present work is an English translation of this revised MS.

So far as is known, or can be gathered from the work itself, the Abbé had very slight, if indeed any, knowledge at first hand, either of the Sacred Books or of Sanskrit. There are occasional references to tracts on Hindu doctrine or practice written in Tamil, and used as popular handbooks, but the author's remarks are throughout based either on conversations or on personal observation.

He believes the Purāṇas to be very old (1. 53, 121), but appears to doubt the antiquity of the Vedas (p. 175), and thinks the Upanishads are three in number, to wit, the Upaveda, the Karmaveda, and the Sakhaveda! (sic, p. 176). He gives the following account of the contents of the Vedas:—

"Let it not be imagined for one moment that these books contain matter of real interest. Their antiquity alone, real or pretended, is their sole recommendation. A lengthy exposition of Hindu polytheism as it existed originally—the most contemptible and ridiculous stories concerning the fanciful penances to which their hermits subjected themselves—the disgusting lingam, etc.—such are, according to the evidence I have acquired, the contents of these books."

This amazing ignorance does not prevent the Abbé from giving expression to speculations on the origin of the Brahmin castes and of Hindu gods. The Brahmins are descended from Magog, the second son of Japhet; and their coming to India verifies Noah's prophecy that Japhet's

dominion would be far-reaching. The very name Gotama is only Magog in disguise; for

"*Ma* or *maha* means 'great,' so that Gotama *must mean* the Great Gog or Magog." (Vol. i, p. 103.)

In the same sort of way the god Brahma is clearly Prometheus. But these and other similar truths have, according to the Abbé, been forgotten. Hindu mythology

"Originally consisted of allegories made intelligible by means of visible and material objects. But a coarse, ignorant, indolent, and superstitious race soon forgot the 'spirit of its creed.'"

The gentle epithets here used of the Hindus are the keynote of the book. According to the Abbé,

"There are no lies, no false statements, oaths, and protestations which they (the Brahmins) will not employ." "They do not hesitate to teach publicly that lies and perjury, if used to gain personal advantage, are virtuous and meritorious." "Not a native of India would scruple to make use of both to serve his own ends." (Vol. i, p. 180, and vol. ii, p. 169.)

He even tells an incredible story of two Brahmins who admitted to him that his views were right; and that they knew their own to be false, but kept on expounding them to the people from motives of personal gain (p. 296). And he can find no words strong enough to describe the base flattery, the presumption, the pride, the falseness, of these clever charlatans, these arch impostors (vol. i, p. 277, and vol. ii, pp. 408, 525, 585, 668, etc.).

The social condition of so contemptible a race, under the influence of so vile a priesthood, is naturally deplorable. Their ideas of government are cruel, their law-courts are pest-houses of bribery and chicanery, their trade is deception, even their family relationships are strained, and altogether bad.

"We should, for instance, be greatly mistaken were we to allow ourselves to be deceived by the noisy lamentations

which wives are accustomed to raise on the deaths of their husbands, and which are *no more than rank hypocrisy*. During the long period of my stay in India, I do not recall two Hindu marriages characterized by a union of hearts, and displaying true and mutual attachment." (Vol. ii, p. 363.)

From all this "it naturally follows that their religion and their morality are equally corrupt" (2. 617).

"Whatever may have been the shameful mysteries, the revolting extravagancies of paganism, could any religion be filled with more insane, ignoble, obscene, and even cruel practices" (2. 612).

"Confounding the Creator with His creatures, they set up gods who were merely myths and monstrosities, and to them they addressed their prayers and directed their worship, both of which were as false as the attributes they assigned to their divinities. Nevertheless such is the moral obliquity of this people that they have not adopted the religion of their conquerors" (2. 616).

"I only see in it the foolish errors of a cowardly and weak-minded people, who are slaves to the idle fancies of their own imaginations, and whose reason has become so obscured that they are incapable of recognizing the just and natural laws governing the safety of mankind" (2. 649).

The Abbé has a theory which is, in his opinion, a clear and easy explanation of this terrible result. The original lawgivers of the Hindus were quite Western in the views they taught. It is the innate weakness and wickedness of the Hindus which has corrupted the good teaching they once had. He constantly dwells at some length on this curious belief (see, for instance, vol. i, pp. 32, 36, 46, 105; vol. ii, pp. 509, 544, 568, 636). Of the real history, either of institutions or of beliefs in India, he nowhere betrays even the remotest suspicion. And the reader will be able to judge from the extracts given—which might be indefinitely multiplied—how far his views as to the institutions and beliefs current in his own day have been seen through the dark glass of self-complacent ignorance,

and how far his estimate of the Hindus has been written by a pen dipped in the vitriol of theological prejudice.

It would be cruel to give the names of the eminent civilians who took this work to be a scholarly and accurate description of Hindu Manners and Customs. The Abbé possessed in a remarkable degree—far more than they did themselves—that qualification which they then, and not a few still, hold to be the only essential requisite to the right understanding of the Indian peoples, viz. a close and personal intimacy continued through many years, and aided by thorough conversational mastery of a native language. The labours of two generations of scholars have fortunately now rendered it impossible that the book should be any longer referred to as an authority. But it is of value to have an English version of the latest edition of the Abbé's revised and considered opinions in order to have a standing instance before us of the danger of trusting judgments on Indian matters formed only on personal acquaintance, however intimate, without scholarly training and knowledge of the Indian books.

The work is also valuable as showing the immense progress that has been made in our knowledge of India since it was written and revised. And it is very well edited. Mr. Beauchamp has contributed a most interesting preface, and has continually pointed out in notes the exaggeration in the judgments, or the mistakes in translation, or in fact, which occur in the text.

T. W. Rhys Davids.

Buddha: ein Cultur bild des Ostens. By Joseph Dahlmann, of the Society of Jesuits. 8vo; pp. 220. (Berlin: Dames, 1898. Price 6*s*.)

This is a very disappointing book. One would have expected that Father Dahlmann, being a pupil of Professor Bühler, would not have published a book, with such a title, without going to the original authorities which his

training and scholarship render him quite capable of using. He has contented himself with picking out, at second-hand, from the translations by other scholars, now easily accessible, such passages as will answer his purpose. And his purpose is, not to throw any new light on the numerous historical problems connected with his subject which still require elucidation, but to explain how very objectionable, from his personal point of view, is the system of thought on which the Buddhist religion, and indeed all Indian thought, is founded.

We all know that no Indian thinker, least of all the Buddha, sees eye to eye with St. Thomas; and especially that the scorn with which the early Buddhists regarded all speculations about the soul would scarcely be likely to meet with sympathy from a Jesuit father. Father Dahlmann is quite entitled to his opinion that they were wrong, and no one would object to his expressing that opinion. But the reiteration of long passages of indiscriminate abuse, however ably and forcibly expressed, becomes at last a weariness to the reader who is seeking rather for the author's contribution to our knowledge.

That, when the reader has come to the end of the volume, he will regret to find amounts to practically nothing. The passages quoted are all well known; and they are taken over bodily, without any attempt to harmonize, or to explain, the very different versions adopted by well-known translators for the same Pāli words. Yet these differences are all-important. They often go to the root of the matter. And the widely different renderings selected by the translators differ so much precisely because it is so difficult, and indeed often impossible, to find a European word that adequately expresses the Indian thought. This difficulty the author completely ignores; and is constantly falling into the error, on the other hand, of using European philosophical terms to describe Indian views. They scarcely ever fit, and are sometimes absurdly inaccurate.

INSCRIPTIONS COPIED FROM THE STONES COLLECTED BY KING BODAWPAYA, AND PLACED NEAR THE ARAKAN PAGODA, MANDALAY. (Rangoon, 1897.)

These two large volumes, printed in the Burmese character at the Government Press, have been presented to the Indian Institute, Oxford.[1] They may be very valuable to the Revenue Officer in Burma, but, as they have not a single word of explanatory English, are of no value in this country.

Bodawpaya, as I pointed out in July, 1897, p. 657, was the third son of Alompra, and reigned A.D. 1781–1819. One would therefore like to know whether these "stones which he collected" were actually the old original stones, and still in existence, or whether the present book is merely a copy of what Bodawpaya caused to be transcribed.

As far as I can see, there is nothing to lead one to infer that these are ancient inscriptions on stones, and not mere renewals, by Bodaw, of traditionary grants. It is true that there are a few peculiar spellings, and that the names of one or two months, not now in use, are to be found, but some of these peculiarities did exist a hundred years ago, and are not necessarily of ancient date.

There are three months mentioned, *Nwaydā*, *Thandoo*, and *Nankā*, which are now obsolete, and I find in the latest Burmese Dictionary that *Nwaydā* = Taboung, the twelfth month, corresponding to our March and part of April. All that I can say for the others is that *Thandoo* means 'iron hammer' and *Nankā* 'partition' or 'side-screen.'

In many of the inscriptions I find the name of the constellation which was in the ascendant on New Year's Day mentioned thus: (p. 838) "Jeyatu. In the year 420 B.E., 'Pussa year, on Saturday 5th increase of the month of Taboung, the all-wise and powerful King Anawraddhā, obtaining a reverent frame of mind, caused to be sculptured a lord 'gavaṁ' (tha'kengavaṁ)."

It is not clear whether this means the figure of an ox or the figure of 'Gavaṁpati,' a monk who is said to

[1] Also in the R.A.S. Library.

have brought Buddhism to Burma in the earliest times before Sona and Uttara.

This Gavaṁpati is said to have been a noble youth of Mitila, who, at the age of seven years, adhered to Buddha and became a Rahanta. His cousin, through the help of Sakko, became King of Thatōn (Saddhamma nagara), near the mouth of the Salween river, under the title of Siharājā.

It is worthy of note that, though *Nwaydā* is said to be the old name of *Taboung*, yet in this early (?) inscription the month is actually called Taboung.

Most of the inscriptions commence thus: "Jeyatu | Ya'tā neru ravi sasi | la | creating." | The letter *la* stands for *peyyālaṁ*, the Pāli form for etc.

In some of the inscriptions of late date (A.D. 1600), I find a number of old characters inserted, such as H for ꩡ *a*, E for ꩢ *za*, and I or ꩣ for ꩤ *da*. If these forms were in use why was not the whole inscribed in them? No peculiar characters are given in the inscriptions of early date (A.D. 1050), and this, again, leads me to suppose that there are no such inscriptions extant. A careful search, however, might bring a few to light. Many more of these old characters are found in the Po:u:daung inscription of 1774 A.D.

Some inscriptions have illegible breaks in them, but, instead of noting these by means of a line or asterisks, the word 'illegible' or its equivalent is inserted as if part of the text. For instance, at p. 560 I find: "The nobleman Thetsawet, eight letters I don't know, as for the good deed he performed." It would have been better to denote such breaks by means of asterisks, and give an explanatory note at the beginning.

The following is a specimen of the greater number of the inscriptions, though some are in Pāli:—

(p. 828.) "Jeyatu. Ya'tā neru ravi sasi | la | making; Anuraddhā-zaw, the King of Pugan, when he arrived at the hill Hiraññaka with Shin Arahan-rahantā and saw that the ceti built by Sri Dhammasoka was in ruins, and

that it was one of the 84,000 ceti that Sri Dhammasoka had built in Jambūdip, and that it emitted six rays; in accordance with the order of Shin Arahan-rahantā in the year 497 (A.D. 1135), jeya year, on the day of the full moon of Kasôn, according to the original grant of sacred land and slaves for the Taṉ-kyi ('stop-look') Pagoda on the summit of the Hiraññaka hill, in order that they might be permanent, ordering a new inscription to be cut he confirmed the grant. As for the land granted . . . . (boundaries) . . . . and in order that there might be molasses, etc., for renewing the stucco, he granted the village of Teegyit and 30 pè of land and 40 slaves with their four head men, Nga Satiya, Nga Mawya, Nga Youkpon, and Nga Tamāya. In the year 558 King Narapati-tsee-thoo, renewing the pagoda of his great-grandfather, Anuraddhā, built a monastery, and granted the following lands . . . . and slaves . . . . (ဒသမဘာဂ dasama bhāga) a tenth part of the land revenue, so that, by means of that revenue and those slaves, there should be no diminution of advantage to the excellent religion, and in accordance with these offerings, in the year 1147 (A.D. 1785), on Friday, the 9th waning of Thadingyut month, at (a certain hour) the Lord of Amarapura, Lord of many white elephants, the King of righteousness, pouring water from a golden pitcher, re-confirmed the grant and inscribed a stone."

. . . . . .

It is to be hoped that the Government of Burma will publish some scholarlike notes in English on this collection.

There is no need of a complete translation, but it will be of great importance to know what inscriptions are to be found in Upper Burma of a date earlier than those at Rangoon, which were made in A.D. 1485. If there is an inscription in Burmese at Buddhagaya bearing the date A.D. 1306, there ought to be early inscriptions in Burma, and presumably there should be still inscriptions at Pugan, though perhaps buried, in the same characters as those which are found

in the Jātaka tablets on the Mangala ceti built by Narasiha-pati in A.D. 1250.

A paper on the Burmese months would also be of great interest, but we get very little from Burma nowadays.

Pāli Inscription.

(p. 641.) Jeyatu. In the year 518 (A.D. 1156)[1] . . . . navaṁsa | sato dhāvara kappa'ṭa | bhummi antavaye ramme | . . . . sacasantake | pubbe sanda mahānajje | sūtiye atirammake | sāvattiyā puraṭhane | vasante puññavaddhate | tassa puññe . . . . ramme | nānārūpavicittare | sabba pubba paraṭhite | ti bhumme ca mahāsane | vaso vatta pari pūro | cakka vaḍḍhi aticchino | tassa ācariyo 'tero | parahitañca icchito | visuddha sīla sampanno | tipiṭakavisārado | ariya saddhammapālo | yo nāmena so pākato | hutvā bahusuto 'tero | icchako cakkavaddhito | maccherino padamesa | andhe gandhe naggahena | jetinara bhikkhū 'tero | tibhumme vāsi vihāre ‖ jinavaṁsoti yo 'tero | garuhi sammato seṭṭho | kasmā ājānasīlatthā | sammato eva so bhikkhū | asādha sāvippa vādi | jino sabba mahājanaṁ | mettodakena siñcino | varadhammassa patthino | jinavaṁso mahā'tero | santo sabba-pūjaraho | dasavatthu pariccago | saha saṅghena kappati | ragindati dhammena rātinda ti sīlasā | esa 'tero jinavaṁ so vatte sabba | . . . . to | jeyatu.

R. F. St. Andrew St. John.

Wadham College, Oxon.

Die philosophischen Abhandlungen des Ja'qūb ben Isḥāq Alkindi, zum ersten Male herausgegeben von Dr. Albino Nagy [Beitraege zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelatters. Texte u. Untersuchungen herausgegeben von Dr. C. Baeumker und Dr. G. Frh. v. Hertling, vol. ii, part 5]. 8vo; pp. xxxiv and 82. (Münster, 1897.)

This publication gives us the Latin translations of all the philosophical writings known of Alkindi, "the Philosopher

[1] Sakkaraj 518 I take to be the current Burma era.

of the Arabs." The originals, however, are still to be discovered. The only works of his in existence besides these are a few astronomical treatises in Hebrew translation of which Steinschneider has given account. This is all we possess of the very numerous list of writings of a man who exercised great influence on Arabic, Jewish, and Christian scholastic philosophy and the sciences connected with the same. For the first time we now see in print the Latin translations of three treatises, viz. *de intellectu* (in two versions), *de somno et visione*, and *de quinque essentiis*, which bear the name of Alkindi. To these a fourth, viz. *liber introductorius in artem logicae demonstrationis*, is added, attributed to a certain Muhammed, who is said to have been a pupil of Alkindi. Dr. Nagy is inclined to regard this Muhammed as identical with Alfarabi, who, though not a pupil, was a disciple of Alkindi. The evidence brought forward to make this probable is not very strong. The term '*collectus*' used in the title of the treatise in question might equally well be interpreted to signify that it was composed from notes taken from Alkindi's lectures and compiled by some otherwise unknown person of the very common name Muhammed.

Dr. Nagy's introduction gives a very lucid epitome of all four treatises. Unfortunately, the Arabic quotations which are scattered through the whole book are not so satisfactory, which is all the more regrettable, as they are merely reproduced from printed works. Page viii, l. 10, r. الكيان; ibid., *zusammengesetzte* is a misprint for *zusammengedrängte*, as Fluegel rightly translates; ibid., rem. 2, مجسمات is not the plural of مجسّم, the one being feminine, the other masculine. P. xx, l. 20, r. من قبل; p. xxvi, l. 9, r. الطبيعة; p. xxix, l. 3, r. فى انّه لا تنال as Fluegel and IAUs. P. 67, r. الروائح and 218 for 128. Dr. Nagy does not reproduce the expressions for the five senses mentioned by Al Shahrastāni, but the objects perceived by them. P. 70, l. 13, r. الاركان; p. 81, l. 3 from the bottom, r. المجسطى.

The editor is much more at home in his critical treatment

of the Latin texts. Not only has he based them on a careful collation of a series of MSS., but he also gives a synopsis of all codices to be found in European libraries, and endeavours to establish their relationship to the archtypes. Students of mediaeval and particularly Arabic philosophy are indebted to Dr. Nagy for his publication.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

THEODORI ABU KURRA DE CULTU IMAGINUM LIBELLUM E CODICE ARABICO NUNC PRIMUM EDIDIT LATINE VERTIT ILLUSTRAVIT Rev. I. ARENDZEN, D.Ph. 8vo; pp. 52 and 50 (Arab.). (Bonnae, 1897.)

Dr. Arendzen's edition of Theodorus Abu Qurra's treatise on image worship leads the reader through the period of iconoclastic struggle. The hostile attitude adopted towards image worship by Byzantine rulers was naturally accentuated in Moslim countries. Abu Qurra's defence of image worship occupies a prominent place in the polemical literature on this subject, because it oversteps the narrow limit of dogmatic litigation within the Christian Church, and presents itself as a vindication of the tenets of the Christian faith against Judaism and Islām.

The uncertainty hitherto prevailing regarding the author of our treatise is removed by Dr. Arendzen, who shows him to have been identical with the Bishop Simon of Ḥarrān and Nisibis, who lived at the time of the Khalīfa Hārūn al-Rashīd. His epoch would thus be half a century earlier than that ascribed to him by other scholars, who confounded our Theodorus with others of the same name who took part in the famous litigation. Dr. Arendzen further endeavours to prove that the book was originally written in Arabic. In this assertion he is undoubtedly right. The cautious manner in which followers of Islām are treated is best explained by the circumstance that the author lived in a country under Moslim rule and wrote in the vernacular. Phrases like "the opponents of Christianity, especially those who boast of a book revealed to them,"

or "others than thou, O Jew!" refer to Moslims. The Jews, on the other hand, are much more openly attacked.

An interesting feature in the book are the Arabic translations of passages of the Old and New Testaments. These are the oldest specimens known, since Sa'adyah's translation of the Old Testament was not made till about 150 years later. The question is from what text Abu Qurra's translations are made. Several instances, notably 1 Chron., xxix, 20 (p. 16, الاهنا = τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν), point to the LXX as the original. The same is the case with Isaiah, xlix, 14–16 (p. 26). As regards 3 Reg., ii, 19 (p. 16), we agree with Dr. Arendzen that Abu Qurra did not follow the Greek text, but it seems that he discarded it in this case in order not to lose an important argument in favour of his view. An instance of paraphrastic translation is given in Exodus, xxviii, 12 (p. 24), where the words من هاهنا حجر ومن هاهنا حجر "one stone on one side and one stone on the other" are inserted, but are fitted into the context in such a manner that it cannot be assumed that they originally formed a marginal note put into the text by a copyist. It seems, therefore, that Abu Qurra, whilst consulting the Septuagint, translated afresh from the Hebrew original.

In his treatment of the Arabic text Dr. Arendzen betrays considerable skill. He has done well not to delete the author's orthographical peculiarities in favour of classical spelling, because they are of special importance in so comparatively early a work as Abu Qurra's. Dr. Arendzen has duly called the attention of the reader to this fact as well as to certain vulgar forms and Syriasms (pp. xvii seqq.). Two autotyped specimen pages give evidence of the palaeographical interest attached to the codex, which is written in later Cufic characters, greatly resembling the Maghribine style. Of misprints I have noticed سنّة (v. سنة), p. iv, and xxxv (r. xxv), p. 19, rem. 1.

The little book, which served as Doctor's dissertation at the University of Bonn, justifies the hope that the editor will do more good work in the little-known field of Christian-Arabic literature.

H. Hirschfeld.

SYRIA AND EGYPT FROM THE TELL EL AMARNA LETTERS. By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, D.C.L., etc. (London: Methuen & Co., 1898.)

The Tell el Amarna letters still attract the attention of scholars, and will probably continue to do so for many years to come. In the present work Professor Petrie has brought to bear upon them that analytic and co-ordinated method for which he is renowned, the result being a tabulation of all the important points revealed by these remarkable documents, by means of which a clear view of the ground they cover may readily be obtained. His own knowledge of the geography of Syria and Egypt, the countries that he has explored for so many years, naturally stand the author in good stead.

Professor Petrie divides these letters into three classes: (1) Royal letters and others during the peaceful times of Amenhotep III and early in Amenhotep IV; (2) the North Syrian War; (3) the South Syrian or Palestine War.

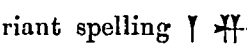
The letters of the period of the peace are from the various rulers of Syria and Babylonia, and the island of Cyprus (Alashia) to Nemutria (Amenhotep III), concerning the various matters that interested the people of that remote age in the East, such as the sending of presents in the hope of getting something more valuable, or more worth having, in return, etc. In the case of Dushratta, king of Mitānni, there is reference to his sister Gilukhipa, whom Amenophis III had taken to wife, and to certain political events that took place at the beginning of Dushratta's reign. This correspondence resulted, as will be remembered, in the marriage of Tadu-khipa, Dushratta's daughter, to the Egyptian king. To this period belong the letters of Kallima-Sin (I learn from Professor Sayce that Dr. Knudtzon, who has been revising these inscriptions, has discovered that this name is, in reality, that of the well-known king Kadashman-Bel) of Babylonia, Burraburiash of the same place, Asshur-uballiṭ and Rammānu-nirari of Assyria, and many petty governors and rulers of the districts around.

In the second class, "the main backbone of the sequence," as Professor Petrie puts it, is in the history of Rib-Addi, governor of Gebal, and faithful ally of Egypt in those troublous days. To this period belong Zimrēda of Sidon, Abi-milki of Tyre, Aziru, Rib-Addi's foe, and many other persons well known at the time, but whose names have only been restored to history by these remarkable letters.

The third class or section of the correspondence, which refers to the South Syrian or Palestine war, is that to which the letters of "Abd-khiba" or Ebed-tob, king of Jerusalem, belong. To this series belong also Lapaya of Gezer, Biridia of Megiddo, Addu-dayan, Dagan-takala, and many others, including Zimrēda of Lachish.

Besides the classified summaries of the letters, which are given on the lines here indicated, there are biographical outlines of the principal persons, indexes of persons and places, and a list, occupying twenty-nine pages, of places identified. This last will probably be recognized by many as one of the more valuable portions of the book, on account of the author's knowledge of both Syria and Egypt.

Although one cannot help sympathizing with Professor Petrie in his view of the question of the transliteration of proper names, in which many strange and doubt-inspiring symbols are often employed, one feels a certain amount of difficulty in following him in all that he says with regard to the avoidance of diacritic marks. If we could be certain that all the words, or even most of the words, containing the sound transliterated by him as *sh*, really contained that sound, or even an approximation to it, no English scholar would, in all probability, use, to express it, a single letter with a diacritic mark. The fact is, however, that this sound, like several others in Assyrian, is very uncertain, and at one period it was often, perhaps generally, pronounced as simple *s*, as the Aramaic dockets show. With regard to the sound that he transliterates by *kh*, that had two, perhaps three, different sounds—at any rate, it had to do duty for three different letters, namely, ח *kh*, ח *ḥ*, and ע *gh*. In this very correspondence, in the name Rib-Addi, "Hadad's prince,"

we find the variant spelling  , that is, with Professor Petrie's spelling, *Rib-Khaddi*—a pronunciation that most scholars will probably regard as impossible. As the Assyro-Babylonian syllabary was defective, and had no *h*, the scribe on this one occasion used the sound for the hard *kheth* or the *ghain* instead; and how often the sound transcribed by Professor Petrie as *kh* really had the sound of *kheth*, and how often it stood for *ḥ* and *gh*, or even *h*, we do not always know. The transcription of the equivalent of *teth* by *dh* ought also to be avoided, and the insertion of a hyphen between the component parts of a compound name, such as Addu-dayan, Addu-mikhir, etc., is almost a necessity, and one test of a good transcription.[1]

It is noteworthy that the personal name given by the author as Shuwardata seems to be preserved in the Egyptian place-name Suardeh (Suarda, Surda), and Suakin is a parallel to it.

T. G. PINCHES.

NOTES D'ÉPIGRAPHIE ARAMÉENNE, par M. LE MARQUIS DE VOGÜÉ. (Paris, 1897.)

Under the above title that indefatigable scholar, the Marquis de Vogüé, has collected and reissued some of the papers contributed by him to the *Journal Asiatique* during the last two years. This collection forms a small book of eighty-two pages, treating of inscriptions from various parts of Western Asia, in Nabathean, Syriac, and Greek.

The first text treated of was discovered and copied by Captain Aug. Henry Frazer at Petra more than forty years ago, and is an illustration of what one, ignorant of a language or script though he be, may be able to do, if he have the skill and patience to make, when travelling, a careful copy of such records as he may come across. The

[1] I have, in many cases, retained Professor Petrie's method of transcription in this notice, in order to avoid confusion in the reader's mind.

discoverer of the inscription, unfortunately died shortly after he had made the copy, and his papers, including the text in question, were collected by Sir W. P. Wood, British Consul-General at Damascus. Mr. Hogg, an English scholar, published a facsimile of Captain Frazer's copy in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* in 1856, but no notice was taken of the text, which remained, to all intents and purposes, buried, until Euting unearthed it once more, and communicated it to the author. This inscription, which is in five long lines, refers to the rock-cut tomb over which it is engraved, and the regulations for burial therein.

The author has been able to supplement his first description (which was based on Frazer's copy alone) in a further communication (pp. 32-43), based on a fresh copy and a squeeze made by Father Vincent, by which many things doubtful in Frazer's copy are put right. Further observations and details concerning the inscription are given farther on in the book, with a plan and sections of the tomb.

The first Graeco-Roman inscription treated of is in Roman characters, above and on each side of a female bust sculptured on a votive altar. The text records the fulfilment of a vow by the priestess Hochmaca to the god Hadaranes, this vow consisting in abstention from bread for the period of twenty years—an abstinence of which no other example is found in the inscriptions. The second inscription was discovered in the Anti-Lebanon by Father Jullien, and is written in Greek. Its chief interest lies in the transcription of the Semitic proper names which it contains.

Among other interesting texts may be mentioned that of the sanctuary known as El-Mer, which is an inscription referring to a statue of the Nabathean king Obodat, probably the second of the name. The statue referred to was raised, according to the inscription, by the sons of Ḥoucinu, son of Ḥaṭišu, son of פממון, which last name the author reads Peṭ-Ammon, which, if correct, would seem to show that the ancestor of those who set up the statue was an Egyptian.

T. G. Pinches.

BIBLIOTHECA LINDESIANA. HAND-LIST OF ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS — ARABIC, PERSIAN, TURKISH. By MICHAËL KERNEY. 1898.

The collection of Oriental MSS. at Haigh Hall is, as stated in the Introduction to this Hand-List, sufficiently large to entitle it to rank among the most considerable of its kind, and to surpass any other private collection.

The present Hand-List is an Index to the Manuscript Catalogue of the Library, which, it is hoped, may at some time be printed in full, as we gather from Lord Crawford's Preface is contemplated.

The collection was begun by the late Lord Crawford during his travels in 1836–37: it has been added to by the acquirement in 1866 of 631 volumes collected by Mr. Nathaniel Bland, in 1868 of 717 belonging to Colonel G. H. Hamilton, and others at various times since in small numbers. The total of the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish MSS. now amounts to 1,850.

In the list the MSS. are given alphabetically under the three divisions of languages, the name of the author, when known, being the primary, and the name of the work the secondary entry, a few words of description of the subject of the work, its size, and date of the writing being added. In the Introduction a good summary of them is given under the various usual classes of subjects.

The Arabic section comprises 773 MSS., traditions, law, science, history, and language being well represented.

Of Persian there are 912 MSS., including several works in all the classes, and in some, especially history and poetry, very many. Under poetry are the works of 100 poets.

The Turkish collection is, as said in the Introduction, "naturally not very great in extent, but includes several of the most celebrated books in the literature." There are 165 works.

The book has been carefully prepared and edited, and will be of use to students wishing to refer to MSS. in these languages.

Unfortunately Mr. Kerney has adopted a mode of transliteration which, as he truly says, is not identical with any other. The chief peculiarity of it is the representation of ث by ç, of خ by *x*, and of غ by the Irish *g*, ȝ. A Table of the transliteration and alphabet is, however, given, but it takes some little time to be reconciled, for instance, to the appearance of غیاث الدین خواند امیر in the form of ȝiyāç ad Dīn X'ānd Amīr.

O. C.

Gleanings in Buddha-Fields. By Lafcardio Hearn. 8vo; pp. 296. (London: Harpers, 1898. Price 6*s*.)

This book consists of eleven essays on as many subjects of Japanese life. Like all the work that comes from its gifted author, it is characterized throughout by a deep and accurate knowledge; a sympathy that throws light on much that would, without it, remain hopelessly obscure; and a charm of style and expression as refreshing as it is, unfortunately, rare in books about the East.

The first of these essays is a touching story, charmingly told, of a peasant farmer, Hamaguchi Gohei, of Arita, in the province of Kushi, who, as a result of heroic action performed at a time of public calamity, became a god, in the eyes of the people, during his life. And he deserved it. And he deserved also to have found, in these distant days, a chronicler from the far West who could record, in language so simple and so fitting, his bravery and his reward.

The second essay is on 'vulgar songs,' snatches of melody heard in the streets from the mouth of the people—very sweet and tender; and woven, by the skill of the teller, into a plaintive story of love.

The third is mere 'notes of a trip to Kyoto.' But they have caught the inspiration of the grace of Japan, and are full, too, of subtle observation and suggestive comment.

The fourth is entitled simply 'Dust'; but it penetrates deeply into the heart of Buddhist—or rather Indian—mysticism as modified by Japanese thought. "This dust

has felt. It has been everything we know, much that we cannot know, nebula and star, planet and moon, times unspeakable . . . . . Thou hast been sun, and sun thou shalt become again. Thou hast been Light, Life, Love: and into all these, by ceaseless cosmic magic, thou shalt many times be turned again."

'Faces in Japanese Art' explains much that seems, at first sight, weird and fanciful in Japanese pictures. And in this essay and in that on the town of Osaka, we have the comparison, by an observer of unusual insight, of the essential differences between the way of looking at things ethical and artistic in the East, and in the West.

The essay on Nirvana does not pretend, of course, to give the views of the Buddha himself, or of the early Buddhists, on the meaning of that much misunderstood conception. But it is full of suggestion to anyone who is occupied with the study of the Mahā-yāna Buddhism. And it is most interesting to notice how the writer, in weaving into his exposition of the later doctrine passages from the earlier documents which the Mahāyānists never knew, has unwillingly proved how intimately the early and the later speculations are really connected together, how easy were the steps that led gradually on from the one to the other. It would be difficult to name a paper which is more successful in making intelligible to Western minds the intricacies and the beauties of what we are apt to think bizarre in Eastern thought. And no one engaged in editing a Sanskrit Buddhist text should omit to devote a careful study to this most valuable and subtle paper.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(April, May, June, 1898.)

I. General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society.

April 5, 1898.—Sir Raymond West (Vice-President) in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Mr. W. E. M. Tomlinson, M.P.,
Mr. C. Tirumalaya Naidu,
Mr. H. W. Stevens,
Mr. David Lopes,

had been elected members of the Society.

The Rev. Dr. Witton Davies read a paper on "Magic and Demonology among the Hebrews and related peoples." A discussion followed, in which Dr. Gaster, Mr. Kennedy, Miss Frere, Mr. Pinches, and the Secretary took part.

May 10, *Anniversary Meeting.*—Lord Reay (President) in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Mr. George Maxwell,
Mr. H. V. S. Davids,
Mr. Aubrey Temple Frere,

had been elected members of the Society.

The following Report of the Council for the year 1897 was then read by the Secretary :—

Report of the Council for the Year 1897.

The Council regret to report the loss, by death or retirement, of the following thirty-two members :—

There have died—

1. Mr. Ney Elias,
2. Sir A. W. Franks,
3. Rev. Dr. Legge,
4. Mr. Gordon Clarke,
5. General G. G. Alexander,
6. Mr. F. Holmwood,
7. Mr. Hugh Nevill,
8. Professor Sundaram Pillai,
9. Sir Atar Singh,
10. Sir W. E. Maxwell.

There have resigned—

1. Dr. Arbib,
2. Mr. W. G. Aston,
3. Mr. A. F. Baillie,
4. Mr. V. S. Balasundra,
5. Mr. Kalipada Banerji,
6. Mr. T. J. Desai,
7. Lord Dufferin,
8. Mr. K. B. Dutt,
9. Mr. A. S. Gour,
10. Prince Harbhanji of Morvi,
11. Mr. C. Johnston,
12. Mr. W. P. Ker,
13. Mr. R. J. Lake,
14. Dr. J. Leon,
15. Mr. G. McCorkell,
16. Mr. E. C. Mann,
17. Mr. Mukand Lal,
18. Rev. J. Ormiston,

19. General G. G. Pearse,
20. Mr. W. H. Rylands,
21. Professor G. Stack,
22. Professor M. Tchéraz.

On the other hand, the following thirty-nine new members have been elected :—

1. Mr. S. L. Bensusan,
2. Mr. R. Burn,
3. Professor J. F. Blumhardt,
4. Mr. R. D. Bryson,
5. Mr. M. Canney,
6. Mr. H. W. Cave,
7. Professor M. N. Chatterjea,
8. Mr. A. C. Chatterjee,
9. Mrs. C. L. Daniels,
10. Mr. Devchand Uttamchand,
11. Mr. A. G. Ellis,
12. Mr. R. Eve,
13. Miss M. Frere,
14. Professor G. K. Gokhale,
15. Mr. A. Rhuvon Guest,
16. Mr. H. Haddad,
17. Mr. H. N. Haridas,
18. Mr. Gray Hill,
19. Mrs. Brian Hodgson,
20. Mr. H. W. Hogg,
21. Mr. G. S. Iyer,
22. Mr. Joseph Kennedy,
23. Rev. J. Lindsay,
24. Rev. Dr. Mills,
25. Dr. T. Madavam Nair,
26. His Excellency Felice Naissa.
27. Rev. A. W. Oxford,
28. Mr. G. Paramesvaram Pillai.
29. Mr. A. T. Pringle,
30. Mr. J. P. Rawlins,
31. Mrs. Elizabeth Reed,

32. Mr. J. N. Reuter,
33. Mrs. Enriqueta Rylands,
34. Mr. E. W. Smith,
35. Mr. W. S. Talbot,
36. Mr. G. P. Tate,
37. Mr. N. B. Vakil,
38. Mr. D. E. Wacha,
39. Mr. G. Zaidan.

Of the subscribing Libraries none have retired, and the Khedivial Library, Cairo, has been added to the list.

The result is an addition of eight to the number of our paying members, bringing up the total to 532, the largest number yet reached since the Society was founded. This is the more satisfactory as the increase this year follows on increases in the previous years. Ten years ago the number was 411, so that since that time the slow but steady improvement to 532 has added nearly 30 per cent. to the total. Such increase, as the Council have repeatedly felt obliged to remind the Society in previous reports, is all the more vital to the interests of the Society, since there is a slow but continual decrease in the number of the resident members, who pay three guineas a year. The increase is entirely confined to the non-resident members, who pay only thirty shillings. Two new non-resident members, therefore, only just make up the decrease of revenue from the loss of one resident member; so that whereas the increase of eight non-resident members would have meant an increase of £12 in receipts from subscriptions, the actual nett increase over last year amounts only to £8 19*s.* 7*d.*, and over the year before that to £10 13*s.* 1*d.*

The total nett receipts of the Society for the year came to £1,244 2*s.* 6*d.*, which, after paying the rent and the expenses of the office and library, has enabled the Council to spend £15 towards the preparation of a much needed catalogue of the Society's Sanskrit MSS., to put by a sum of £26 7*s.* 6*d.* in the savings bank, and to spend a little extra on the Journal, including £18 due for special Oriental type used

last year, the bills for which came in during this year. The cost of the Journal this year is accordingly £341, as against £288, 11*s.* 11*d.* last year.

During the year the Council have issued a special appeal for subscriptions to a fund to found a medal in memory of the completion of sixty years of Her Majesty's reign, to be presented once every three years to a subject of the Queen in recognition of distinguished service in Oriental research. The Council, on the report of the special committee appointed to consider the question, have chosen as the first recipient of the medal Professor E. B. Cowell, of Cambridge; and the formal presentation of the medal to him will take place this session. The amount received has not been sufficient to found the medal in perpetuity. To do that a sum of £350 would be required, and the subscriptions amount only to £99 18*s.* 6*d.*, of which £83 17*s.* 6*d.* was received during the year 1897. This is sufficient only to have the dies engraved and two medals struck. But the Council thought it wiser to act at once as far as the funds subscribed allowed, rather than wait an indefinite time for the completion of the foundation. The Council trust that the Society will approve the course they have adopted under the circumstances, and will provide the necessary funds to make the medal a permanent institution. As the account stands now one more medal can be awarded, and there is a trifle over towards the third. A few more subscriptions would make at least the third medal a certainty.

The Society will notice with gratification the other innovation in the statement of account—the appearance, namely, of the Oriental Translation Fund as a separate Fund. The re-establishment of this fund will, in after years, be considered as a notable landmark in the history of Oriental studies in England; and the Society cannot too often renew the expression of its thanks to Mr. Arbuthnot for his long-continued services, both of time and of money, in this matter, and also to Lord Northbrook, Mr. Sturdy, and General Gosset for their generous contributions to this

important undertaking. There are numerous MSS. of historical value in various branches of Oriental research still lying unread, unedited, and untranslated, on the Society's shelves. There are competent scholars willing to devote their ability to the work. All that is wanted is the necessary funds. To give to a work that will add to human knowledge is certainly one of the most useful, because most permanently effective, forms of giving; and the Council confidently hope that the members of the Society will not allow this fund, now again started after so much difficulty, to lapse through neglect. It is a fund which most especially deserves to be remembered by way of bequest.

This fund deals only with translations. Both the French and the German Societies publish from time to time either texts or monographs too long to appear in the Journal, and yet of great importance from the point of view of Oriental research. The Council have it in contemplation to start, if possible, a similar series of volumes to be called "Asiatic Studies," and the question as to the form and method of the publication of the first of these volumes is at present under the consideration of the Council. It is proposed that the first volume shall be on the Historical Geography of Bagdad, by Mr. Guy le Strange.

During the year the Council have, under suitable precautions, lent seventeen MSS. from the collections of the Society to scholars engaged in actual research, eight of these having been so lent to foreign scholars. The Council regard the loan of MSS. in this way as a very important aid to Oriental studies; and are especially glad, by the loans to foreign scholars, to do something to acknowledge the generous way in which foreign libraries so often render assistance, by similar loans, to English students.

The Council have watched during the year with constant care the progress of the movement towards the establishment of such an Oriental School in London as would be worthy of the imperial position of England in the East. The Government have introduced their Bill for the establishment of a Teaching University of London with which any such

Oriental School would best be connected. The Bill has passed the House of Lords and is expected to pass the House of Commons this session. As soon as this necessary preliminary is settled the Council will proceed to take such active steps as may be necessary to carry out the resolution passed by the Society at the general meeting of 1897.

The Council have devoted constant care to the selection of the articles and shorter papers to appear in the Journal; and trust that both in the variety and interest of the subjects dealt with, and in the high standard of the scholarship shown in the articles themselves, they have been able to maintain the high reputation of the Society's Journal.

In accordance with the Auditors' report, the Council recommend that the following names be struck out of our list of members for default:—

Mr. D. D. Datta,
Mr. P. Beni Madho,
Mr. W. S. Blunt,
Mr. S. C. Mukerji,
Mr. Nurallah Shah.

In accordance with Rule 22, five gentlemen retire this year from the Council—

Professor Bendall,
Dr. Gaster,
Mr. Rapson,
Professor Douglas,
Mr. E. Delmar Morgan.

The Council recommend the election of—

Professor Bendall,
Mr. Lewin Bowring,
Dr. Gaster,
Mr. H. C. Kay,
Mr. James Kennedy.

In accordance with Rule 21, Sir William Wilson Hunter, K.C.S.I., and Professor Sayce retire from the Vice-Presidency, and the Council recommend that they be re-elected for a further term of three years.

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR 1897.

RECEIPTS.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Balance at Bank, January 1, 1897	42 13 7	42 16 7
,, Petty Cash, ,, ,, ...	0 3 0	
Subscriptions—		
81 Resident Members at £3 3s.	255 3 0	
1 ,, ,, in advance	3 3 0	
175 Non-Resident Members at £1 10s.	262 13 6	
8 ,, ,, in advance	18 3 1	578 2 7
3 ,, ,, arrears	9 0 0	
27 ,, ,, at £1 1s.	28 7 0	
1 Compounder's extra subscription	1 13 0	
Compositions		44 0 0
Donations—		
India Office		210 0 0
Journal—		
Subscriptions	144 12 0	
Sale	34 14 0	
Sale of Index	0 13 0	188 2 4
Sale of Pamphlets	1 14 6	
Advertisements	6 8 10	
Rents		175 14 0
Dividends		36 3 4
Interest on Deposit in Bank		2 7 6
,, ,, Saving's Bank		3 2 6
Miscellaneous (including £2 15s. 3d. Income Tax repaid)		3 0 3
Subscriptions overpaid		2 11 0
Sale of Catalogue		0 10 0
		£1286 10 1

INVESTMENT OF STOCK.

	£ s. d.
New South Wales 4 per cent.	802 13 10
Midland Railway 3 per cent. Debentures ...	177 0 0
Post Office Savings Bank	130 9 3
	£1110 3 1

EXPENDITURE.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
House—Rent (three quarters only)	256 10 0	
Fire Insurance	4 0 0	
Water	12 0 0	
Gas	17 14 6	321 2 1
Coals	5 15 0	
Income Tax	6 13 4	
Repairs	18 9 3	
Salaries—Secretary and Assistant Secretary ...		250 0 0
Journal—Printing		341 0 6
Preparation of Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. (part payment)		15 0 0
Library—New Books	5 9 7	19 13 1
Binding	14 3 6	
Housekeeper		60 0 0
Messenger		17 10 0
Stationery		20 15 10
Miscellaneous		16 6 0
Returned Subscriptions		3 0 0
Bank Charges		0 10 6
Stamps—Journal	25 10 0	45 10 0
General	20 0 0	
Petty Cash Expenditure		22 11 3
Placed in Savings Banks		26 7 6
		1159 6 9
Balances—Current Account, Bank	24 11 7	
Deposit ,, ,, ...	100 0 0	127 3 4
Petty Cash	2 11 9	
		£1286 10 1

Examined with the books and vouchers, and found correct, March 25, 1898. { R. W. FRAZER, for the Council. J. KENNEDY / ROMESH DUTT } for the Society.

MEDAL FUND.

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.
By donations	88	17	6
	£88	17	6

EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d.
Engraving Die	35	0	0
Balance	53	17	6
	£88	17	6

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND.

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.
Balance at Bank, Jan. 1, 1897	105	0	0
By sale of 'Harsa Carita'	27	7	9
	£132	7	9

EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d.
Printing 'Harsa Carita'	92	11	6
Binding	6	0	0
Miscellaneous	4	12	6
	103	4	0
Balance	29	3	9
	£132	7	9

The Council have, on several occasions during this year, received very valuable advice and assistance from Mr. Alexander Hayman Wilson, son of the distinguished founder of the Society, who is kind enough to act as our Honorary Solicitor. The Council wish to propose a special vote of thanks to Mr. A. H. Wilson for his services to the Society.

The Council regret to have to announce the loss during the year of three Honorary Members—Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, K.C.S.I., Signor Gayangos, and Hofrath Dr. Bühler, C.I.E. This is not the place to detail the services rendered by each of these distinguished men to the objects the Society was founded to promote. They will be recorded in the obituary columns of the Journal.

The Council recommend the election in their stead of Professor Guidi, Professor Kielhorn, and Prince Vajira Ñāna Varorasa.

The usual statement of account is laid on the table.

Mr. Bowring said he had been asked to submit to the meeting the Resolution adopting the Report. He was glad to see an increase in the members of the Society, while the financial equilibrium was very satisfactory. It occurred to him in looking through the list of members that the proportion of native gentlemen of India was rather small; and that it might be possible to stimulate their interest in the Society's proceedings. Many of them are highly cultured, and should be able to advance the progress of Oriental learning.

In these days of advertisements, when the main object seems to be to popularize everything, people are content with reading the daily journals, illustrated magazines, novels, and so forth, so that it is very difficult to get them to turn their attention to abstruse subjects. The Government, however, might be induced to take a more prominent position in assisting this Society by establishing an Oriental College, so as to enable young fellows to proceed to the East with some elementary knowledge of the language of the country to which they are destined. At present the

so-called Student Interpreters go out to China absolutely ignorant of the language, as is also the case with the Chinese Customs Service.

This Society cannot perhaps offer such novelties in discovery as the Geographical Society, but the recent identification of Buddha's birthplace was of the greatest historical interest, while Mr. Rice's find of an inscription of Asoka so far south as Mysore was of no little value. In that part of Southern India there is a vast number of inscriptions on stone, generally placed in front of temples, which, when deciphered, take us back nearly 1,000 years, and are the source of curious information about the earlier Hindu dynasties. Then there is a mass of legendary history, called Sthal Purānas, recording more or less accurately popular traditions and the folklore of the country. So far, the labour of deciphering these ancient records has devolved mainly on busy European officials, who have little time to devote to the subject, but if the Society could see their way to induce the natives of India to take it up, he felt sure that the membership of the Society, and the work it accomplished, would be greatly increased.

He proposed the adoption of the Report in its entirety.

Dr. Gaster said it was with great pleasure he seconded the adoption of the Report. One point especially had to be recommended, and that was not the financial progress or the increased membership of the Society, but the progress of the scientific importance of the Society, as manifested in its publications. These—and especially the Journal—ought to be prized higher than any other work the Society could achieve. On even glancing over the volumes of the Journal they could see there how almost every branch of inquiry was treated, not merely Indian questions, but every side of historical science that deals with Arabia, China, or any other part of Asia, its literature, its thought, its legends, its geography, in fact every point and every question that could assist them in understanding the past, and by understanding the past to understand the present. He thought the progress made in this respect in recent years should

be a source of unalloyed gratification to them all. By the work the Society had already achieved a solid foundation had been laid for the work of the new University they all longed for, where the student would slowly mature into the scholar, making use as he did so of the valuable library the Society had built up to guide him in his studies. It gave him great pleasure to second the Resolution. (Cheers.)

Lord Reay: Before putting the question I do not wish to add much to what has been said by the mover and seconder of the Resolution, but there is one question to which I know you will permit me to make some allusion.

The Royal Asiatic Society is undoubtedly, in this country, the representative of all that concerns the development of Oriental studies, and on many occasions we have pointed out how very important it was that no time should be lost in increasing the opportunities, and especially in securing that greater use should be made of existing opportunities than has hitherto been the case, with regard to these all-important studies.

Now, at last, I think there is a fair prospect that the University Bill will pass the House of Commons. I am happy to say that with regard to that Bill the House of Lords has a very clean bill of health. It has never in the slightest degree obstructed it. It has always passed it rapidly, and it certainly cannot be said that the House of Lords has in any way been the cause of retarding a measure which London, I may say, so desperately wants.

Now in order to show to this meeting the very great importance of this branch of University studies, our Secretary has collected information of a very important character as to the provisions made for Oriental teaching in some of the capitals of Europe.

This document, as all such returns ought to be, is full of details with which it would be tedious to trouble you. But the general results at least may be stated. There are in Paris 48 professors, 4 assistant professors, and 6 native teachers of the colloquial. In Vienna there are 22 professors, 4 assistant professors, and 14 lecturers or

native teachers. In Berlin there are 16 professors, 13 assistant professors, and 8 lecturers. In St. Petersburg there are 17 professors and 3 teachers of colloquial Arabic, Turkish, and Persian; and the returns from this capital are not yet complete.

To take the shortest of these lists as a specimen, I shall give some of the details as to Berlin. We find there two professors of Semitic, one of Assyriology, one of the languages of India (more especially Sanskrit), one of Arabic, one of comparative philology, and one of Aegyptology; assistant professors of Semitic literature, comparative philology, Arabic, Indian languages, and Chinese; and Privat-docenten or lecturers on Semitic philology, Tibetan, and Sanskrit. Then besides all the above there is a special Oriental Institute presided over by our distinguished honorary member Professor Sachau, at which there are seven professors of Chinese, Japanese, Arabic (2), Turkish, Swaheli, and Herero; eight assistant professors on similar subjects (really even this shortest of the lists is too long to read in full), and five teachers of the colloquial. Every student at this institute—and they numbered last year no less than 160—has to be a matriculated member of the University, and the fee for the whole set of lectures is only 5*s*.

The details in the other cases are not quite the same, but they are of a similar kind; and I would invite your special attention to certain points. In the first place all these opportunities for Oriental learning are in addition to the opportunities—and very considerable opportunities—provided in the provinces. Then they are all provided in close connection with the national universities established in the various capitals. The mode of connection varies, but the connection is real and close. Then, besides the teachers, there are also provided, in every case, the necessary buildings, rent free, magnificent libraries, funds for the publication of historical and philological monographs, and in most cases stipends or bursaries, or grants of one sort or another, for poor students. The whole of this expenditure

is defrayed by the governments; and though the sum is not large compared with the revenues of the various states, it amounts in each instance to between twelve and eighteen thousand a year.

In London, on the other hand, while we find at University and King's Colleges the names of seventeen gentlemen entered as professors or lecturers on Oriental subjects, there is only one of them who receives any salary at all, and that is from a private bequest. The rest, having to earn their living by such pursuits as are available to them, are thereby prevented from applying their time either to their work as teachers or to the pursuit of Oriental study. The number of students, as we might naturally expect, is ridiculously small, about one student for each of these professors, who are, unfortunately, professors only in name. And the Government of England, as it does nothing towards supplying teachers, so also for the necessary rooms, and libraries, and means of publication, contributes nothing.

Now this state of things, I venture to say, is nothing less than a disgrace to this country—(hear, hear)—all the more because, notwithstanding the neutrality (one can hardly call it benevolent neutrality) of the Government in this country, there has been a very considerable exercise of private initiative, and a notable amount of Oriental research, carried out on an altruistic basis. We owe, indeed, a debt of gratitude to those learned scholars who, without any encouragement from the Government or from their own countrymen, have upheld the honour of England in these matters.

It was an Indian scholar, Pāṇini, who first laid the basis of philology by his work on Sanskrit. An ever-growing interest in the science of philology has followed on the discovery of Sanskrit, and it has become a comparatively easy task to explain the differences between the Greek, Latin, German, Slavonic, and Persian languages. This has given us the comparative grammar of languages, and the study of Oriental languages now stands on the same footing as the study of Latin and Greek. If we

consider our relations with India and with the East, I have no hesitation in saying that for us the study of Indian philology, and history, and thought is certainly not less important than that of Roman and Greek literature. What is the great need when two nations come into close contact as we do with the Eastern people? That they should thoroughly understand each other and scrupulously respect the idiosyncrasies which differentiate them. Oriental studies have the great merit of powerfully contributing to the reciprocal respect which is the basis of continuity of Empire in a country where there are so many different races represented. A philologist cannot of himself grasp or explain the authors—the authors with whom he deals—unless he gleans an idea of the environment in which these authors live, of the social condition of their contemporaries, and the mental atmosphere in which they work. Exactly the same rule applies to those who now govern India: unless they grasp the varying characteristics of the different races with whom they are dealing, friction is inevitable as the result of blunders due to ignorance. It is impossible, therefore, to overrate the importance of the revelations which are due to Oriental research in modern times. If you are to solve the problem of present developments in the East in our own times, you cannot do so without consulting the ancient and venerable records of the past. No one is more indebted, I maintain, to Indian scholars than the statesman who feels the responsibility of ruling over Eastern nations. The neglect of Indian classics is, therefore, not merely a loss to Indian scholarship: it raises a fundamental issue with regard to our governing capacity in the East. Let me ask you whether it would be possible for anyone to govern Englishmen without any knowledge of their history, their literature, their religious convictions. If not, how do you propose to deal with nationalities, the study of whose literature, whose history, whose religion is more and more disclosing to us features of a very high order of philosophy, and an analytical conception from which we can certainly derive much profit?

I have said enough, I think, to indicate to you that to us Englishmen Oriental study is not the pursuit of a special hobby, but that it is a matter of the greatest and most immediate practical importance, and that a new London University is imperatively needed to fulfil the destinies of empire which are laid upon us. (Cheers.)

I shall only allude to one or two other matters stated in the Report. In the first place, I think we all have reason to be satisfied with the institution of the medal—in connection with which our colleague, Mr. Wollaston, has been so active. There was a unanimous feeling amongst all scholars that the first medal should be given to our distinguished friend Professor Cowell.

The Oriental fund has been placed on a separate footing. That is a matter of very great importance, as showing that this Society at all events is alive to its responsibility with regard to the study of Oriental languages. We are deeply indebted especially to our colleague Mr. Arbuthnot, who has always taken the deepest interest—(cheers)—in this work.

Now, I regret deeply that I have to allude to the death of my friend Professor Bühler. No one can feel more than I do what is the loss to literature and to science of that eminent scholar — distinguished in every respect; a real friend of this country, who himself would have been the first to acknowledge what he owed to the fact that he had been a British official in India, where he rendered such excellent service as Inspector of Schools and at the Elphinstone College in Bombay, with which I had the honour some time to be connected. When we recall the fact that during the time that he was in India he collected more than 5,000 manuscripts of a very valuable character; that he enriched the Libraries of Oxford, of Cambridge, and of Berlin; that he was the head of a considerable school, and that his disciples, in their turn, will, we hope, become eminent philologists by following in his footsteps;—when we consider that he was always genial, that he was wholly free from pedantry, and that the

most abstruse problems under his facile powers of lucid explanation seemed quite simple—it is natural that by those of us who enjoyed his personal acquaintance and friendship, and to whom he endeared himself, he will be held in honour as the best type of his generation of Oriental scholars. (Cheers.)

I want to say a few words in regard to Syed Ahmad Khan, as he was instrumental in starting an institution which had for its object to promote learning among Mohammedans. He on many occasions made speeches which showed what a very well-balanced mind he had, and I am sure that not only Mohammedans in India, but those who have lived in India and who have seen him at his work, will admit that he has left a place vacant which it will be very difficult for any other Mohammedan to fill.

I do not wish to sit down without expressing my own thanks to our worthy Secretary. (Cheers.) Again this year the Society is deeply indebted to Professor Rhys Davids for his constant activity; and if the Journal is what it certainly now has become, one of the foremost publications in Europe devoted to Oriental learning, it is primarily due to those who write in the Journal; but it is also due to the extraordinary pains which our Secretary takes, in order that the Journal should be, what it is, an honour to this Society. (Cheers.)

You will have noticed that we propose as Honorary Member of the Society Professor Kielhorn. Professor Kielhorn is so well known that I do not think it necessary for me to say anything.

With regard to the brother of the King of Siam it might be as well that I should point out that you will find on those shelves, among those yellow publications, evidence of the admirable and profound scholar he is. He devotes himself entirely to the pursuit of learning, and it is not the less a scholar whom we are proud to honour because he is a Prince.

I have now, Ladies and Gentlemen, great pleasure in asking you to adopt the Resolution which has been so well proposed and seconded. (Carried unanimously.)

Dr. Cust wished to add a few remarks with regard to his dear friend Professor Bühler. They would remember that he was here last November. He was half an Englishman, as he was brought up in England, though of German origin. Professor Max Müller was going to write his Obituary Notice for the Journal. He was a man of 60 years of age, a ripe and wise scholar. Therefore his death was a great loss to Science and to them all. His great work, the *Grundriss*, was indeed shared by many, but still he was the life of it and the founder of it. With his Lordship's leave he proposed, that this Society address his widow a letter of condolence. It was such a peculiar and special case that he thought they might do so.

Professor Bendall had great pleasure in seconding the motion. He thought that it was a happy thought as coming from the Society, and should be very much appreciated.

The Secretary read the Report of a Special Committee appointed at the March Council, and presided over by the President of the Society. The Report recommended the Council that applicants for membership whose names come up for election during the ensuing year might be elected members of the Society on payment, without entrance fee, of 30*s.* a year, such members to be designated library members, and to have all the privileges of resident members except the receipt of the Journal. He said the Report of this Committee had been unanimously adopted by the Council.

Mr. Brandreth, the Hon. Treasurer, said this was only experimental for one year. It had been noticed in the Report there had been a great falling off in the number of the resident subscribers during twenty years. There were now only about half what there were in Sir Bartle Frere's time, though it must be remembered that residents of the United Kingdom more than fifty miles from London could now pay 30*s.* instead of three guineas as they did then. It was felt that though for those who are really interested in the work of the Society a three-guinea subscription is not more than they would think it right to give, and though

many exclusive learned societies, like the Geological and others, had a subscription of a like amount, and though a few popular members would gladly give the three guineas, yet that besides those who are really interested in Oriental studies there are a number of people—old Indians and others who have been connected in their old work with the East—who took a more languid interest in Orientalism, but who would say that the Royal Asiatic Society ought to be maintained. Such gentlemen, though not willing to pay three guineas a year, might be willing to join if the rules allowed them to do so by paying 30*s.* a year to what they considered a good cause. Mr. Bowring alluded to help from the Government. Well, though they did get nothing from the English Government, they had £200 a year from the Government of India, and every now and then they had a scare that they would lose that grant. But the best chance of their getting Government support was to show that there is sufficient interest felt in the work of the Asiatic Society. The Council had come to the conclusion that if the Report of this Committee were adopted, a certain number of those who are more or less interested in Oriental studies would show that interest by joining the Society. He had made inquiries, and found several people who were not able or willing to give the three guineas, and who are not so specially interested in research that they would care to have the Journal, who, nevertheless, had sympathy with the Society and might agree to give 30*s.* He felt that if those who were already members would put their shoulders to the wheel they could get many of their friends to come forward and support them with this 30*s.* subscription and add materially to the funds of the Society. At all events, he did not think any harm would be done by trying it for one year, and hoped all those present would do all they could to gain as many additional members as they could on these new terms. He hoped that this recommendation, which had been very carefully considered by the Committee, and unanimously adopted by the Council, would be received with approval

by this meeting. The effect would be that for one year we could elect members in three ways. Firstly, 30*s.* members entitled to the Journal; secondly, 30*s.* members entitled to borrow books; and thirdly, three-guinea members entitled to both; and all three would be entitled to attend the meetings and consult the books in the library itself.

He moved: "That the Council be authorized to carry out for one year the recommendations embodied in the Report of the Committee on rates of subscription, bearing date the 15th of March, 1898."

Mr. Thomson Lyon had very much pleasure in seconding this Resolution, which had been arrived at after careful deliberation on the part of the Council. He believed it would be an admirable step, and would work beneficently in two ways. In the first place, every person can become a member of the Society for the sum of 30*s.* per annum; the only difference between him and the ordinary member will be that he will not receive the Journal, and in the case of many of the younger members of the Society who are proceeding to India, who are going to travel, it is always a matter of embarrassment to them to know what to do with the Journal, and he hoped that for that class of member this would be an additional inducement to them to enter.

In the second place he thought it would induce members to make their wives members of the Society, because in houses where a single copy of the Journal is already taken it is unnecessary to have another copy; and he hoped that members would take advantage of the open door which had been placed before them.

He suggested that the interesting set of figures as to Oriental education in the European capitals, drawn up by the Secretary, and laid before them to-day in abstract by the President, should be printed in full in the Report, because he was sure no more potent factor could be set before the public in promoting Oriental studies than those very interesting figures. He thought his Lordship's remarks should be printed and placed in the hands of members, for

he was sure they could have no more solid argument in strengthening the hands of those who wished for the establishment of a similar school in London. (The Resolution was carried unanimously.)

Lord Reay: Ladies and Gentlemen, the next matter is not one that requires many words. Our friends in Portugal are on the eve of celebrating the discovery by Vasco da Gama of the sea route to India. I need not dwell on Vasco da Gama, as Mr. Reade will give us the benefit of his special research and will do justice to the merits of the great navigator. What I wish to propose is, that we should give our hearty congratulations to the Portuguese on this interesting occasion. At many points of our territory they are our neighbours, and very good neighbours they are, as I know from personal experience in Bombay; and on an occasion of this kind it befits us to show our sympathy with them in their rejoicing, and therefore I propose that the Royal Asiatic Society should send their hearty congratulations to the Royal Society of Lisbon, on the fourth centenary of the discovery of the sea route to India, by their illustrious countryman, Vasco da Gama.

Lord Loch: I have great pleasure, Ladies and Gentlemen, in seconding the resolution which has been moved. Vasco da Gama was a bold sailor, a good navigator, and a brave pioneer, and it has been a matter of great interest not only to follow him in his adventurous voyage when he stretched across the Atlantic nearly to Brazil before turning to the south-east towards the Cape, but also to endeavour to trace after rounding the Cape his course up the eastern coast of Africa. I am sorry having to speak before hearing Mr. Reade's paper respecting Vasco da Gama, but he appears to have met in some places on the east coast of Africa an amount of civilization which does not exist in the same places at the present day, supposing that we are correct in our knowledge with regard to the particular spots to which reference is made. Whether Vasco da Gama was the first who passed the Cape; or whether

Bartolomeo Diaz or Johan y fante was the first, does not much matter. For, if either of these did pass the Cape, they did not realize what they had done ; whereas Vasco da Gama did realize that he had opened that passage to India and to the commerce of the world. His subsequent visit to India was somewhat marred with a certain amount of harshness of conduct towards the natives, but it is impossible to compare the state of feeling which existed in those days with what exists in the present days, and I do not think we should consider that his conduct in that matter in any way deteriorated from his great services, and from the brilliant courage that led to discoveries that led to the rapid development of commerce between the western and eastern portions of the world. I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution that has been moved by Lord Reay that we should address the Society in Lisbon and congratulate them upon the Centenary Anniversary of his great work. (Cheers.)

Mr. Reade rose to support the resolution of sympathy with the organizers of the Centenary of Vasco da Gama. He thought the Society were justified in expressing their sympathies with the Portuguese in honouring the fourth centenary of the discovery of India by Vasco da Gama—(cheers)—and for the following reasons. Mr. Reade then read the very interesting paper which he had kindly prepared at the request of the Council, and which is printed in full, as an article, in this issue of the Journal.

Lord Reay : I think you will all agree with me that Mr. Reade has given us an admirable paper, which is full of original suggestions, and I beg to move a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Reade. (This was carried unanimously.)

May 25.— Special Meeting : Medal Day. Lord Reay (President) in the Chair.

There was a large attendance of members.

It was announced that—

Mr. Hermon Miesegaes, Mr. Arthur Levien,
Mr. G. F. Sheppard, Mr. J. W. Reid,

Mr. W. Morris Beaufort, General Sir Peter Lumsden,
Mr. W. S. Seton-Karr, Mr. A. V. Ramachandra Iyer,
Sir Robert H. Davies,

had been elected members of the Society.

Lord Reay: I consider it a very great honour to perform on this occasion the duty, pleasant at all times, to recognize real merit. This Society has been fortunate in being allowed to confer its Medal for the first time on one of its most distinguished members.

Your conquests, sir, are of a more exalted nature than territorial conquests; not only on account of their intrinsic value, but also on account of the means by which they have been obtained.

You have been indefatigable; you have been versatile. You are a botanist; you are an authority on the old Welsh language, and you have lectured on Pāli and on Persian literature. You have kept up your classical scholarship, and your leisure hours are spent in the company of Italian and Spanish authors.

But, sir, there is another feature in your illustrious career to which I must refer, and that is your generous recognition of the labour of others, and of the valuable aid you received from such Indian scholars as Pandit Rama Nārāyana, Maherha Chandra Nyāya Ratna, and others.

Nor can I adequately give expression to the feelings of gratitude from the younger scholars on whom you have lavished the treasures of learning and the immense resources of varied knowledge which you possess. Thereby you have bequeathed to us a phalanx of younger Orientalists on whom we build our hopes for the future of English scholarship. Their names are already inscribed in the roll of distinguished Orientalists. Let me mention some: Neil, Webster, Bendall, Francis, Rouse, Thomas, Miss Ridding, and FitzGerald (whom you instigated to give us his version of Omar Khayyam); and the work of other men has shone brighter because you consented to edit and complete it. I need hardly recall such instances as

Elphinstone's History of India, Wilson's Rigveda, and Goldstücker's treatise on the orthodox Brahmin Philosophy.

As early as 1843 you contributed to the Asiatic Journal graceful and accurate versions of Persian poems. The founder of our Society, Horace Hayman Wilson, was your teacher. Your first work on Prakrit Grammar appeared in 1854. Presently I shall allude to your publications in India. Let me here mention the collection of legends about distinguished Buddhists which appeared in 1886, and in which your pupil, Mr. Neil, was your co-editor, and the translation of the Jātakas from the Pāli, which at the suggestion of Professor Rhys Davids you undertook to superintend. The three volumes are due to Mr. Chalmers, and the two others to your pupils Mr. Neil and Mr. Rouse. In 1893 you gave us the Sanskrit text of the Buddha Charita, and in 1894 its translation. And in 1897 the first work published at the cost of the Society itself in our revived Oriental Translation Fund was the Harsha Charita, in which you had the co-operation of another of your pupils, Mr. Thomas.

Although we honour you primarily as our most eminent Sanskrit scholar, we are most deeply grateful to you that you have opened up new avenues, and that you have taught us that Indian literature has to be explored in many directions.

We cannot forget that in the field of philosophy you have laid the foundation of the study of Indian speculative thought. When you were in India you grappled with texts, difficult as much by reason of their abstruse thought as by reason of the language in which those thoughts were expressed. We hail you as the pioneer in philosophical research which is invaluable to arrive at sound conclusions on the evolution of human thought.

It is not too much to say, sir, that you have revealed to us a civilization, and among the greatest benefactors of our race are those who supply us with the materials to understand the mysteries of the East, which elude our grasp almost as much as the mysteries of nature.

Philological research, as interpreted by you, sir, is scientific research in a pre-eminent degree. The leading characteristic of scientific research is that we are constantly lifting a fold of the veil. Your life, sir, has been a life of unveiling. But the result has been the same as it is in the case of scientific research. As we penetrate deeper into all these mysteries, we are on the one hand more convinced of the limits of our knowledge, and on the other hand more lost in veneration of the author of all these wonders. Whilst too many vulgar productions were attracting the public eye in East and West, you were, in the seclusion of your great University, widening our horizon by enlarging the domain of classical studies in an imposing array of volumes which all contain new facts. We are well aware that you have never sought any other reward than that which was to be found in the satisfaction of revealing to a limited circle of students an unknown world.

Some discoveries are attended with results partly beneficial, partly disastrous, scattering ruin and demoralization. Your discoveries have not stirred any evil passions; but they have stirred the world of learning. Pious founders of endowments are held up to the admiration of succeeding generations. Orientalists of future generations will look upon you as the pious founder of an endowment which cannot perish, and which is the creation of your own genius.

Your reward has been intangible, and at the same time it is a reward which falls to the lot of very few men. If a jury were empanelled of all the Orientalists of Europe, and if the Order of Merit had to be bestowed on an English Orientalist, I have no doubt they would bestow it on you.

The Royal Asiatic Society has no claim to represent European Orientalists; but in asking you, sir, to accept this Medal, we are convinced that our award will meet with the approval of all those who have followed with ever increasing admiration the disinterested manner in which you have set an example to all future generations of British scholars.

Professor Douglas: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I consider myself fortunate in being allowed to add a note of congratulation to Professor Cowell on the present auspicious occasion. Professor Cowell has, as we all know, worked so long and so well in the field of Sanskrit literature that everyone interested in Oriental studies must rejoice that a recognition of his many and varied labours should now have been made by this Society. But it must also be agreed that the Council are to be congratulated on having conferred this first Gold Medal of the Society on this great scholar; although, in this case, the usual difficulty of choosing from among the scholars of a nation the one who is to be considered the greatest and the best, has been simplified by the pre-eminent position which Professor Cowell holds. The Council are also, in my opinion, to be congratulated on having established so high a standard of scholarship as qualification for the possession of the Society's Medal. Doubtless succeeding aspirants to the honour will have some cause of complaint against Professor Cowell for having set them so difficult an example to follow; but a medal easily won and lightly given is of no value, and it is earnestly to be hoped that the Council will not in the future depart in any very appreciable degree from the high level of scholarship which they have to-day associated with the coveted honour.

Mr. A. N. Wollaston: It is the wish of the President that as Chairman of the Medal Committee I should say a few words as to the object with which the Gold Medal of this Society was founded. In the expressive language of the East, "to hear is to obey."

You are probably all aware that the *raison d'être* of the Royal Asiatic Society is to foster and encourage Oriental learning; and what steps, it may be asked, are taken to secure this object? In the first place, the Council, in whose hands are the destinies of the Society, is elected annually from amongst the foremost Oriental scholars of the day, regard being had, so far as is possible, that every branch of study shall be represented, for a moment's reflection will

serve to show that unless the Council is cosmopolitan in its composition there is a danger—perhaps, indeed, a certainty—that some paths of research will be unexplored, while others will secure an undue degree of attention. All this, however, would be comparatively useless were it not that ever since the foundation of the Royal Asiatic Society the Council have been fortunate enough to secure as their Presidents men of distinguished and worldwide reputation. I will name but two representatives of bygone days, but I am confident that we all here present are prepared to pay to them the homage of admiration and respect—Sir Bartle Frere and my very dear friend Sir Henry Rawlinson.

Nor are the Council less favoured as regards the President of to-day—Lord Reay—whom we are proud to welcome on this auspicious occasion. Profoundly versed in the languages and literature of the West, his Lordship took to the East a knowledge of men and things which this learning opened up to him, and as a statesman in the highest position in Western India he drew to himself all shades of Native opinion to a degree which has been rarely equalled and never surpassed. It is not matter of astonishment that under Lord Reay's able guidance the Royal Asiatic Society has attained a degree of prosperity which leaves little or nothing to be desired.

Passing over with the briefest allusion the library, which contains the learning of the first scholars of the land, and the Journal, which embodies the researches of the intellectual East, I think it may be said that the Royal Asiatic Society has a splendid record so far as the attempt has been made to foster Oriental scholarship; but it must be avowed that as regards scholars absolutely nothing has been done to help them on their road, for the reason that no means existed of doing anything in this direction. Yet withal it comes to all of us at some period during "life's fitful fever," when the horizon of life is dark and cloudy, that the soul of poor fallen humanity craves with an unspeakable longing for a ray of sympathy—a flash of commendation. So it chanced that when it was determined to mark in some way

the Society's appreciation of the national blessings which have followed in the wake of our Sovereign's prolonged reign of sixty years, it was deemed advisable to found a Gold Medal to be given every third year to some one in the front rank of Oriental scholars, as a means of encouragement and a source of pride, in the hope—I had almost said the expectation—that such a medal would fill the place in the world of Eastern learning which is held by the Medal of the Royal Society in the realms of philosophy and science.

The lot has fallen, as you are aware, upon Professor Cowell, and I will only add to the eloquent remark of our President an expression of hope, in which I am confident you will all join—that amidst the many high honours which during his lengthened career have been bestowed upon one of England's most illustrious sons, not the least appreciative, not the least distinguished, and, it may fain be hoped, not the least coveted, is the Gold Medal of the Royal Asiatic Society this day received at the hands of Lord Reay.

Professor Cowell: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank you most heartily for the great honour which you have conferred upon me, and I value it all the more since I may recognize in it a sign that I have not failed in my life's old dream of spending my days in teaching. When I was young some dear friends of mine used to urge me to think of taking Holy Orders; but I always told them that my hope (unlikely as it then seemed to be realized) was to be a professor in some college far away in India. At that time, nearly sixty years ago, India was far less known than it is now; it was immensely further off materially as well as mentally. Edward FitzGerald once said to his old friend Major Moor, of the Bombay Presidency (who lived near him at Bealings), that the very word *India* gave him the feeling of something dark and mysterious. The old Major, who knew no Sanskrit or Comparative Philology, but who at any rate knew Hindustani, replied that it might well be so, for '*dark*' was the meaning of the word *Hindū*. I early

fell under the spell of that word. It was in 1841 that Sir William Jones first awoke in my mind an interest in India and the East. I owe the bent of my life to his "Poeseos Asiaticae Commentarii," a Latin treatise on Arabic and Persian poetry, in imitation of Bishop Lowth's book on Hebrew poetry. There was a copy of Jones' works in the Public Library at Ipswich; and during the summer of 1841 I used to read in the early mornings the "Commentarii," which fills the sixth volume, and the translation of Çakuntalā or the Fatal Ring in the ninth volume, while my days were given to Latin and Greek at the Grammar School. I well remember the joy of finding a Persian grammar among his works, and I soon learned the character, and, with the aid of the glossary at the end, began to study the anthology of beautiful extracts by which he illustrates his rules. It was with Jones' grammar that some thirteen years afterwards, at Oxford, I gave FitzGerald his first lesson in the Persian alphabet. In 1841, in the October number of the *Edinburgh Review*, Macaulay published his brilliant essay on Warren Hastings. I read it with great interest; but what I best remember in connection with that number is, that in the list of new publications at the end there was advertised the first edition of Professor H. H. Wilson's Sanskrit Grammar. I saved up my Christmas-boxes and purchased a copy for my own. Of course I found Sanskrit far too hard, and so the book had to lie on my shelves as a hope and incitement for the future; but I returned meanwhile to my Persian and worked on as well as I could by myself at the Shāhnāmah and Hāfiz. Soon after this I was introduced to Colonel Hockley, an old Bombay officer who was settled in Ipswich. He was an enthusiastic student of Persian, and I read with him Jāmī's Yūsaf and Zulaikhā. He was my first teacher in Persian—my guide into the unknown Oriental world.

Now this leads me at once to the main point which I wish to impress on my audience—the power which our enthusiasm and sympathy can always exercise on others, wherever we

may be placed. I can give, indeed, an infinitely more important example of this than my personal reminiscence of Colonel Hockley; for it was an Indian civilian who first kindled the flame of Sanskrit scholarship in Germany. An Indian civilian, Alexander Hamilton, happened to be travelling in France in May, 1803, when Napoleon, enraged at the sudden renewal of hostilities, caused every English traveller in France to be arrested at once without any warning. Hamilton remained a prisoner in France till 1808, but his time was not thrown away; he did good service to England and India during his enforced exile. He had studied Sanskrit in India; and while he spent the long years in Paris he formed a friendship with Augustus von Schlegel, and introduced him to the new language and literature. Schlegel caught the enthusiasm, and afterwards edited and translated the Hitopadeça, Bhagavadgītā, and Rāmāyaṇa, and thus began the illustrious series of German Sanskritists, to whom Europe and India owe such a debt of gratitude.

There is nothing more interesting than to trace, where it is possible, these electric currents of influence; but how many such there must be which we can never know! Each of us can exercise this influence around us, to help on that "investigation of arts, sciences, and literature, in relation to Asia," for which our Society was founded. Many of my hearers know 'the great sentence,' as it is called, of the Vedānta philosophy, *tat tvam asi*, "that art thou," which is to tell the neophyte that he himself is the Brahma whom he seeks to know—that he himself is a part of the All. We may shrink from accepting this dictum in its highest meaning; but I think we may all cordially accept its teaching in our own practical life. To speak for a moment in the technical language of Hindu philosophy, we may reject it as a *pāramārthika* truth, τὸ ὄντως ὄν; but we may embrace it as a guiding voice in the *vyāvahārika* 'world,' Plato's τὰ φαινόμενα—the practical world of the ἀγορά and the ἐκκλησία. *Tat tvam asi*, "that art thou," may well ring in our ears when we would join any great

movement, whether it be in the sphere of religion, philanthropy, politics, science, or literature. Each of us can feel that he is himself a part of the movement; he has a share in its work—a personal stake in its success. All the members of the Royal Asiatic Society are fellow-workers in a noble cause. "Lux ex oriente" is their motto; to help in the diffusion of that light is their work. The several generations of members pass away, but they are all continuously linked together by their common aim; and the former and the present members are all parts of one long series,

"Et quasi cursores vitaï lampada tradunt."

June 10.—Sir Raymond West (Vice-President) in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Sir Donald C. Macnabb, K.C.S.I.,
Mr. R. H. Wilson,
Mr. J. B. Andrews, and
Mr. R. L. Tottenham

had been elected members of the Society.

Mr. E. L. Brandreth read a paper on "Landscape in Indian Poetry." A discussion followed, in which Dr. Furnivall, Miss Ridding, Mr. A. Rogers, Mr. Lewin Bowring, Mr. Virchand Gandhi, and Sir Raymond West took part.

II. Contents of Foreign Oriental Journals.

I. Vienna Oriental Journal. Vol. xii, No. 1.

Steinschneider (M.). Heilmittelnamen der Araber.

Thomas (F. W.). Subandhu and Bāṇa.

Bang (W.). Zur Erklärung der köktürkischen Inschriften.

Müller (Fr.). Die Einleitung zum Ganjeshāyagān aus dem Pahlawī ins deutsche übersetzt.

Meissner (B.). Babylonische Leichenfeierlichkeiten.

Stein (M. A.). Kampana in the Rājataraṅgiṇī.

II. Journal Asiatique. Série 9, Tome xi, No. 1.

Rouvier (J.). Les ères de Tripolis de Phénicie.

Salih Zéky Effendi. Notation algébrique chez les Orientaux.

Devéria (G.). Stèle Si-Hia de Leang Tcheou.

Chabot (J. B.). Une lettre de Bar-Hébréus au catholicos Denha 1er.

De Vogüé (M. le Marquis). Notes d'épigraphie araméenne.

III. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Band lii, Heft 1.

Jacobi (H.). Über das Verhältniss der buddhistischen Philosophie zum Sankhya-Yoga und die Bedeutung der Nidānas.

Nöldeke (Th.). Zur tendenziosen Gestaltung der Urgeschichte des Islams.

Barth (J.). Zur Kritik und Erklärung des Diwans Hatim Tejjs.

De Goeje (J.). Paltiel-Djauhar.

Böhtlingk (O.). Kritische Bemerkungen zu Hiraṇyakeśins Gṛhyasūtra.

Böhtlingk (O.). Über Brahmāvarta.

Nöldeke (Th.). Zur syrischen Lexikographie.

Pischel (R.). Rāvaṇavahe, 7, 62.

Mann (O.). Quellenstudien zur Geschichte des Ahmed Śâh Durrânî (1747–1773).

Huart (Cl.). Zu Vollers Beiträge zur Kenntniss der arabischen Sprache in Ägypten.

Foy (W.). Beiträge zur Erklärung der susischen Achaemenideninschriften.

Schwally (Fr.). Lexikalische Studien.

Hardy (E.). Der Gṛhya-Ritus Pratyavarohaṇa im Pāli-Kanon.

Radloff (W.). Zum Kudatku Bilik.

Fraenkel (S.). Bemerkungen zu der syrischen Chronik des Jahres 846.

IV. Abhandlungen der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1897.

Erman (A.). Bruchstücke koptischer Volkslitteratur.

III. Obituary Notices.

Georg Bühler, 1837–98.

It is not often that the death of a scholar startles and grieves his fellow-workers as the death of my old friend, Dr. Bühler, has startled and grieved us all, whether in Germany, England, France, or India. Sanskrit scholarship has indeed been unfortunate: it has often lost young and most promising scholars in the very midst of their career; and though Dr. Bühler was sixty-one years of age when he died, he was still so young and vigorous in body and mind that he made us forget his age, holding his place valiantly among the πρόμαχοι of the small army of genuine Indian students, and confidently looking forward to many victories and conquests that were still in store for him. By many of us he was considered almost indispensable for the successful progress of Sanskrit scholarship—but who is indispensable in this world?—and great hopes were centred on him as likely to spread new light on some of the darkest corners in the history of Sanskrit literature.

On the 8th of April last, while enjoying alone in a small boat a beautiful evening on the Lake of Constance, he seems to have lost an oar, and in trying to recover it, to have overbalanced himself. As we think of the cold waves closing over our dear friend, we feel stunned and speechless before so great and cruel a calamity. It seems to disturb the regular and harmonious working of the world in which we live, and which each man arranges for himself and interprets in his own way. It makes us feel the littleness and uncertainty of all our earthly plans, however important and safe they may seem in our own eyes. He who for so many years was the very life of Sanskrit scholarship, who helped us, guided us, corrected us in our different researches, is gone; and yet we must go on as well as we can, and try to honour his memory in the best way in which it may be honoured—not by idle tears, but by honest work.

Non hoc praecipuum amicorum munus est, prosequi defunctum ignavo questu, sed quae voluerit meminisse, quae mandaverit exsequi.

A scholar's life is best written in his own books; and though I have promised to write a biographical notice for the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, in which he took so warm and active an interest, I have to confess that of the personal circumstances of my old friend, Dr. Bühler, I have but little to say. What I know of him are his books and pamphlets as they came out in rapid succession, and were always sent to me by their author. Our long and never interrupted friendship was chiefly literary, and for many years had to be carried on by correspondence only. He was a man who, when once one knew him, was always the same. He had his heart in the right place, and there was no mistaking his words. He never spoke differently to different people, for, like a brave and honest man, he had the courage of his opinions. He thought what he said, he never thought what he ought to say. He belonged to no *clique*, he did not even try to found what is called a school. He had many pupils, followers, and admirers, but they knew but too well that though he praised them and helped them on whenever he could, he detested nothing more than to be praised by his pupils in return. It was another charming feature of his character that he never forgot any kindness, however small, which one had rendered him. He was kṛitag*ña* in the real sense of the word. I had been able, at the very beginning of his career, to render him a small service by obtaining for him an appointment in India. He never forgot it, and whenever there was an opportunity he proved his sincere attachment to me by ever so many small, but not therefore less valuable, acts of kindness. We always exchanged our books and our views on every subject that occupied our interest in Sanskrit scholarship, and though we sometimes differed, we always kept in touch. We agreed thoroughly on one point—that it did not matter *who* was right, but only

what was right. Most of the work that had to be done by Sanskrit scholars in the past, and will have to be done for some time to come, is necessarily pioneer work, and pioneers must hold together even though they are separated at times while reconnoitring in different directions. Bühler could hold his own with great pertinacity; but he never forgot that in the progress of knowledge the left foot is as essential as the right. No one, however, was more willing to confess a mistake than he was when he saw that he had been in the wrong. He was, in fact, one of the few scholars with whom it was a real pleasure to differ, because he was always straightforward, and because there was nothing mean or selfish in him, whether he defended the Pûrva-paksha, the Uttara-paksha, or the Siddhânta.

Of the circumstances of his life, all I know is that he was the son of a clergyman, that he was born at Borstel, 19th July, 1837, near Nienburg, in the then kingdom of Hanover, that he frequented the public school at Hanover, and at 1855 went to the University of Göttingen. The professors who chiefly taught and influenced him there were Sauppe, E. Curtius, Ewald, and Benfey. For the last he felt a well-deserved and almost enthusiastic admiration. He was no doubt Benfey's greatest pupil, and we can best understand his own work if we remember in what school he was brought up. After taking his degree in 1858 he went to Paris, London, and Oxford, in order to copy and collate Sanskrit and chiefly Vedic MSS. It was in London and Oxford that our acquaintance, and very soon our friendship, began. I quickly recognized in him the worthy pupil of Benfey. He had learnt how to distinguish between what was truly important in Sanskrit literature and what was not, and from an early time had fixed his attention chiefly on its historical aspects. It was the fashion for a time to imagine that if one had learnt Sanskrit grammar, and was able to construe a few texts that had been published and translated before, one was a Sanskrit scholar. Bühler looked upon this kind of scholarship as good enough for the *vulgus profanum*, but no one was

a real scholar in his eyes who could not stand on his own feet, and fight his own way through new texts and commentaries, who could not publish what had not been published before, who could not translate what had not been translated before. Mistakes were, of course, unavoidable in this kind of pioneering work, or what is called original research, but such mistakes are no disgrace to a scholar, but rather an honour. Where should we be but for the mistakes of Bopp and Burnouf, of Champollion and Talbot?

Though Bühler had learnt from Benfey the importance of Vedic studies as the true foundation of Sanskrit scholarship, and had devoted much time to this branch of learning, he did not publish much of the results of his own Vedic researches. His paper on Parganya, however, published in 1862 in Benfey's "Orient und Occident," vol. i, p. 214, showed that he could not only decipher the old Vedic texts, but that he had thoroughly mastered the principles of Comparative Mythology, a new science which owed its very existence to the discovery of the Vedic Hymns, and was not very popular at the time with those who disliked the trouble of studying a new language. He wished to prove what Grimm had suspected, that Parganya, Lit. Perkunas, Celt. Perkons, Slav. Perun, was one of the deities worshipped by the ancestors of the whole Aryan race, and in spite of the usual frays and bickerings, the main point of his argument has never been shaken. I saw much of him at that time, we often worked together, and the Index to my "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature" was chiefly his work. The most important lesson which he had learnt from Benfey showed itself in the quickness with which he always seized on whatever was really important in the history of the literature of India. He did not write simply in order to show what he could do, but always in order to forward our knowledge of ancient India. This explains why, like Benfey's books, Bühler's own publications, even his smallest essays, are as useful to-day as they were when first published. Benfey's edition of the Indian fables of the Pankatantra

produced a real revolution at the time of its publication. It opened our eyes to a fact hardly suspected before, how important a part in Sanskrit literature had been acted by Buddhist writers. We learnt in fact that the distinction between the works of Brahmanic and Buddhist authors had been far too sharply drawn, and that in their literary pursuits their relation had been for a long time that of friendly rivalry rather than of hostile opposition. Benfey showed that these Sanskrit fables of India had come to us through Buddhist hands, and had travelled from India step by step, station by station, through Pehlevi, Persian, Arabic, Hebrew, Latin, and the modern languages of Europe, till they supplied even Lafontaine with some of his most charming Fabliaux. Benfey was in many respects the true successor of Lassen in calling the attention of Sanskrit scholars to what are called in German the *Realia* of Sanskrit scholarship. He was bold enough to publish the text and translation of the Sâmaveda, and the glossary appended to this edition marked the first determined advance into the dark regions of Vedic thought. Though some of his interpretations may now be antiquated he did as much as was possible at the time, and nothing is more painful than to see scholars of a later generation speak slightingly of a man who was a giant before they were born. Benfey's various Sanskrit grammars, founded as they are on the great classical grammar of Pâṇini, hold their own to the present day, and are indispensable to every careful student of Pâṇini, while his "History of Sanskrit Philology" is a real masterpiece, and remains still the only work in which that important chapter of modern scholarship can be safely studied.

Bühler was imbued with the same spirit that had guided Benfey, and every one of his early contributions to Benfey's "Orient und Occident" touched upon some really important question, even though he may not always have settled it. In his article on *Θεός*, for instance ("O. u. O.," vol. i, p. 508), which was evidently written under the influence of Curtius' recent warning that *θεός* could not be equated with *deus* and Skt. *deva* without admitting a phonetic anomaly, he

suggested that θεός as well as the Old Norse *diar*, 'gods,' might be derived from a root *dhî*, 'to think, to be wise.' Often as we discussed that etymology together—and it was more than a mere etymology, because on it depended the question whether the oldest Aryan name of the gods in general was derived from the bright powers of nature or from the more abstract idea of divine wisdom—he could never persuade me that these two branches of the Aryan race, the Greek and the Scandinavian, should have derived the general name for their gods from a root different from that which the other branches had used, viz., *div*, 'to be brilliant,' and from which they had formed the most important cluster of mythological names, such as Zeus, Jovis, Diespiter, Dia, Diana, etc. I preferred to admit a phonetic rather than a mythological anomaly. If I could not persuade him he could not persuade me, *et adhuc sub judice lis est!*

Several more etymologies from his pen followed in the same journal, all connected with some points of general interest, all ingenious, even if not always convincing. In all these discussions he showed himself free from all prejudices, and much as he admired his teacher, Professor Benfey, he freely expressed his divergence from him when necessary, though always in that respectful tone which a Sishya would have observed in ancient India when differing from his Gúru.

While he was in Oxford, he frequently expressed to me his great wish to get an appointment in India. I wrote at his desire to the late Mr. Howard, who was then Director of Public Instruction in Bombay, and to my great joy got the promise of an appointment for Bühler. But, unfortunately, when he arrived at Bombay, there was no vacancy, Mr. Howard was absent, and for a time Bühler's position was extremely painful. But he was not to be disheartened. He soon made the acquaintance of another friend of mine at Bombay, Sir Alexander Grant, and obtained through him the very position for which he had been longing. In 1865 he began his lectures at the Elphinstone College, and proved

himself most successful as a lecturer and a teacher. His power of work was great, even in the enervating climate of India, and there always is work to do in India for people who are willing to do work. He soon made the acquaintance of influential men, and he was chosen by Mr. (now Sir) Raymond West to co-operate with him in producing their famous "Digest of Hindu Law." He supplied the Sanskrit, Sir Raymond West the legal materials, and the work, first published in 1867, is still considered the highest authority on the subjects of the Hindu Laws of Inheritance and Partition. But Bühler's interest went deeper. He agreed with me that the metrical Law-books of Ancient India were preceded by legal Sûtras belonging to what I called the Sûtra period. These Sûtras may really be ascribed to the end of the Vedic period, and in their earliest form may have been anterior to the Indo-Scythian conquest of the country, though the fixing of real dates at that period is well-nigh an impossibility. When at a much later time I conferred with him on the plan of publishing a series of translations of the Sacred Books of the East, he was ready and prepared to undertake the translation of these Sûtras, so far as they had been preserved in MSS. Some of these MSS., the importance of which I had pointed out as early as 1859 in my "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature," I handed over to him; others he had collected himself while in India. The two volumes in which his translation of the legal Sûtras of Âpastamba, Gautama, Vasish*th*a, and Baudhâyana are contained, have been amongst the most popular of the series, and I hope I shall be able to publish a new edition of them with notes prepared by him for that purpose. In 1886 followed his translation of the Laws of Manu, which, if he had followed the example of others, he might well have called his own, but which he gave as founded on that of Sir William Jones, carefully revised and corrected with the help of seven native commentaries. These were substantial works, sufficient to establish the reputation of any scholar, but with him they were by-work only, undertaken in order to oblige a friend and fellow-worker. These

translations kept us in frequent correspondence, in which more than one important question came to be discussed. One of them was the question of what caused the gap between the Vedic period, of which these Sûtras may be considered as the latest outcome, and the period of that ornate metrical literature which, in my Lectures on India delivered at Cambridge in 1884, I had ventured to treat as the period of the Renaissance of Sanskrit literature, subsequent to the invasion and occupation of India by Indo-Scythian or Turanian tribes.

It was necessary to prove this once for all, for there were scholars who went on claiming for the author of the Laws of Manu, nay, for Kâlidâsa and his contemporaries, a date before the beginning of our era. What I wanted to prove was, that nothing of what we actually possessed of that ornate (alaṃkâra) metrical literature, nor anything written in the continuous śloka, could possibly be assigned to a time previous to the Indo-Scythian invasion. The chronological limits which I suggested for this interregnum were from 100 B.C. to 300 A.D. These limits may seem too narrow on either side to some scholars, but I believe I am not overstating my case if I say that at present it is generally admitted that what we call the Laws of Manu are subsequent to the Sâmayâ-ḳârika or Dharma-sûtra, and that Kâlidâsa's poetical activity belongs to the sixth, nay, if Professor Kielhorn is right, even to the end of the fifth century p.Ch., and that all other Sanskrit poems *which we possess* are still later. Bühler's brilliant discovery consisted in proving, not that any of the literary works which we possess could be referred to a pre-Gupta date, but that specimens of ornate poetry occurred again and again in pre-Gupta inscriptions, and, what is even more important, that the peculiar character of those monumental poems presupposed on the part of their poets, provincial or otherwise, an acquaintance, if not with the Alaṃkâra sûtras which we possess, at all events with some of their prominent rules. In this way the absence or non-preservation of all greater literary compositions that could be claimed for the period from 100 B.C. to 300 A.D. became even more

strongly accentuated by Bühler's discoveries. It might be said, of course, that India is a large country, and that literature might have been absent in one part of the Indian Peninsula and yet flourishing in another; just as even in the small peninsula of Greece, literary culture had its heyday at Athens while it was withering away in Lacedaemon. But literature, particularly poetry, can never be quite annihilated. Nor is this the question. The question is, why was it preserved, after the rise of the national Gupta dynasty, in the only ways in which at that time it could be preserved in India, either by memory or by the multiplication of copies, chiefly in Royal Libraries under the patronage of Râjahs, whether of Indian or alien origin —and why is there at present, as far as manuscripts are concerned, an almost complete literary blank from the end of the Vedic literature to the beginning of the fourth century p. Ch. ?

The important fact which is admitted by Bühler, as well as by myself, is this—that whatever literary compositions may have existed before 300 p. Ch., in poetry or even in prose, nothing remains of them at present, and that there must surely be a reason for it. Here it was Bühler who, in the Transactions of the Vienna Academy, 1890, came to my help, drawing our attention to the important fact that among certain recently published ancient inscriptions, eighteen of which are dateable, two only can with any probability be proved to be anterior to what I called the four blank centuries between 100 B.C. to 300 A.D. (See "India," p. 353.) There occur verses which prove quite clearly that the ornate style of Sanskrit poetry was by no means unknown in earlier times. The as yet undeveloped germs of that ornate poetry may even go back much further, and may be traced in portions of the Brâhmaṇas and in some Buddhistic writings; but their full development at the time of these Sanskrit inscriptions was clearly established for the first time by Bühler's valuable remarks. So far we were quite agreed, nor do I know of any arguments that have been advanced against Bühler's historical views.

There may be difference of opinion as to the exact dates of the Sanskrit Girnâr inscription of Rudradâman and the Prâkrit Nasik inscription of Pulumâyi, but they contain sufficient indications that an ornate, though perhaps less elaborate style of poetry, not far removed from the epic style, prevailed in India during the second century p. Ch. All the evidence accessible on that point has been carefully collected by my friend, and reflects the greatest honour on his familiarity with the Sanskrit Alaṁkâra poetry. But the fact remains all the same that nothing was preserved of that poetry before 300 p. Ch.; and that of what we possess of Sanskrit Kâvya literature, nothing can for the present be traced back much beyond 500 p. Ch. We must hope that the time may soon come when the original component parts of the ancient epic poetry, nay, even the philosophical Darsanas, may be traced back with certainty to times before the Indo-Scythian Invasion. It is well known that the Mahâbhârata and the Purâṇas are mentioned by name during the Sûtra period, and we cannot be far wrong in supposing that something like what we possess now of these works may have existed then. Bühler was full of hope that it might be possible to fix some of the dates of these popular works at a much earlier time than is assigned to them by most scholars. I was delighted to see him boldly claim for the Veda also a greater antiquity than I had as yet ventured to suggest for it, and it seemed to me that our two theories could stand so well side by side that it was my hope that I should be able to bring out, with his co-operation, a new and much improved edition of my chapter on the Renaissance of Sanskrit Literature. I doubt whether I shall be able to do this now without his help. The solution of many of the historical and chronological questions also, which remain still unanswered, will no doubt be delayed by the sudden death of the scholar who took them most to heart, but it is not likely to be forgotten again among the problems which our younger Sanskrit scholars have to deal with, if they wish truly to honour the memory and follow in the footsteps of one of the greatest and most useful Sanskrit scholars of our days.

These chronological questions were, of course, intimately connected with the question of the date of the Sanskrit alphabets and the introduction of writing into India, which produced a written in place of the ancient purely mnemonic literature of the country. There, too, we had a common interest, and I gladly handed over to him, for his own purposes, a MS. sent to me from Japan that turned out to be the oldest Sanskrit MS. then known to exist, that of the Pra*g*ñâpâramitâ-h*r*idaya-sûtra. It had been preserved on two palm-leaves in the Monastery of Horiuzi, in Japan, since 609 A.D., and, of course, went back to a much earlier time, as the leaves seem to have travelled from India through China, before they reached Japan. Bühler sent me a long paper of palaeographical remarks on this Horiuzi palm-leaf MS., which form a most valuable Appendix to my edition of it.[1] Thus we remained always united by our work, and I had the great satisfaction of being able to send him the copy of Aśvaghosha's Buddha-*k*arita, which my Japanese pupils had copied for me at Paris, and which, whether Aśvaghosha's date is referred to the first or the fifth century A.D., when it was translated into Chinese, represents as yet the only complete specimen of that ornate scholastic style which, as he had proved from numerous inscriptions, must have existed previous to the Renaissance.[2] Thus our common work went on, if not always on the same plan, at all events on the same ground. We never lost touch with each other, and were never brought nearer together than when for a time we differed on certain moot points.

I have here dwelt on the most important works only which are characteristic of the man, and which will for ever mark the place of Bühler in the history of Sanskrit scholarship. But there are many other important services which he rendered to us while in India. Not only was he always ready to help us in getting MSS. from India,

[1] "Anecdota Oxoniensia," 1884.

[2] The text of the Buddha*k*arita was published by Cowell in the "Anecdota Oxoniensia," the translation in my "Sacred Books of the East."

but our knowledge of a large number of Sanskrit works, as yet unknown, was due to his Reports on expeditions undertaken by him for the Indian Government in search for MSS. This idea of cataloguing the literary treasures of India, first started by Mr. Whitley Stokes, has proved a great success, and no one was more successful in these researches than Bühler. And while he looked out everywhere for important MSS. his eyes were always open for ancient inscriptions also. Many of them he published and translated for the first time, and our oldest inscriptions, those of Asoka, in the third century B.C., owe to him and M. Senart their first scholarlike treatment. This is not meant to detract in any way from the credit due to the first brilliant decipherers of these texts, such as Prinsep, Lassen, Burnouf, and others. Bühler was most anxious to trace the alphabets used in these inscriptions back to a higher antiquity than is generally assigned to them, but for the present, at least, we cannot well go beyond the fact that no dateable inscription has been found in India before the time of Asoka. It is quite true that such an innovation as the introduction of alphabetic writing does not take place on a sudden, and tentative specimens of it from an earlier time may well be discovered yet, if these researches are carried on as he wished them to be carried on, in a truly systematic manner. In this field of research Bühler will be most missed, for though absent from India he had many friends there, particularly in the Government, who would gladly have listened to his suggestions. One may regret his departure from a country where his services were so valuable and so much appreciated. I have not dwelt at all in this place on the valuable services which he rendered as inspector of schools and examiner, but I may state that I received several times the thanks of the Governor of the Bombay Presidency, the late Sir Bartle Frere, for having sent out such excellent scholars as Bühler and others. Unfortunately his health made it imperative for him to return to his own country,

but he was soon so much restored under a German sky that he seemed to begin a new life as Professor at Vienna. If he could not discover new MSS. there, he could digest the materials which he had collected, and he did so with unflagging industry. Nay, in addition to all his own work, he undertook to superintend and edit an Encyclopaedia of Indo-Aryan Philology which was to be a resumé up to date of all that was known of the languages, dialects, grammars, dictionaries, and the ancient alphabets of India; which was to give an account of Indian literature, history, geography, ethnography, jurisprudence; and finally, to present a picture of Indian religion, mythology, philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, and music, so far as they are known at present. No one knows what an amount of clerical work and what a loss of time such a superintendence involves for a scholar who has his hands full of his own work, how much reading of manuscripts, how much letter-writing, how much protracted and often disagreeable discussion it entails. But Bühler, with rare self-denial, did not shrink from this drudgery, and his work will certainly prove extremely useful to all future Indo-Aryan students. One thing only one may regret—that the limits of each contribution are so narrow, and that several of the contributors had no time to give us much more of their own original work. But this is a defect inherent in all encyclopaedias or manuals, unless they are to grow into a forest of volumes like the *Allgemeine Encyclopaedie der Wissenschaften und Künste* by Ersch, begun in 1831 and as yet far from being finished. Under Bühler's guidance we might have expected the completion of his Encyclopaedia within a reasonable time, and I am glad to hear that his arrangements were so far advanced that other hands will now be easily able to finish it, and that it may remain, like Lassen's *Alterthumskunde*, 1847–1861, a lasting monument of the lifelong labours of one of the most learned, the most high-minded and large-hearted among the Oriental scholars whom it has been my good fortune to know in the course of my long life.

F. M. M.

Pandit Sankara Bâlkrishna Dikshit.

For many years past the leading Orientalists of Europe, when in doubt or difficulty in matters connected with the astronomical and chronological systems of the Hindus, have had recourse to Mr. S. B. Dikshit, of the Bombay Educational Department, for information and assistance. His name thus became well-known to all archaeologists, and I rarely opened a volume of the *Indian Antiquary* without finding his name mentioned. So that, although he was not a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, it has seemed to me fitting that his lamented decease should not be left unnoticed in the Journal. Those who have consulted him, and who have benefited by his large knowledge and careful methods of work, can alone say what was the extent of his labour in this field of science, or how generous and how disinterested was the help he rendered. For myself, I regret to say that I never made his personal acquaintance, belonging as I did to another Presidency, and that I only worked with him for a few years before his death, so that I am not competent to say all that could be said regarding him, but I am so deeply sensible of the kindness and willingness with which he helped me in the preparation of the *Indian Calendar* that I feel it my duty to attempt to do honour to his memory now that he has left us. For a year or more previous to the time when we agreed to bring out that work as joint-authors Mr. S. B. Dikshit was working for me as laboriously at the lists of mean intercalations of months, and the moments of commencement of the solar year according to the systems of the *Ârya* and *Sûrya Siddhântas*, as he afterwards did in the attempt to prepare a complete and lucid account of the general principles of Hindu chronology. And this work was undertaken solely in order that he might give the best of his experience and his time in aid of what he believed would be a useful book; with no view of remuneration or of any self-advancement. He never even thought at that period that he would participate in the authorship of the volume. I am entitled therefore

to express my conviction that in all the deceased Pandit's labours he was guided by the highest principles known to the world of science, as he was in all his relations to his fellow-workers by the attractive kindliness of his nature. His loss will be widely deplored by many friends amongst Orientalists throughout the world, no less than by his own countrymen.

R. SEWELL.

IV. NOTES AND NEWS.

GOLD MEDAL.—The list of subscribers to the above now stands as follows :—

	£	s.	d.
Acknowledged above, p. 457 ...	99	18	6
Professor Bendall	1	1	0
Sir M. Monier-Williams	2	0	0
Mrs. Plimmer	5	0	0
Mr. C. H. Tawney (second donation)	1	1	0
Mr. E. H. Whinfield	2	2	0
Mr. A. N. Wollaston (second donation)... ...	1	1	0
	£112	3	6

Royal Asiatic Society.

New Rule as to Membership.

At the Annual Meeting of the Society held in May last, the Council were authorized, for one year only, to elect new members, resident within 50 miles of London, at a subscription of £1 10*s.* *per annum* (instead of £3 3*s.* payable under the previous rules). Such members are to be called Library members, and to be entitled to borrow books from the Library, attend meetings, and exercise all the privileges of ordinary membership, except the receipt of the quarterly Journal.

Persons resident more than 50 miles from London can already join the Society at the rate of £1 10*s.* *per annum*. It is believed that there must be many resident in town, or within 50 miles of town, who, while not anxious to read the articles in our Journal, will be glad to become members of the Society, and to support its work. The new rule is designed to meet this want. Persons wishing to avail themselves of it must be proposed within the year.

V. Additions to the Library.

Presented by the India Office.

Inscriptions copied from the Stones collected by King Bodawpaya and placed near the Arakan Pagoda, Mandalay. Two vols. Fol. *Rangoon*, 1897.

Burgess (J.) and Cousens (H.). Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency and the Native States of Baroda. 4to. *Bombay*, 1897.

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Rea (A.). Monumental Remains of the Dutch East India Company in the Presidency of Madras. 4to. *Madras*, 1897.

Nathan (R.). The Plague in India, 1896, 1897. Four vols. 8vo. *Simla*, 1898.

Presented by the Author.

Heron-Allen (E.). Some Side-lights upon Edward FitzGerald's Poem, the Ruba'iyat of Omar Khayyām. 8vo. *London*, 1898.

Pognon (H.). Inscriptions Mandaïtes des Coupes de Khouabir, texte, traduction, et commentaire philologique, avec quatre appendices et un glossaire. Pt. 1. 8vo. *Paris*, 1898.

Cust (Dr. R. N.). Linguistic and Oriental Essays. Fifth Series. Two vols. 8vo. *Hertford*, 1898.

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Naidu (C. Tirumalayya). Gana Vidya Sanjivini. A treatise on Hindu Music. 8vo. *Madras*, 1896.

Presented by C. D. Cobham, Esq.

Some Specimens of the Handwriting of Mirza 'Ali Muhammad the Bāb.

Presented by Sir M. Monier-Williams.

Record of the Establishment of the Indian Institute in the University of Oxford. 8vo. *Oxford*, 1897.

Presented by the Delegates of the Clarendon Press.

The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect, otherwise called Memphitic and Behairic. Two vols. 8vo. *Oxford*, 1898.

Presented by the French Ministry of Public Instruction.

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——— Pte. 3. Gayet (Al). L'exploration des ruines d'Antinoë et la découverte d'un temple de Ramses II enclos dans l'enceinte de la ville d'Hadrien. 4to. *Paris*, 1897.

Milloué (L. de). Petit Guide illustré au Musée Guimet. 8vo. *Paris*, 1894.

Revue de l'histoire des religions. Tome xxxvi, Nos. 1, 2.

Presented by Lord Reay.

Vogel (J. P.). Het Leemen Wagentje Indisch Tooneelspel uit Sanskṛt en Prākṛt en ret Nederlandsch vertaald. 4to. *Amsterdam*, 1897.

Presented by the Publishers.

Weber (A.). Indische Studien. Vol. xviii. 8vo. *Leipzig*, 1898.

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Peters (Dr. J. P.). Nippur, or Explorations and Adventures on the Euphrates. Two vols. 8vo. *New York* and *London*, 1898.

Dahlmann (J.). Buddha. 8vo. *Berlin*, 1898.

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Smirnow (W. D.). Manuscrits Turcs de l'Institut des langues orientales. 8vo. *St. Petersburg*, 1897.

JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. XXVI.—*Tārīkhs or Eastern Chronograms.* By C. J. RODGERS, M.R.A.S.

IT is well known that every letter in the Persian alphabet has a numerical value. These values are perfectly conventional. They are as follows:—

ا = 1	ی = 10	ق = 100
ب or پ = 2	ک or گ = 20	ر or ڑ = 200
ج or چ = 3	ل = 30	ش = 300
د or ڈ = 4	م = 40	ت or ٹ = 400
ه = 5	ن = 50	ث = 500
و = 6	س = 60	خ = 600
ز or ژ = 7	ع = 70	ذ = 700
ح = 8	ف = 80	ض = 800
ط = 9	ص = 90	ظ = 900
		غ = 1000

The values are remembered by a series of words made up of all the letters following one another in the order of their numerical values.

No event takes place but its chronogram is made out. A sentence, or line of poetry, describing the event is concocted, so that if the numerical values of the letters in that sentence, or line of poetry, be added together they will give the date of the event. Such a sentence is called a *tārīkh*. Sometimes the calculation of these tārīkhs is plain sailing enough, but at others it is very difficult, as the process is involved. We have to regard several sentences and words and expressions which have a poetical meaning given to them. Sometimes letters of certain words indicated have to be added, sometimes subtracted, sometimes multiplied. Eastern ingenuity is wonderful, and in nothing more so than in the manufacture of these chronograms. The births of great men, and their deaths, the accessions of kings, the completion of a mosque, or a city, the printing of a book, the founding of a city or its destruction or capture, everything has its chronogram. No wonder, then, that there are several collections of tārīkhs exposed for sale in all the vernacular bookshops of Northern India. By far the best is one by Thomas William Beale, entitled مفتاح التواريخ, *Miftāḥ ut Tawārīkh*, "The Key to Chronograms," not as in Elliot, vol. viii, "The Key of History," p. 441. It is a marvellous book. The text is all in Persian, and hence it is only readable by those acquainted with that language. It gives many hundreds of chronograms, and along with them explanations in Persian describing persons and events. And besides this it gives couplets on coins, and a variety of other information, biographical, historical, and geographical. It is a book that ought to be in every Oriental scholar's library. There is a lithographed edition by Munshi Nawal Kishore, printed in 1868 A.D.

Besides this, Maulvī Ghulām Sarwar, of Lahore, wrote a book containing nothing else but tārīkhs, all of his own invention. In 256 pages he gives over a thousand. They are not of much value, inasmuch as few of the sentences describe events, and hence help memory little. In collections of poetry tārīkhs find a place. As all, however, are

in Persian, few Englishmen read anything about them, and fewer still take the trouble to verify them by working them out.

In English literature of the present day we have nothing which can compare with these Eastern tārīkhs. In *Spectator* No. 60, Addison says: "There is another near relation of the anagrams and acrostics, which is commonly called a chronogram. This kind of wit appears very often on many modern medals, especially those of Germany, where they represent in the inscription the year in which they were coined. Thus we see on a medal of Gustavus Adolphus the following words: ChrIstVs DVX ergo trIVMphVs. If you take the pains to pick the figures out of the several words, and range them in their proper order, you will find they amount to MDCXVVVII or 1627, the year in which the medal was stamped; for as some of the letters distinguish themselves from the rest, and overtop their fellows, they are to be considered in a double capacity, both as letters and as figures. Your laborious German wits will turn over a whole dictionary for one of these ingenious devices. A man would think they were searching after an apt classical term, but instead of that they are looking out for a word that has an L, an M, or a D in it. When, therefore, we meet with any of these inscriptions, we are not so much to look in them for the thought as for the year of the Lord."

Fuller, in his "Holy and Profane State," chap. xiv, in speaking of the death of Charles, eldest son of Philip II of Spain, says: "A wit in such difficult toys, accommodated the numerical letters in Ovid's verse to the year wherein the prince suffered—

1568

FILIVs ante DIeM patrIos InqVIrIt In annos.

1568

Before the tIMe the oVerhasty son
Seeks forth hoVV near the father's LIfe Is Done."

The English language lends itself to the manufacture of chronograms just as easily as does Latin, for it has the same letters bearing numerical values: M, D, C, L, X, V, and I. Here are some examples:—

"The Very noteD MoguL Akbar began to reIgn."

Here M, D, L, V, I give 1556 A.D., the requisite date.

"AnD he DIeD after a reIgn of nearLy fIfty ILahI years,"

where D, D, D, L, L, I, I, I, I make 1605, the date of his death. Similarly,

"RezIa fIrst QVeen of InD VVas foVLLy kILLeD by her oVVn sVbjects,"

yields DDLLLLVVVVVVVIIII = 1239 A.D.

In the East tārīkhs are a system of mnemonics. The sentences describe an event: the numerical values of the letters composing it give the date. It is this which gives them an educational value. We will begin with a well-known one—

همایون بادشاه از بام افتاد.

Here the letters give 962 H. This is a year too little. The sentence means "Humayoon the king fell from the roof." I propose reading it همایون پاشه از بام اوفتاد, which gives 963 H. In English I have rendered it "HUMayoon sLIpt Down," where M, D, L, U or V, and I give 1556 A.D., which corresponds with 963 H. Beale, in his "Key to Chronograms," arranges them chronologically. I propose looking at them in another way. In the first place, it is my intention to select only a few of the most famous, and to arrange them more according to the subjects described, or according to the different methods employed. As we have given one relating to a king's death, I may as well give some others on the same subject. I may say that I have verified each one, and find that the numerical values of the letters do actually give the correct dates.

وفاتِ فیروز = 790 H. "The death of Fīroz" Tughlaq.

فوت اکبر شه = 1014 H. "The death of King Akbar."

جهانگیر از جهان رفت = 1036 H. "Jahāngīr departed from the world." (This gives one year too little.)

عالم گیر از جهان رفت = 1118 H. "'Ālamgīr departed from the world." (Correct.)

های بابر وفات کرده = 937 H. "Alas! Bābar has died." (Correct.)

های رفت از جهان محمدشاه = 1161 H. "Alas! Muḥammad Shāh has left the world."

همایون کجارفت و اقبال او = 963 H. "Where has Humāyūn gone and his glory?"

فردوس دائم جاے بابر بادشاه = 937 H. "Paradise is the everlasting home of Bābar." (This is on Bābar's tomb in Kābul.)

بهشت روزی باد = 937 H. "Paradise be (his) portion." (The death of Bābar.)

بادشاه کامران بکعبه مرد = 963 H. "King Kāmrān died at the Kāba," i.e. in Mekka.

سلطان البر شهید البحر = 943 H. "Sulṭān of Earth, martyr of the sea." (Death of Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt, who was killed in a sea skirmish.)

زاتش مرد = 952 H. "Died from fire." (Death of Sher Shāh. He was killed by the explosion of a shell.)

ابراهیم لودی شهید شد = 932 H. "Ibrahīm Lodī was martyred." (He was killed in the battle of Pānīpat in 932 H.)

موت سلطان موید بابر = 861 H. "The death of the victorious Sulṭān Bābar." (This Bābar was governor of Khurāsān only, in spite of his titles.)

فوت ایلدرم بایزید = 805 H. "Death of Eldaram Bāyazīd." (This is the Bāyazīd who was conquered by Taimūr.)

مقتل سلطان ابوسعید = 873 H. "The murder of Sulṭān Abū S'aīd."

فتاد در ره غزنی بمنزل دمیک = 606 H. "He fell in the way to Ghaznih, at the stage of Damek," i.e. Muḥammad Ghaur.

وفات شاهزاده پرویز = 1035 H. "Death of the Prince Parvez," son of Jahāngīr.

These tārīkhs are all easily managed. Here are some which give the dates of the deaths of individuals :—

شهید شد محمد بیزام = 968 H. "Muḥammad Bairām was martyred," Akbar's tutor.

صایب وفات یافت = 1081 H. "Sāib died." (He was a poet.)

راسخ بمرد = 1107 H. "Rāsikh died." (A poet.)

شهرت مرد = 1149 H. "Shuhrat died." (A poet.)

های نواب قمرالدین خان = 1161 H. "Alas! Qamar ud Dīn Khān," prime minister of Muḥammad Shāh of Dehlī.

جائے ممتاز محل جنت باد = 1040 H. "May the abode of Mumtāz Maḥall be Paradise!" (The death of the wife of Shāh Jahān, who is buried in the Tāj Maḥall at Āgra.)

جوان مسیح قریب مسیح یافت محل = 1177 H. "The young Christian found near Christ his palace or royal abode."

شاهباز جنان = 420 H. "The royal falcon of demons." (Death of Maḥmūd of Ghaznih. This is very indefinite, death not being mentioned. It is not very complimentary.)

All these tārīkhs connected with the dates of deaths are plain sailing. As sooner or later we shall have to examine more complicated tārīkhs, we may as well commence with the same subject and those treating of it. Some are very

intricate; we will, however, commence with the easier ones. Here is one on the death of Bābar:—

بادشاه دهر بابر با کمال عدل بود
واقف احسان عالم مصدر لطف اله
سال جان او گزیدن جایبفردوس بگو
جاے فردوس ابدبگزیده بابر بادشاه

The letters of each line of this quatrain give 937 H., the date of Bābar's death. The dotted letters of the first line and the undotted ones of the second give the same date. The undotted letters of the first line and the dotted ones of the second also give the same. In like manner the dotted letters of the third line and the undotted ones of the fourth, or the undotted letters of the third line and the dotted ones of the fourth, also give the same date, so that the date 937 H. is given no less than eight times. I have verified this. Beale misquotes the third and fourth lines; and in vol. viii of Elliot, p. 443, there are mistakes in the first, third, and fourth lines. The above version, which I obtained by collating a variety of copies, I have proved to be absolutely correct. It is certainly a wonderful production, but it is not by any means alone. Its fault is its flattery.

سال وفات سال وفات های های = 1188 H. "Year of death, year of death, alas, alas!" (Death of Ahmad Shāh of Dehlī; in prison, twenty years after his dethronement.)

فی النار و السقر مع الجد و الپدر = 1160 H. "In hell and hell-fire, with granddad and sire." (Date of the death of Nādir Shāh. This is strong language!)

قهر خدا سیف اهل جلال = 1160 H. "The sword of the glorious ones, the anger of God." (Also gives the death of Nādir. It is very poor.)

دوازده امام. Here this means the twelve Imāms. امام is equal to 82. This multiplied by 12 = 984 H. This is the date of the death of Ṭahmāsp Shāh of Persia.

در وفاتش بے سروبے پا شدند فیض وفضل ونعمت وعدل وکرم

By his death the following were deprived of head and feet, کرم, عدل, نعمت, فضل, فیض, that is, were deprived of their first and last letters, and the letters that are left after this operation, i.e. ر, د, عم, ض, ی, give 1124 H., the death of Bahādur Shāh. The couplet means that by his death Bounty, Grace, Generosity, Justice, and Nobility ceased to exist.

گفت بے باک هاتفی ناگاه شدبرون از جهان بهادرشاه

The meaning is: "Without fear Hātif at once said Bahādur Shāh has gone out of the world." The second line gives 1147 H. But it is said 'without fear' or باک. So we must subtract the value of that word—23—from 1147, and we get 1124 H., as above.

Similar to this is a tārīkh on the death of Nawāb Asadud Daulat.

از وفاتش بے سرو پا کشته اند نظم ونسق وهیبت وهمت وکرم

"By his death were slain without head and feet, Order, Method, Reverence, Courage, and Nobility." The letters left are ظ س یب م ر, which = 1212 H.

بدبخت سربریده. "The unfortunate with head cut off." Here the word بدبخت means 'unfortunate.' سربریده 'with head cut off' means that بدبخت must lose its first letter ب. بدبخت = 1008 H. Cut off its first letter ب = 2, and we get 1006 H., the date of the death of 'Abd ul Momin Khān, who was murdered.

سرِ باغی برید. "It cut off the head of the rebellious one." باغی means 'rebellious one' or 'rebellious' simply, and is equal to 1013. Cut off its first letter ب = 2, and we have 1011 H., the date of the death of Abulfazl. This must have been written by a friend of Jahāngīr. Abulfazl was the favourite minister of Akbar. He was slain by order of Jahāngīr, and his head was cut off and sent to that prince, who was then in rebellion against his father at Allahābād. *His* head ought to have been cut off, but wasn't!

عقل پای ادب گرفت وبگفت قتل دارا شکوه شد تاریخ

Wisdom, seizing the foot of adab (shame), i.e. ب = 2, said the "murder of Dārā Shikoh" was the tārīkh. قتل دارا شکوه = 1065. The 2 we get from the ب must be added, as it has been seized, and thus we get 1067 H., the date of the murder of Dārā Shikoh by that saintly hypocrite his brother Aurangzeb.

قتل رام راج. This just means the murder of Rām Rāj. But we must allow that the murder was perpetrated by cutting off something. Here it is the last letter ج. The sentence = 975 H. Less ج = 3, we have 972 H., the death of Rām Rāj.

هاتفِ غیب از سرِ حسرت پے تاریخ او گفت پابوس جناب حضرت عیسا نمود.

One said, without the head (or beginning) of envy his tārīkh is "He has kissed the feet of the Lord Jesus," the part overlined. This gives 1776 A.D.; the head or first letter of حسرت (envy), ح = 8, must be added, and we obtain 1784 A.D., the date of the death of a celebrated Armenian Christian, who was famous in his day as a cannon founder and a staunch

Christian. His name was Naẓr Khān. His tomb-stone at Āgra is in Armenian, but this tārīkh is also on it in Persian.

There are many other methods of showing the date of a death. Thus Ḥāfiẓ, the poet, died in 791 H.

سن فوت حافظ چون خواهی طلب کن زساقی و مستی و صهبا و باد

"If you wish to find the year of the death of Ḥāfiẓ seek it from the cupbearer, and intoxication, and wine, and grape-juice," the words being باد, صهبا, مستی, ساقی, which equal 791 H. These words are of frequent occurrence in the odes of Ḥāfiẓ.

We have seen that Nādir Shāh's tārīkh is couched in frightfully severe language. Equally bad is that of the Mahratta Sīvājī. It runs [1] کافری جهنمی رفت = 1099 H. "A kāfir went to hell."

Todar Mall was the finance minister of Akbar. He it was who made the assessment of the Empire. His tārīkh is nearly the same as that of Sīvājī. It is وے رفت درجهنم = 998 H. "He went into hell." This may have been written by some disappointed Muhammadan who thought he ought to have had Todar Mall's office and emoluments. It may be, however, that the whole population took a strong dislike to the Finance Minister. In vol. xi of the "N.W.P. Gazetteer," at p. 532, we are told "A curious story of one Jainda Kiral, who was settlement officer to one of these princes (the Rajas of Sor). Jainda measured the cultivated and culturable land and assessed each according to its value, and recorded the demand against every cultivator in a series of volumes which were placed in the record-room of the Raja. The people therefore

[1] I see Mr. Stanley Lane Poole, in his "Aurangzeb," p. 167, gives this tārīkh as کافرے جهنم رفت, which yields but 1091 H. or 1680 A.D. He is right. The tārīkh given in the text is that of the death of Sambhājī, son of Sīvājī. Beale has misprinted Sīvājī for Sambhājī on p. 282.

disliked him exceedingly, and when once he was sent to a distant part of the country to reduce some refractory villages to submission, his enemies resolved to do something that would vex him terribly. The plan which was adopted was to feign that Jainda had died in battle, and so induce his widow to burn herself as a *satī*. The report was duly made to the wife of Jainda, and was supported by corroborative evidence, and she believed it, and inconsolable for her loss declared her determination to sacrifice herself. In this resolve she was encouraged by all around her, who further suggested that she should ascend the funeral pyre with all the precious records that her husband had collected and so laboriously compiled, and thus perform an act not only meritorious in itself, but one which would be specially pleasing to the spirit of her husband, who would thus in the new world possess all that he held most precious in the world. To this the infatuated woman consented, and thus the settlement records of the Sor Raj fed the funeral pyre of the wife of their author."

The author of the "Tārīkh i Rashīdī" gives the following as the chronogram of the death of Dost Muhammad Khān of Aksu: مرد او خوک = 877 H. "That pig died." His character as depicted in the pages of the history deserved such a chronogram.

Hindāl, the brother of Humāyūn, was slain in a night attack (شبخون) on his camp. The word شبخون = 958 gives the date. But Maulānā Mirza Amānā composed a far more poetical one:—

سروے از بوستان دولت رفت

"A cypress (سروے) went away from the royal garden" (بوستان دولت). The cypress resembles the letter *alif* (ا) = 1. The value of the letters of بوستان دولت is 959. Subtract one, for the departed cypress, and we get 958 H.

Something like this is in the tārīkh of the death of the poet Khusrau.

سال ترجیل او زمن بشنو لفظ فانی برآر از خسرو

"Hear from me the year of his departure: take the word *mortal* from *Khusrau*." 'Mortal,' فانی = 141; 'Khusrau' = 866. Take the former from the latter and we get 725 H., the date of the poet's death. The maker of this tārīkh slyly insinuates that the poet was immortal. He was right. Khusrau is still read and admired by Persian scholars all over India.

The same method applies to the following tārīkh on the completion of a tank in 940 H. by one named Laṭīf:—

از حوض لطیف آب بردار

"Take water" (آب = 3) "from the tank of Laṭīf" (حوض لطیف = 943). This gives us 943 − 3 = 940 H.

The death of George III as given by Beale himself is in this tārīkh:—

جارج ثالث فگند تاج ازسر

"George III threw his crown from his head." Here 'George III,' جارج ثالث = 1238. 'His crown' is the first letter of his name, ج = 3. Take this from 1238 and we get 1235 H., the date of his death.

After this style the author of the "Muntakhab ut Tawārīkh" found the date of the completion of that admirable abridgement of history: انتخاب که ندارد ثانی, i.e. "The abridgement that has no second (or rival in excellence)." But the word انتخاب = 1054, and the *second* letter of the word is ن = 50. Take this away from 1054 and we have 1004 H., the date required.

Writing about books, the "Akhlāq i Muḥsanī," اخلاق محسنی, gets its date from its name = 840 H.

A celebrated faqīr Makhdūm, "Shāh Taqqī," شاه تقی, had the date of his death written by a friend in the same manner.

چون شد شاه تقی موصل حقیقی
زاسمش گشت تاریخ وفاتش

"As Shāh Taqqī was united to the True, from his name شاه تقی (= 816 H.) is obtained the date of his death."

This is equalled by the tārīkh on the death of Maulānā 'Abdullah Hātifī, a relative of the poet Jāmī.

از شاعر شهان و شه شاعران طلب

"Seek it (the date) from the 'Poet of Kings' شاعر شهان and also from 'The King of Poets,'" شه شاعران, both of which give 927 H.

It may be that the poet who, near Ajmīr, presented Jahāngīr with this distich,

حروف جهانگیر و الله اکبر
زروز اول درعدد شد برابر

had this last tārīkh in his mind. He made out, at any rate, that the letters in جهانگیر and in الله اکبر were equal in value (i.e. 289). Of course he insinuated by this that Jahāngīr was equal to God. Jahāngīr was pleased with the discovery, and not displeased at the insinuation. He gave the poet land, horses, gold, and a magnificent robe. (به یابنده آن زین واسپ وزر نقد و خلعت کرامت نمودم. See p. 124 of "Tozūk i Jahāngīrī," 'Aligarh edition.)

We have seen how the tārīkh of the death of George the Third was made. The author of that was Beale himself. He made one similar in style for the coronation of Her Majesty Queen Victoria. I give it in full:—

چون زینت سریرشد از ملکه جهان
مسرور گشت خلق وامیر وگدا و وزیر
تاج شهی چون برسر خود کردان زمان
تاریخ اشکاره شد از زینت سریر

"Since thrones obtained beauty from the Queen of the World,
Happy became the people and the nobles, the beggars and the Ministers;
When she placed the Crown of Kings on the head of herself,
The date became known from *the beauty of the throne.*"

Here the تاج of شهی is the first letter ش = 300. When this is placed on (joined to) the head (سر) of herself (خود), i.e. on خ = 600, we get 900. We have to join this to the numerical value of "the beauty of the throne" (زینت سریر) = 937. This addition produces 1837 A.D. The translation does not make the thing quite as clear as we could wish. The original is very clever and very loyal, and has more truth in it than flattery.

His other tārīkhs on Her Majesty's coronation are worthy of being remembered:—

عقل گفت او باد زیرسایه فضل الله. Part overlined = 1253 H. = 1837 A.D. Wisdom said, "May she be under the shadow of the Grace of God!" a prayer that has certainly been fulfilled.

باسر و پای عقیدت گفت تاریخ جلوس
ملکه بلقیس ثانی مالک بر و بحر

"By the head and foot of faith" (عقیدت, that is, along with ع and ت = 470), "the tārīkh of the accession is given in the second Queen Balqīs (the name of the Queen of Sheba), the Lord of Land and Sea" = 1367. Join the two numbers, and 1837 is the result. The head and foot mean, of course, two things—the whole, and the first and last letters. To compare any queen to Balqīs is a very great honour indeed, but Mr. Beale evidently thinks it not enough to say Queen Victoria is a second Balqīs; he adds, "Lord of Land and Sea." This, again, is clever and true, and free from gross Eastern flattery.

One more tārīkh on a death introduces us to another style of getting at the date. Mirzā Yādgār Muḥammad died in the month of Ṣafar (شهر صفر = 875 H.). The 'month Ṣafar' gives this date :—

شد شهر صفر شهید و هم شهر صفر
از سال شهادتش دهد باز خبر

"He was martyred in Ṣafar month, and also 'Ṣafar month' Gives us the year of his martyrdom as information."

The birth of Bābar is chronicled in much the same way :

چون درشش محرم زاد آن شه مکرم
تاریخ مولدش هم آمد شش محرم

"As that munificent king was born on the sixth of Muḥarram The chronogram of his birth also is 'the sixth of Muḥarram.'"

شش محرم = 888 H., the date of Bābar's birth.

Faiẓī found the date of the death of Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī in دویم از ماه ربیع الثانی = 988 H. "The 2nd of the month of Rabī'a us-sānī." And the death of Ṭahmāsp Shāh of Persia is in the words پانزدهم شهر صفر = 984 H. "The 15th of the month of Ṣafar."

Bābar's birth date is simple. That of Akbar is, as worked out by Faiẓī, "a thing of beauty" to the Eastern mind. شب یکشنبه پنج رجب است = 949 H. "Evening of Sunday the fifth of Rajab." In this is the time of the day, the day of the week, and the day of the month, and these added together give the year of his birth, 949 H.

Of exactly the same type is the chronogram of the battle of Pānīpat. It gives the same particulars: صبح بود وجمعه وهفت رجب = 932. "It was morning and Friday and the 7th of Rajab." This is certainly one day wrong. It ought to be the 8th, but هشتم would give hundreds too much.

We have a capital one of this kind in the tārīkh of the death of Colonel John William Henning, governor of the fort of Āgra when the English took it. (He had struck coins in Āgra, in copper, on which he had placed his initials, J. W. H.) ملهم بگفت تاریخ بستی یکم جولای Part overlined = 1803 A.D. Inspiration said, "The tārīkh is the 1st of July," which sentence furnishes the year 1803 A.D.

One more example of this kind is given by Maulānā Ḥasan for the death date of his Teacher, Maulānā, Hājī Muḥammad Kashmīrī: نوزدهم بودز شهر صفر = 1006 H. "It was the 19th of the month of Ṣafar."

Another kind is still more astonishing. The letters of the words in the year itself give the year. Two men died in سنه هشتاد و نهصد, "Year nine hundred and eighty." If we add up the numerical values of the letters in the above they yield 980 H. Beale gives one man and a poem, and another authority I have gives another man and another poem; but both give the same date in the same way.

The numerical values of the letters in the Christian year in Persian in the following give the corresponding year of the Hajarat:—

حصار آگره انگریز ساعتی که گرفت
دلم زهاتف غیبی بعجز کرد سوال
که چیست سال مسیحی و هم سنه هجرت
بگفت هشتصد و یکهزار و سه از سال

Part overlined = 1218 H.

"At the moment that the English seized the fort of Āgra,
My heart, from the unknown, humbly asked the question,
What is the Christian year and also what the Hajrī year?
The voice said 'Eight hundred and one thousand and three' is the year."

This is certainly very ingenious and must have been the result of careful thought.

I will now look at the tārīkhs of some battles and sieges and conquests. The capture of Chaitaur is thus given: بکشاد بزودی چیتور = 975 H. "Obtained quickly Chaitaur."

Also :—

ندارد کسے یاد فتحے چنین = 975 H. "No one remembers such a victory." (The above spelling confirms my rendering of the name on the dāms of Akbar in the *Indian Antiquary* for July, 1890. It was then questioned, and the correct spelling was said to be Chitōr. This is certainly wrong. The above is on the coins, and is in the تاریخ, which is by Mirzā Asīrī.)

فتح بادشاہ اسلام = 933 H. "The victory of Bābar at Kānweh."

فتح ملک دکن و قلعہ بیجاپور = 1097 H. "Conquest of Dekkan and fort of Bījapūr."

فتح قلعہ گولکندہ مبارک باد = 1089 H. "Congratulations on the taking of the fort of Golkondah."

در ہند امیرشد فرنگی = 1178 H. "The English (Foreigners) became rulers in Hind." (After the battle of Buxar.)

ملک زنواب فرنگی گرفت = 1216 H. "The foreigners took the country from the Nawāb" (Yamīn ud Daulat).

کرد فتح در پنجاب انگریز = 1262 H. "The English obtained victory in the Panjāb."

آہ لاہور بیک حملہ بتسخیر آورد = 1846 A.D. "Alas! Lahore was conquered by one assault."

تاریخ فتح جناب گورنر
کہ زد دشمنان را تبارک پلارک
بگو مژدہ فتح لاہور بادا
مبارک مبارک مبارک مبارک

Part overlined = 1846 A.D.

"The date of the victory of His Highness the Governor,
Who smote the enemies on the helmet with sword of finest steel,
Say: 'May the news of the Victory of Lahore be
Blessed, Blessed, Blessed, Blessed.'"

The last three tārīkhs are the work of Amīr Ḥasan Khān Bahādur.

The conquest of Multān is given in a very happy effort:—

شکستم فرق وپا دیوان ملراج بدل گفتم مبارک فتح ملتان

"I smashed the head and foot of Dīwān Mulrāj: heartily I said,
Fortunate is the conquest of Multān."

The head and foot of Dīwān Mulrāj are the first and last letters of that ruler's name, د and ج, 4 + 3 = 7. Then the letter-value of the overlined part of line two is 1272. Take 7 from this (this number has been smashed or obliterated), and we have 1266 H. = 1849 A.D., the conquest of Multān by the English.

Perhaps the best tārīkh that was ever written was the one presented to Shahjahān on the opening of the new city of Dehlī or Shāhjahānābād, as that city is always called by Muhammadans: شد شاه جهان اباد از شاه جهان اباد = 1058 H. "Shāhjahānābād was peopled by Shāhjahān." It is comforting to know that the author of this trifle, Mīr Yaḥīya Kāshī, was presented with 5,000 rupees for his effort. The Mogul Emperors did encourage literary talent, but the kind of talent they encouraged was not peculiarly useful. In all this manufacture of chronograms there is a certain amount of straining. This is a necessity. There is in some of them flattery expressed or understood. There is, however, a neatness about all of them that commands admiration.

I have still some few small things to bring forward.

Here is one by the author of the "Muntakhab ut Tawārīkh" on his own marriage:—

چون مرا از عنایت ازلی از دواجے بماہ چہرہ شد
عقل تاریخ کد خدائی را گفت ماهی قرین مهرشد

Overlined portion = 975 H.

"Inasmuch as by the gift of the Eternal to me,
With a moon-faced one I was married,
Wisdom the date of my marriage
Gave 'A moon became near the sun.'"

This, at any rate, is neat and quiet. When Shāhzāda Muḥammad Dārā Shikoh was married to Nādira, daughter of Sulṭān Parvez, Mirzā Ṭahmāsp Qulī Turk composed nineteen couplets, each line of which gave the date 1043 H. The first letters of the first lines of these couplets, and the first letters of the second lines of each couplet, form a separate couplet—

رقم دیدم قران مهربا ماه = 1043
بصد تزین بلوح محمل شاه = 1043

—each line of which gives the same date, 1043 H. If we take the dotted letters of this couplet, or of any of the nineteen, or if we take the undotted letters of any couplet, the result is the same—the date 1043. This is a gigantic effort of ingenuity—a prolonged effort. Let us hope the author was properly rewarded. I have not given this poem of nineteen couplets, for obvious reasons. It would take too much time for us Occidentals to work out with every line a date, and with dotted letters of every couplet and undotted letters of every couplet giving the same date. I have not worked it out for myself. It is given in Beale, p. 241, and if anyone likes to go through it critically I leave him to it.

There is another qaṣīda extant on the birth of Jahāngīr and the accession of Akbar. It has in it thirty-one couplets: the first line of each gives the birth of Jahāngīr,

977 H., and the second the accession of Akbar, 963 H. It is given in Beale, pp. 211 and 212. I have not verified it. It is the work of Khwāja Ḥusain Marvī. It was for this he received two lakhs of tankas. Such an extraordinary effort was worth an extraordinary reward.

Sometimes the words or sentences chosen for the tārīkh have nothing whatever to do with the person or the event. Thus, the word شمشیر = "the sword" = 850 H., gives the date of the death of Shāhrukh, the son of Taimūr, but it is not connected in any way with that Sulṭān.

The word نیشتر = "a lancet" = 960 H., the date of the blinding of Kāmrān, just gives the allusion to the instrument used in the act.

The words فتح مکرر = "continued or repeated victory" = 948 H., give the year in which Haidar Doghlatt obtained frequent victories in Kashmīr, but there is nothing in them about either person or place.

We have given one chronogram on the accession of Her Most Gracious Majesty, our Queen; here are some on the accession of others:—

جای پدر گرفتی = 930 H. "He took his father's place." The date of the accession of Ṭahmāsp Shāh of Persia.

وارث ملک جلال الدین باد = 963 H. The accession of Akbar.

نصرت اکبر = 963 H. The accession of Akbar.

جلوس خداوند عالم پناه = 963 H. The accession of Akbar.

بجای اکبر شد بادشاهزاده سلیم = 1014 H. "In the place of Akbar was the Prince Salīm." This is particularly good. Its author was Saiyid Muḥammad Karmānī.

بادشه شد مبارز مهلک = 961 H. "Became king the Destroyer Mubāriz." The accession of Muḥammad 'Adalī (Sūrī), whose *kanīyat* was "*Mubāriz* ud dunya wa ud Dīn."

لقب رفیع الدرجات = 1131 H. "The Title Rafī'a ud Darajāt." The date of this king's accession, reign, and death.

سلطان هندوستان شاه عالم = 1173 H. "The Sulṭān of Hindūstān Shāh 'Ālam." The accession of that emperor.

Here is one very senseless tārīkh, on the accession of Taimūr:—

یابی تو جلوس تیمور سلطان را یکنقطه نهی گر بسر دالِ دُعا

"If thou seekest the (date of the) accession of Sulṭān Taimūr
Place a dot on the dāl (د) of دعا."

That is, make دعا = ذعا; دعا = 75, but ذعا = 771 H., the date of Taimūr's accession. But دعا means 'prayer,' and ذعا is not a word at all, and neither has any connection with Taimūr or his accession. The tārīkh of his death is equally senseless: زرضوان سرو پابیرون کرد. "From Raẓwān the head and feet have been taken away," that is, the first and last letters from the word رضوان. We have then ضوا left, and they equal 807 H., the date of his death, i.e. Taimūr's. Raẓwān is the Porter of Paradise. Another tārīkh for Taimūr's death has his name and Turkish title in it, and no more: تیمور قان = 807 H. This would do, as far as the meaning is concerned, equally well for his accession.

The following tārīkh is interesting to those who are studying the Frontier question: آمد کلیدِ مملکتِ هند قندهار = 1058 H. "Came (into his hands) the key of the country of Hind, Qandahār." This gives the date of the capture of Qandahār by Shāh 'Abbās II of Persia from the Indian emperor Shāh Jahān. It shows that the Persian understood what Qandahār was. (In my collection of Mogul coins, now in the Lahore Museum, I see there is a Qandahār rupee dated 1056 H. It was probably the last rupee of the Mogul emperor struck in that distant fortress.)

I have given above the tārīkh of the blinding of Kāmrān by his brother Humāyūn. Here is one on the blinding of Shāh 'Ālam by that arch-villain Ghulām Qādir.

هاتفی گفت باسر ناله کور کردند شاه عالم را

"A Hātif said with the head (first letter) of weeping (ناله), i.e. with ن = 50, 'They blinded the king Shāh 'Ālam,'"

the second line of which = 1152. Join on the 50 and we have 1202 H., the date of the king's blinding.

The following is on the same, and is a furious one :—

سروپای غـلام قادر را ببر وبر فگن سرِ بازار

"Seize the head and foot of Ghulām Qādir [i.e. the first letter (غ = 1000) and the last letter (ر = 200)], and cast them at the head (i.e. first letter) of the bāzār, ب = 2." Cut off Ghulām Qādir's head and feet and cast them into the street. This is a free translation. By joining the letters indicated we get 1202 H. We sympathize with the author's wrath, and admire his cleverness.

It sometimes happened that more than one worthy died in the same year. The manufacturer of tārīkhs rose to the occasion. Thus, in the reign of Akbar, Mīr Fath Allah Shīrāzī and Abulfath Gīlānī died in 997 H. Here is their tārīkh : هردو باهم رفتند = 997 H. "The two departed together."

Again, in 1163 H. two Shaikhs, Muḥammad Nāsir Faẓlī and Asad Allah Ghālib, died, and their tārīkh is : اه رفتند هردو زین عالم = 1163. "Alas! both departed from this world."

The Emperor 'Ālamgīr II was murdered in 1173 H. Three days after that event, Intiẓām ud Daulat, son of Qamar ud Dīn Wazīr, was also murdered. Here is a tārīkh which gives the fact and also the country of the respective murderers and their religion :—

سنی بلخ وشیعی کشمیر قاتلِ جانِ شاہ و ابنِ وزیر

"The Sunī of Balkh and the Shī'a of Kashmīr were the murderers of the King and of the son of the Wazīr." Only the last line is used for the tārīkh. It equals 1173 H.

Here is a tārīkh which does duty for three deaths, those of Muḥammad Shāh; his Wazīr, Nawāb Qamar ud Dīn; and Niẓām ul Mulk :—

نماند شاہ زمان با وزیر و اصفِ دهر = 1161 H. "Nothing was left of the King of the Time, or of his Wazīr, or of Asaf."

I had noted many other tārīkhs, but I cannot give them all. Here is one, however, with some sense in it:—

مراجعت قندهار نمود = 1174 H. "He returned to Qandahār," i.e. Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī after his defeat of the Marhattas at Pānīpat.

The tārīkh on his battle of Pānīpat is only fair; it is:—

شاه درانی نمود باز فتح = 1174 H. "The Durrānī king obtained another victory."

We have seen several tārīkhs of Jahāngīr. Here is the one which gives the date of the conquest of Kāngṛa Fort, in 1029 H.:—

کشود این قلعه اقبال جهانگیری = 1029 H. "The good fortune of Jahāngīr won this fort."

Here is the one from the mosque he erected in the same fort:—

مسجد شاه جهانگیر بود نورانی = 1031 H. "The mosque of King Jahāngīr was full of light."

The following was inscribed by Jahāngīr on the Chashma i Nūr at Ajmīr:—

محل شاه نورالدین جهانگیر = 1024 H. "The palace of King Nūr ud Dīn Jahāngīr."

A white stone was found in the bed of a river. Jahāngīr ordered it to be cut in the form of an elephant, and the following line to be cut on its breast:—

سنگی سفید فیل جهانگیر بادشاه = 1016 H. "A white stone, the elephant of Jahāngīr King."

When Jahāngīr went to Kābul in 1016 H., he ordered the following to be engraved on the wall near the inscription of Bābar (not the one on the tomb of the first Mogul, but another dated 914 H.):—

بادشاه بلاد هفت اقلیم = 1016 H. "The King of the cities of the seven climes."

Two tārīkhs on the birth of Jahāngīr are specimens of what such things were. They are:—

دُر شهوار لجه اکبر = 977. "The royal pearl of the great deeps of Akbar."

گوهر دُرج اکبر شاهی = 977. "The jewel of the gold gem casket of King Akbar."

Mr. Beale not only collected tārīkhs, he explained them and gave historical notes on them. And besides this he himself wrote many admirable ones himself in Persian. Here is one in Urdū or Hindūstānī; it gives the year of the calamity of the Black Hole. I give the whole of the poetry preceding the actual tārīkh:—

جبکه نواب سراج الدو له دشمنِ انگریز
لے لیا چھین جفاسے کلکته کو بجا ڈمول
خانهٔ تنگ بلاکهول مین یکبار کیا بند
یکصد و چهل وشش انگریزکو جوتهے سبهی انمول
صبح هوی نه رها زنده بجز بست وسه کس وای
گو یا زهر کسی نے آب مین اُنکے دیا گهول
پاے دشمن کتین اور سراعد کتین کاٹ
بهر تاریخ کها مین خانه تنگ بلاکهول

"When the Nawāb Surāj ud Daulat, the enemy of the English,
Took by violence Calcutta, beating the drum,
In the tight room, the Black Hole, he at once fastened
One hundred and forty and six Englishmen, who were all priceless.
In the morning only three and twenty remained, alas!
As though some one had mixed poison with their water.
Cutting off the feet of the enemy and the head of foes
I said the tārīkh is 'The tight room Black Hole.'"

By the 'feet of the enemy' he means the last letter of دشمن, i.e. ن = 50, and by the 'head of foes' the first letter of اعد, i.e. ا = 1. These together equal 51. The words خانہ تنگ بلاکہول, 'the tight room Black Hole,' yield 1220. Take from this 51, the results of all the beheading, and we have left 1169 H. = 1756 A.D. This is exceedingly ingenious. But is it worth while to compose eight lines of poetry just to introduce a puzzle in the last two? Whether it be worth while or not, here it is. To the Eastern these trifles are literary gems which are valued exceedingly, and Eastern books are full of them. Eastern monarchs showed their appreciation of them by lavish gifts to their authors. I do not think Mr. Beale received anything for his efforts. He lived in utilitarian times. But his knowledge of Persian and of history secured for him a subordinate post in the office of the Board of Revenue in the N.W.P., and he assisted Sir Henry Elliot in his History.

There are thousands more of these trifles all over India, on mosques and tombs, in wells and on walls, and in books. The verification of them is an exercise in arithmetic; the solving of the puzzles is an exercise in patience and Persian. But when we have done with them we wish the ingenuity had been bestowed on something more valuable. We cannot, however, rise from the study of these tārīkhs without some admiration for the ingenuity of their authors and for the liberality of sovereigns who recognized literary labours of so low a degree. A knowledge of them is necessary for a full understanding of Persian histories.

ART. XXVII.—*The story of the merchant Ghosaka (Ghosaka-seṭṭhi) in its twofold Pāli form, with reference to other Indian parallels.* By Professor E. HARDY, Ph D.

I. PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

THE Manoratha-Pūraṇī, Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Aṅguttara-Nikāya, embraces a pretty large collection of highly important and interesting legends,[1] which, according to my estimation, amounts to nearly one-third of the whole work. A general idea of it may be gained from two initial words, viz. Etad aggam; for each legend points to some follower of Gotama Buddha, an example, as it were, amongst all of the same kind, whether man or woman, whether member of the Order or still living in the world.

As to the arrangement and succession of the different legends, our source agrees with the Aṅguttara, Eka-Nipāta, xiv, 1–7, whereas the subjects are circumscribed by their common purport. The legends are designed to show where, when, and under what conditions, both remote and proximate, the Teacher came to present such models of perfection to the faithful.

Still, occasionally, we meet with legends in which the narrative itself preponderates so much that we have, and, of course, also the Buddhist readers or hearers of yore had, only the impression of amusing pastime. A story of this sort, which we enjoy rather for its literary than its edifying character, happens to be the so-called legend of the slave Khujjuttarā and the queen Sāmavatī. Here, perhaps, another reason for dressing up a pious story as a novelette may be sought for in the circumstance that

[1] Mrs. Mabel Bode has published some of these in J.R.A.S., 1893, pp. 517 sqq. See also Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, vol. i, pp. 341 sqq.

the Teacher had told it with special regard to the female hearers (sāvikās).[1] At present, however, I have only to point out the great value our legend has for everyone concerned in the comparative history of literature, because there is embodied in it the fable known all over the world of a boy who has been destined to become the heir of a rich man, and who, in spite of many plots against his life, at last reached his destiny. Being a favourite of fortune, every time he is saved by some lucky chance, and when at last he gets all the wealth of his persecutor, he does so by a mere hazard too. A young girl who has fallen in love with him succeeds in exchanging a letter, likely to be fatal to him, with another, by which he becomes her husband and also heir of enormous riches by the help of his wife. This tale, itself forming but an episode of our legend, is connected with another, the principal motive of which is closely related to the ballad of Schiller, "Der Gang nach dem Eisenhammer."

Already in 1869, Professor Albrecht Weber[2] of Berlin pointed out that Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Dhammapada, vv. 21–23, contains a legend of the very same tenor. Unfortunately, however, Mr. James d'Alwis,[3] upon whom Weber relies, has not given a complete translation of this part of the legend alluded to, and in Fausböll's Extracts from the Commentary[4] it is wholly missing. Weber, when, fourteen years later,[5] he

[1] In the canonical books Sāmavatī (or Sāmāvatī) is mentioned only once, viz. Udāna, vii, 10. Khujjuttarā occurs three times, viz., Saṃyutta-Nikāya, Lābhasakkārasaṃy. 24, 3. 4 (P.T.S., 1888, vol. ii, p. 236); Aṅguttara-Nikāya, Dukka-Nipāta, 12, 4 (P.T.S., 1885, vol. i, p. 88); Catukka-Nipāta, 176, 4 (P.T.S., 1888, vol. ii, p. 164). Here it is always the same utterance: "May I be like the upāsikā Khujjuttarā and Veḷukaṇṭakiyā, Nanda's mother!" The Teacher approves this wish, recommending it to every faithful upāsikā, and says that his female hearers (sāvikās) ought to follow the example of the two women named before. Of course, we find both enumerated in the list of heroines in the Aṅguttara-Nikāya, Eka-Nipāta, xiv, 7. There is another list, but without any introductory words, in the Aṅguttara-Nikāya, Aṭṭhaka-Nipāta, not yet edited for the P.T.S., and here, too, the name of Khujjuttarā stands next to that of Sāmāvatī.

[2] Monatsber. d. Berliner Akad., 1869, p. 42 sq.

[3] Introduction to Kaccāyana's Grammar (Colombo, 1863), p. 101.

[4] In his edition of the Dhammapada (Havniae, 1855), pp. 153 sqq.

[5] Sitzungsber. d. Berliner Akad., 1883, p. 567.

laid before the public the Jaina Campakaśreṣṭhikathānakam, could, therefore, still adhere to the opinion that the Buddhist version of our tale was deficient, since it did not mention "dass der unschuldige Träger seines eigenen Todesbefehles statt des Todes ein Mädchen zur Frau gewinnt." Moreover, the two commentaries do not agree in such a manner as would justify the substitution of the one for the other. Thus, even if we were better informed about that story, as it occurs in the Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā, than we actually are, information drawn from some other text of the Pāli-Buddhist literature would have its use, and from their juxtaposition, I believe, we shall be able to arrive at the primitive Buddhist form of our fable.

For the text of the story in the Manoratha-Pūraṇī I used three MSS. in Sinhalese writing, viz., the Turnour MS. of the India Office Library (= T_1), and two more MSS. referred to sub-Nos. 9 and 10 in the Morris Collection (= M_9; M_{10}), now in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society. As regards the text of the Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā on vv. 21–23, as far as it is concerned with the episodes mentioned above, I had at my disposal a MS. from Camboja, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Pāli 109, fol. *ṭī* sqq. = C.), and besides some pieces of the edition of the Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā (pp. 87–95), published in 1891 A.D. at Colombo, for which I am indebted to Mr. Wickremasiṅghe. In one place,[1] where this edition would give a sense quite different from my MS., I consulted also three other MSS., written likewise in Cambojan characters, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, viz., Pāli 104, 105, 108 (= C^1; C^2; C^3), and so I was able to verify the correctness of the MSS. from the circumstance that they agree where the context proves that the reading of the edition is false.

[1] See below on p. 762, n. 8.

II. TEXTS.[1]

Manoratha-Pūraṇī.

1. Tasmiṃ (Udene) rajjaṃ kārayamāne Ghosako devaputto devapurato[2] cavitvā Kosambiyaṃ ekissā rūpūpajīviniyā kucchismiṃ paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhi. Sā dasamās' accayena vijāyitvā puttabhāvaṃ ñatvā saṃkārakūṭe chaḍḍāpesi.

Tasmiṃ khaṇe Kosambiseṭṭhino[3] kammantiko pāto 'va seṭṭhigharaṃ gacchanto 'kin nu kho imaṃ kākehi samparikiṇṇan' ti gantvā dārakaṃ disvā 'mahāpuññavā esa dārako bhavissatī' ti ekassa purisassa hatthe gehaṃ pesetvā seṭṭhigharaṃ agamāsi.

Seṭṭhi pi[2] rājūpaṭṭhānavelāya rājakulaṃ gacchanto antarāmagge purohitaṃ disvā 'ajja kiṃ nakkhattan' ti pucchi.[4] So[4] tatth' eva ṭhito gaṇetvā 'asukaṃ nāma nakkhattaṃ; ajja iminā nakkhattena jātadārako imasmiṃ nagare seṭṭhiṭṭhānaṃ labhissatī' ti āha. So tassa kathaṃ sutvā vegena gharaṃ pesesi: 'imassa purohitassa dve kathā nāma natthi, gharaṇī me garugabbhā, jānātha tāva naṃ vijātā vā no vā' ti. Te gantvā jānitvā 'ayya na tāva vijātā[5]' ti āhaṃsu. 'Tena hi gacchatha, imasmiṃ nagare ajja jātadārakaṃ pariyesathā[2]' ti.[2] Te[2] pariyesantā tassa seṭṭhino kammantikassa gehe taṃ dārakaṃ disvā seṭṭhino ārocayiṃsu. 'Tena hi bhaṇe[6] taṃ kammantikaṃ pakkosathā' ti. Te taṃ pakkosiṃsu. Atha naṃ

[1] The words spaced out are the same or nearly the same in both versions.
[2] om. M_{10}. [3] M_9 Kosambika°. [4] T_1 pucchito.
[5] T_1 vijāyatī; M_9 vijātī. [6] M_{10} bhante.

II. TEXTS.

Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā.

1. Ayaṃ (Ghosakadevaputto) pana kāmaguṇe paribhuñjanto muṭṭhassati hutvā āhārakkhayena cavi, cavitvā ca pana Kosambiyaṃ nagaraçobhiniyā kucchismiṃ paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhi. Sā vijātadivase 'kiṃ etan' ti dāsiṃ pucchitvā 'putto ayye' ti vuttā[1] 'handa je imaṃ dārakaṃ kattarasuppe[2] āropetvā saṅkārakūṭe[3] chaḍḍehī' ti chaḍḍāpesi. (Nagarasobhiniyo hi dhītaraṃ paṭijagganti[4] na puttaṃ, dhītarā hi tāsaṃ paveṇi[5] ghaṭiyati.) Dārakaṃ kākā pi sunakhā pi parivāretvā nisīdiṃsu, paccekabuddhe sinehappabhavassa huṅkāraṇassa[6] nissandena eko pi upagantuṃ na visahi.

Tasmiṃ khaṇe eko[7] manusso bahi nikkhamanto tam kākasunakhasannipātaṃ disvā 'kin nu kho etan' ti[8] gantvā dārakaṃ disvā puttasinehaṃ paṭilabhitvā 'putto me laddho' ti gehaṃ nayi.

Tadā Kosambikaseṭṭhi rājakulaṃ gacchanto rājanivesanato āgacchantaṃ purohitaṃ disvā 'kiṃ ācariya ajja te[9] tithikaraṇanakkhattayogo[10] olokito' ti pucchi. 'Āma mahāseṭṭhi, amhākaṃ kiṃ aññaṃ kiccan' ti? 'Janapadassa kiṃ bhavissati ācariyā[7]' ti? 'Aññaṃ natthi, imasmiṃ pana nagare ajja jātadārako jeṭṭhakaseṭṭhi bhavissatī' ti. Tadā seṭṭhino bhariyā garugabbhā hoti. Tasmā so sīghaṃ gehaṃ purisaṃ[11] pesesi 'gaccha bhaṇe jānāhi taṃ[12]: vijātā vā no vā' ti,[13] 'na vijātā' ti ca sutvā rājānaṃ disvā vegena gehaṃ gantvā Kāḷiṃ nāma dāsiṃ

[1] C. vutte.
[2] C. katara°.
[3] C. saṅgāra°.
[4] C. paṭijja°.
[5] C. °niṃ.
[6] C. hukkara°.
[7] om. Ed.
[8] C. adds tattha.
[9] C. inserts nimitaṃ.
[10] C. °kāraṇa°.
[11] om. C.
[12] C. naṃ.
[13] C. has after vā ti: antevāsiko taṃ sutvā vegena gehaṃ gantvā pucchi 'seṭṭhibhariyā vijātā' ti? 'Na vijāyatī' ti ahaṃsu (sic!). Taṃ sutvā puna nagaraṃ gantvā 'na vijātā' ti āha. Seṭṭhi 'na vijāyatī' ti sutvā rājānaṃ disvā, and so on.

Manoratha-Pūraṇī.

seṭṭhi 'gehe kira te dārako atthī' ti pucchi. 'Āma ayyā' ti. 'Taṃ dārakaṃ amhākaṃ dehī' ti. 'Na demi ayyā' ti. 'Handa sahassaṃ gaṇhitvā dehī' ti. So 'ayaṃ jīveyya vā mareyya vā dujjānam etan' ti sahassaṃ gaṇhitvā adāsi.

2. Tato seṭṭhi cintesi: 'sace me bhariyā dhītaraṃ vijāyissati, imam eva karissāmi, sace puttaṃ vijāyissati, imaṃ ghātessāmī' ti. Sā puttaṃ vijāyi. Tato seṭṭhi 'evaṃ taṃ[1] gāvo madditvā māressantī' ti cintetvā 'imaṃ dārakaṃ vajadvāre nipajjāpethā' ti āha. Taṃ tattha nipajjāpesuṃ. Atha naṃ[2] yūthapati usabho paṭhamaṃ nikkhamanto disvā 'evaṃ naṃ aññe na maddissantī' ti catunnaṃ pādānaṃ antare katvā aṭṭhāsi. Atha naṃ gopālakā disvā 'mahāpuñño esa dārako yassa tiracchānagatā pi guṇaṃ jānanti, paṭijaggissāma nan' ti attano gehaṃ nayiṃsu.

So pi seṭṭhi tassa matabhāvaṃ anuvajjanto[3] 'gopālakehi nīto' ti sutvā puna sahassaṃ datvā ānāpetvā āmaka-susāne chaḍḍāpesi. Tasmiñ ca kāle[4] ajapālako susānaṃ nissāya ajikā cāreti. Ath' ekā dhenu-ajikā dārakassa puññena maggā ukkamma gantvā dārakassa khīraṃ datvā

[1] M_{10} naṃ. [2] M_{10} taṃ. [3] M_9 °vājjanto; M_{10}, T_1 °vijjanto.
[4] T_1, M_{10} insert seṭṭhissa ghare.

Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā.

pakkositvā sahassaṃ datvā 'gaccha imasmiṃ nagare upadhāretvā[1] ajja[2] jātadārakaṃ gaṇhitvā ehī' ti. Sā upadhārentī taṃ gehaṃ gantvā dārakaṃ[3] disvā[3] 'ayaṃ dārako kadā jāto' ti gahapatāniṃ pucchitvā 'ajja jāto'[4] ti vuttā[5] 'imaṃ mayhaṃ dehī' ti ekaṃ kahāpaṇaṃ ādiṃ katvā mūlaṃ vaḍḍhentī sahassaṃ datvā taṃ ānetvā seṭṭhino dassesi.

2. Seṭṭhi 'sace me dhītā jāyissati, tāya naṃ saddhiṃ nivesetvā seṭṭhiṭṭhānassa sāmikaṃ karissāmī, sace me[3] putto jāyissati, māressāmi[6] nan' ti cintetvā naṃ gehe kāresi. Ath' assa bhariyā katipāhaccayena puttaṃ vijāyi. Seṭṭhi 'imasmiṃ asati mama putto 'va[3] seṭṭhiṭṭhānaṃ labhissati, idān' ev' etaṃ[7] māretuṃ vaṭṭatī' ti cintetvā Kāḷiṃ āmantetvā 'gaccha je vajato[8] gunnaṃ nikkhamanavelāya vajadvāramajjhe[8] imaṃ tiriyaṃ nipajjāpehi, gāviyo taṃ[9] madditvā[10] māressanti, maddanāmaddanabhāvaṃ[11] pan' assa ñatvā ehī' ti āha.

Sā gantvā gopālakena vajadvāre[8] vivaṭamatte yeva taṃ[12] tattha[13] nipajjāpesi. Goganajeṭṭhako[14] usabho aññasmiṃ kāle sabbapacchā niggacchanto pi taṃ divasaṃ sabbapaṭhamaṃ nikkhamitvā dārakaṃ catunnaṃ pādānaṃ antare katvā aṭṭhāsi. Anekasatagāviyo[15] usabhassa dve passāni ghaṃsentiyo nikkhamiṃsu. Gopālako pi 'ayaṃ usabho pubbe sabbapacchā nikkhamati, ajja pana sabbapaṭhamaṃ nikkhamitvā vajadvāre[8] niccalo 'va[4] ṭhito, kin nu kho etan' ti cintetvā gantvā tassa heṭṭhā nipannaṃ dārakaṃ disvā puttasinehaṃ paṭilabhitvā 'putto me laddho' ti gehaṃ nesi.[16]

Kāḷī gantvā seṭṭhinā pucchitā tam atthaṃ ārocetvā 'gaccha naṃ puna imaṃ sahassaṃ datvā ānehī' ti

[1] C. adds sahassaṃ datvā.
[2] C. inserts taṃ.
[3] om. C.
[4] om. Ed.
[5] C. vutte.
[6] C. māri°.
[7] C. eva taṃ.
[8] C. vajja°.
[9] C. naṃ.
[10] C. maddetvā.
[11] C. maddanabhāvaṃ.
[12] Ed. naṃ.
[13] C. and Edition have tathā.
[14] C. goṇaj°.
[15] C. °satthā°.
[16] C. nehi.

Manoratha-Pūraṇī.

gatā nivattamānā pi tath' eva gantvā khīram adāsi. Ajapālako cintesi 'ayaṃ ajikā pāto pi imasmā ṭhānā ukkamitvā gatā, kin nu kho etan' ti, gantvā olokento taṃ kāraṇaṃ ñatvā 'mahāpuñño esa dārako, tiracchānagatā pi 'ssa guṇaṃ jānanti, paṭijaggissāmi nan' ti gahetvā gehaṃ gato. Punadivase seṭṭhi 'mato nu kho dārako, na mato' ti olokāpento ajapālakena gahitabhāvaṃ ñatvā sahassaṃ datvā ānāpetvā[1] 'sve[2] imaṃ nagaraṃ eko satthavāhaputto pavisissati, imaṃ dārakaṃ netvā cakkamagge ṭhapetha, evaṃ taṃ sakaṭacakkaṃ bhindantaṃ gamissatī' ti āha. Taṃ tattha nikkhittaṃ satthavāhaputtassa purimasaṭake goṇā disvā cattāro pāde thambhe viya otāretvā aṭṭhaṃsu. Satthavāho 'kin nu kho etan' ti tesaṃ ṭhitakāraṇaṃ olokento dārakaṃ disvā 'mahāpuñño dārako, jaggituṃ vaṭṭatī' ti gaṇhitvā agamāsi.

[1] T_1 anāpesitvā ; M_9 āṇapetvā.
[2] M_{10} yeva.

Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā.

vuṭṭā[1] puna ānetvā adāsi. Atha naṃ āha: 'amma Kāḷī, imasmiṃ nagare pañcasakaṭasatāni paccūsakāle uṭṭhāya vaṇijjāya gacchanti, tvaṃ imaṃ netvā cakkamagge nipajjāpehi, goṇā vā naṃ maddissanti cakkāni[2] vā naṃ[3] bhindissanti,[4] pavattiñ[5] ca[5] ñatvā 'va āgaccheyyāsī' ti. Sā taṃ[6] netvā cakkamagge nipajjāpesi. So[7] sākaṭika-jeṭṭhako[8] purato ahosi. Ath' assa goṇā taṃ[9] ṭhānaṃ patvā dhuraṃ chaḍḍesuṃ, punappunaṃ āropetvā pājiyamānā pi purato na gacchiṃsu. Evaṃ tassa hi tehi saddhiṃ vāyamantass' eva aruṇaṃ uṭṭhahi. So 'kin nām' etaṃ goṇā kariṃsū' ti maggaṃ olokento dārakaṃ disvā 'bhāriyaṃ vata me kamman' ti cintetvā 'putto me laddho' ti tuṭṭhamānaso naṃ[10] gehaṃ nesi.[11] Kāḷī gantvā seṭṭhinā pucchitā taṃ pavattiṃ[12] ācikkhitvā 'gaccha, nam puna sahassaṃ datvā ānehī' ti vuttā tathā akāsi. Atha naṃ āha: 'idāni naṃ[10] āmakasusānaṃ[13] netvā gacchantare nipajjāpehi, tattha sunakhādīhi vā khādito amanussehi[14] vā pahaṭo marissati matāmatabhāvañ c'assa jānitvā 'va āgaccheyyāsī' ti. Sā taṃ netvā tattha nipajjāpetvā ekamante aṭṭhāsi. Taṃ sunakho vā kāko vā amanusso vā upasaṅkamituṃ nāsakkhi.

"Na nu c'assa neva mātā na[3] pitā[3] na bhātikā[15]" ti ādisu koci rakkhito nāma 'atthi, ko[3] taṃ[9] rakkhatī ti? Sunakhakāle paccekabuddhe sinehena pavattitahuṃkaraṇamattam[16] eva[17] taṃ rakkhati.

Ath' eko ajapālo anekasahassā[18] ajā gocaraṃ nento susānapassena gacchati. Ekā ajā paṇṇādīni khadamānā gacchantaraṃ paviṭṭhā[19] dārakaṃ disvā jaṇṇukehi ṭhatvā dārakassa thanaṃ adāsi. Ajapālakena 'he he' ti sadde kate pi na nikkhami. So yaṭṭhiyā naṃ paharitvā 'nīharissāmī'

[1] C. inserts sahassaṃ tassa datvā.
[2] Ed. cakkā.
[3] om. C.
[4] C. chindissanti.
[5] C. pavuttiñ ca; Ed. pavattiṃ c'assa.
[6] Ed. naṃ.
[7] om. Ed.
[8] C. sākaṭijeṭṭh°.
[9] C. naṃ.
[10] Ed. taṃ.
[11] C. nehi.
[12] C. pavuttiṃ.
[13] C. āmasu°.
[14] C. amanussena.
[15] C. bhātikādisu.
[16] C. hukka°.
[17] C. c'eva.
[18] C. satasahassā.
[19] C. pavisitvā.

Manoratha-Pūraṇī.

Seṭṭhi pi taṃ cakkapathe matabhāvaṃ vā amatabhāvaṃ vā olokāpento satthavāhena gahitabhāvaṃ ñatvā tassa pi sahassaṃ datvā ānāpetvā nagarato avidūraṭṭhāne papāte pātāpesi. So tattha papatanto naḷakārānaṃ kammakaranaṭṭhāne naḷakārasālāyaṃ patito. Sā tassa puññānubhāvena satavihatakappāsapicusamphassasadisā ahosi. Atha naṃ naḷakārajeṭṭhako 'puññavā esa dārako, jaggituṃ vaṭṭatī' ti gaṇhitvā gehaṃ gato. Seṭṭhi dārakassa papātato patitaṭṭhāne amatabhāvaṃ vā matabhāvaṃ vā pariyesāpento naḷakārajeṭṭhakena gahitabhāvaṃ ñatvā tassa pi sahassaṃ datvā ānāpesi.

3. Aparabhāge seṭṭhissa sakaputto pi so pi ubho vayappattā ahesuṃ. Seṭṭhi puna Ghosakadārakassa māraṇupāyaṃ[1] cintento attano kumbhakārassa gehaṃ gantvā 'ambho mayhaṃ gehe evarūpo[2] eko avajātadārako atthi, taṃ dārakaṃ yaṃ kiñci katvā māretuṃ vaṭṭatī' ti rahassena āha. So tato ubho pi kaṇṇe pidahitvā 'evarūpaṃ nāma bhāriyaṃ kathaṃ kathetuṃ na vaṭṭatī' ti āha. Tato seṭṭhi 'ayaṃ mudhā na karissatī' ti cintetvā 'handa bho sahassaṃ gaṇhitvā etaṃ kammaṇ nipphādehī' ti āha. (Lañcaṃ nāma abhinnaṃ bhindati.) Tasmā so sahassaṃ labhitvā sampaṭicchitvā 'ahaṃ ayya asukadivasaṃ nāma āvāpaṃ ālimpessāmi, tadā taṃ asukavelāya nāma pesehī' ti āha. Seṭṭhi pi kho tassa vacanaṃ sutvā sampaṭicchitvā tato paṭṭhāya divase gaṇento kumbhakārena

[1] T_1 maranu°. [2] T_1 inserts ca.

Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā.

ti gacchantaraṃ pavitṭho jaṇṇukehi ṭhatvā dārakaṃ[1] pāyentiṃ disvā dārake puttasineham paṭilabhitvā 'putto me laddho' ti ādāya pakkāmi.

Kāḷī[2] gantvā seṭṭhinā pucchitā taṃ pavattiṃ ācikkhitvā 'gaccha, taṃ[3] puna sahassaṃ datvā ānehī' ti vuttā tathā akāsi. Atha naṃ āha: 'amma Kāḷī,[4] imaṃ ādāya corapapātapabbataṃ abhirūhitvā[5] papāte khipa,[6] pabbatakucchiyaṃ paṭihaññamāno khaṇḍākhaṇḍiko hutvā bhūmiyaṃ patissati matāmatabhāvañ c'assa ñatvā 'va āgaccheyyāsī' ti. Sā taṃ tattha netvā pabbatamatthake ṭhatvā khipi. Taṃ kho pana pabbatakucchiṃ nissāya mahāveṇugumbo pabbatānusāren' eva vaḍḍhi. Tassa matthakaṃ ghanajāto jiñjukagumbo avatthari. Dārako patanto kojave viya tasmiṃ pati. Taṃ divasaṃ[7] naḷakārajeṭṭhakassa veṇubali[8] patto hoti. So puttena saddhiṃ gantvā taṃ veṇugumbaṃ chinditum ārabhi. Tasmiṃ calante dārako saddaṃ akāsi. So 'dārakasaddo viyā' ti ekena passena abhirūhitvā[9] taṃ disvā 'putto me laddho' ti tuṭṭhacitto ādāya gato. Kāḷī seṭṭhissa santikaṃ gantvā tena pucchitā taṃ pavattiṃ ācikkhitvā 'gaccha, naṃ puna sahassaṃ datvā ānehī' ti vuttā tathā akāsi.

3. Seṭṭhino idañ c'idañ ca karontass' eva dārako vaḍḍhito, Ghosako tvev' assa nāmaṃ ahosi. So seṭṭhino akkhimhi kaṇṭako viya khāyi, ujukaṃ taṃ oloketum pi na visahi.[10] Ath' assa māraṇupāyaṃ[11] cintento attano sahāyakassa kúmbhakārassa santikaṃ gantvā 'kadā āvāpaṃ ālimpessasī[12]' ti taṃ pucchitvā 'sve' ti vutte 'tena hi idaṃ sahassaṃ gahetvā mam' ekaṃ kammaṃ karohī' ti āha. 'Kiṃ[13] sāmī' ti? 'Eko me avajātaputto atthi, taṃ tava santikaṃ pesessāmi, atha naṃ gahetvā gabbhaṃ pavesetvā tikhiṇāya vāsiyā khaṇḍākhaṇḍikaṃ chinditvā cāṭiyaṃ pakkhipitvā āvāpe paceyyāsi,[14] idaṃ te sahassaṃ

[1] Ed. inserts khīraṃ.
[2] C. inserts taṃ disvā.
[3] C. naṃ.
[4] om. Ed.
[5] C. abhiruyhitvā.
[6] C. khipi, and it adds taṃ.
[7] Ed. inserts ca.
[8] C. °balo.
[9] C. abhiruyhitvā.
[10] Ed. sahi.
[11] C. maraṇu°.
[12] Ed. °pessati.
[13] C. has kiṃ kammaṃ karissāmī ti.
[14] Ed. °sī ti.

Manoratha-Pūraṇī.

vuttadivasassa sampattabhāvaṃ ñatvā Ghosakakumāraṃ pakkositvā: amhākaṃ tāta asukadivase nāma bahūhi bhājanehi attho, tvaṃ amhākaṃ kumbhakārassa santikaṃ gantvā 'pitarā kira me tumhākaṃ[1] kathitaṃ atthi, taṃ ajja nipphādehī' ti vada.[2] So sādhū ti tassa vacanaṃ sampaṭicchitvā nikkhami.

Atha naṃ antarāmagge seṭṭhissa sakaputto guḷakīḷaṃ kīḷanto disvā vegena gantvā 'ahaṃ bhātika dārakehi saddhiṃ kīḷanto ettakaṃ nāma jito, tam me paṭijinitvā dehī' ti āha. So 'mayhaṃ idāni okāso natthi, pitā maṃ accāyikakammena kumbhakārassa santikaṃ pahiṇī' ti āha. Itaro 'ahaṃ bhātiya tattha gamissāmi, tvaṃ imehi saddhiṃ kīḷitvā mayhaṃ lakkhaṃ paccāharitvā dehī' ti āha. 'Tena hi gacchā' ti attano kathitasāsanaṃ tassa kathetvā dārakehi saddhiṃ kīḷi. So kumāro kumbhakārassa santikaṃ gantvā taṃ sāsanaṃ ārocesi. 'Sādhu tāta nipphādessāmī' ti taṃ kumāraṃ gabbhaṃ pavesetvā tikhiṇāya vāsiyā khaṇḍākhaṇḍiyaṃ katvā cāṭiyaṃ pakkhipitvā[3] cāṭimukhaṃ pidahitvā bhājanantare ṭhapetvā āvāpaṃ ālimpesi. Ghosakakumāro pi bahuṃ jinitvā kaniṭṭhassa āgamanaṃ olokento nisīdi. So taṃ cirāyamānaṃ ñatvā 'kin nu kho cirāyatī' ti kumbhakāragehe sabhāgaṃ gantvā katthaci adisvā 'gehaṃ gato bhavissatī' ti nivattitvā gehaṃ agamāsi. Seṭṭhi taṃ durato 'va āgacchantaṃ disvā 'kin nu kho kāraṇaṃ bhavissatī' ti 'mayā esa māraṇatthāya kumbhakārassa santikaṃ pahito, so dāni puna icc' eva āgacchatī' ti āgacchantaṃ yeva taṃ 'kiṃ tāta kumbhakārassa santikaṃ na gato 'sī' ti āha. 'Āma tāta na gato 'smī' ti. 'Kasmā tātā' ti? So attano nivattakāraṇañ ca kaniṭṭhabhātikassa tattha gatakāraṇañ ca seṭṭhissa kathesi. Seṭṭhi tassa vacanassa sutakālato paṭṭhāya mahāpaṭhaviyā ajjhotthaṭo viya hutvā 'kin nām' etaṃ saccaṃ vadasī[4]' ti utrastacitto vegena kumbhakārassa santikaṃ gantvā aññesaṃ santike

[1] M_9 inserts ekaṃ.
[2] No MS. has ti after vada.
[3] M_9 pakkhāpitvā; T_1 katvā.
[4] M_9 vadatī.

Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā.

saccakārasadisaṃ, uttariṃ puna te kattabbayuttakaṃ pacchā karissāmī' ti. Kumbhakārako sādhū ti sampaṭicchi. Seṭṭhī punadivase Ghosakaṃ pakkositvā[1] 'ṭāta, hiyyo mayā kumbhakārassa[2] ekaṃ kammaṃ āṇattaṃ,[3] ehi tvaṃ tassa santikaṃ gantvā evaṃ vadehi: hiyyo kira me pitarā āṇattam kammaṃ nipphādehī'[4] ti pahiṇi. So sādhū ti agamāsi.

Taṃ tattha gacchantaṃ itaro seṭṭhino putto dārakehi saddhiṃ[5] guḷaṃ kīḷanto disvā taṃ pakkositvā[6] 'kuhiṃ gacchasi bhātikā' ti pucchitvā 'pitu sāsanaṃ gahetvā kumbhakārassa santikan' ti vutte 'ahaṃ tattha gamissāmi, ime maṃ[7] dārakā bahuṃ lakkhaṃ jiniṃsu, taṃ me paṭijinitvā dehī' ti āha. 'Ahaṃ pitu bhāyāmī' ti. 'Mā bhāyi bhātika, ahaṃ taṃ sāsanaṃ karissāmi, bahuṃ[8] hi jito,[9] yāvāhaṃ āgacchāmi tāva me lakkhaṃ paṭijānāhī[10]' ti. Ghosako kira guḷakīḷāya cheko, tena taṃ[11] evaṃ nibbandhi.[12] So pi taṃ[13] 'tena hi gantvā kumbhakāraṃ vadehi: pitarā kira me hiyyo ekaṃ kammaṃ āṇattaṃ, taṃ nipphādehī[14]' ti vatvā uyyojesi. So tassa santikaṃ gantvā tathā avaca. Atha naṃ kumbhakāro seṭṭhinā vuttaniyāmen'[15] eva māretvā āvāpe khipi. Ghosako pi divasabhāgaṃ kīḷitvā sāyaṇhasamayaṃ[16] gehaṃ gantvā seṭṭhinā[17] disvā[17] 'kiṃ tāta na gato 'sī' ti vutte attano agatakāraṇañ[18] ca kaniṭṭhassa gatakāraṇañ ca ārocesi. Seṭṭhi taṃ sutvā ''han dhī' ti mahāviravaṃ viravitvā sakalasarīre pakkaṭṭhitalohito viya hutvā 'ambho kumbhakāra mā maṃ nāsayi mā nāsayī' ti bāhā[19] paggayha kandanto tassa santikaṃ agamāsi. Kumbhakāro taṃ tathā āgacchantaṃ disvā 'sāmi mā saddaṃ kari, kammaṃ te nipphannan' ti āha. So pabbatena viya mahantena sokena avatthaṭo[20] hutvā anappakaṃ domanassaṃ paṭisaṃvedesi,

[1] C. °sāpetvā.
[2] C. °kāro.
[3] C. āṇatto.
[4] C. °pehi ti.
[5] om. C.
[6] C. pakkosāhitvā.
[7] C. puts maṃ after dārakā.
[8] C. bahūhi.
[9] Ed. jinito.
[10] Ed. °jinā.
[11] Ed. naṃ.
[12] Ed. nibandhi.
[13] C. naṃ.
[14] C. nipāhi.
[15] C. °niyāmena (without eva).
[16] C. °ye.
[17] om. Ed
[18] Ed. āgata°.
[19] Ed. bāhaṃ.
[20] C. avattharito.

akathanīyabhāvena 'pekkha bho pekkha bho' ti āha. 'Kiṃ pekkhāpesi tvaṃ? niṭṭhitaṃ ettha kamman' ti. So tato 'va nivattitvā gehaṃ agamāsi.

4. Tato paṭṭhāya c'assa cetasikarogo uppajji. So tasmim pi kāle tena saddhiṃ abhuñjitvā 'yena kenaci upāyena mama puttassa sattuno anattham eva passituṃ vaṭṭatī' ti ekaṃ paṇṇaṃ likhitvā Ghosakakumāraṃ pakkositvā 'tvaṃ imaṃ paṇṇaṃ ādāya, asukagāme nāma amhākaṃ kammantiko atthi, tassa santikaṃ gantvā imaṃ paṇṇaṃ datvā "imasmiṃ kira paṇṇe sāsanaṃ sīghaṃ karohī" ti vadā' ti [1] 'antarāmagge amhākaṃ sahāyako gāmakaseṭṭhi [2] nāma eko seṭṭhi atthi,[3] tassa gharaṃ gantvā bhattaṃ bhuñjitvā gaccheyyāsī' ti ca mukhasāsanaṃ adāsi.

[1] T_1, M_9 vadati; M_{10} vada. [2] All MSS. have here gāmaseṭṭhi. [3] om. M_9.

yathā taṃ appaduṭṭhassa paduṭṭhamāno. Tenāha Bhagavā (Dhp., vv. 137–140):—

Yo daṇḍena adaṇḍesu
appaduṭṭhesu dussati,
dasannam aññataraṃ ṭhānaṃ
khippam eva nigacchati:
vedanaṃ pharusaṃ jāniṃ
sarīrassa ca bhedanaṃ,
garukaṃ vā pi ābādhaṃ
cittakkhepaṃ 'va pāpuṇe,
rājato 'va upassaggaṃ
abbhakkhāṇaṃ 'va dāruṇaṃ,
parikkhayaṃ 'va ñātīnaṃ
bhogānaṃ 'va pabhaṅguraṃ (sic!)
atha[1] v'assa[1] agārāni
aggi ḍahati pāvako,
kāyassa bhedā duppañño
nirayaṃ so 'papajjatī[2] ti.

4. Evaṃ sante pi puna naṃ seṭṭhi ujukaṃ oloketuṃ na sakkoti 'kinti,[3] naṃ māreyyan' ti cintento 'mama gāmasate āyuttakassa santikaṃ pesetvā māressāmī' ti upāyaṃ disvā 'ayaṃ me avajātaputto, imaṃ māretvā vaccakūpe khipatu, evaṃ kate ahaṃ mātulassa kattabbayuttakaṃ pacchā[4] jānissāmī' ti tassa paṇṇaṃ likhitvā 'tāta Ghosaka, amhākaṃ gāmasate āyuttako atthi, imaṃ paṇṇaṃ haritvā tassa dehī' ti vatvā paṇṇaṃ tassa dasante[5] bandhi. So pana akkharasamayaṃ na jānāti, daharakālato paṭṭhāya hi naṃ[6] mārāpetuṃ[7] vāyamanto 'va seṭṭhi mārāpetuṃ nāsakkhi. Kiṃ akkharasamayaṃ sikkhāpessati? Iti so attano mārāpanapaṇṇaṃ[8] eva dasante bandhitvā nikkhamanto āha 'pātheyyaṃ me tāta natthī' ti. 'Pātheyyena te kammaṃ natthi, antarāmagge nāma[4] mama sahāyako

[1] C. ath' assa.
[2] C. so uppa°.
[3] C. kintu.
[4] om. Ed.
[5] C. dussante throughout.
[6] Ed. taṃ.
[7] C. °pento.
[8] C. mārāpaṇṇaṃ.

Manoratha-Pūraṇi.

So seṭṭhiṃ vanditvā paṇṇaṃ gahetvā nikkhanto antarāmagge gāmakaseṭṭhissa vasanaṭṭhānaṃ gantvā tassa gehaṃ pucchitvā taṃ bahi dvārakoṭṭhake nisīditvā massukammaṃ karontaṃ vanditvā aṭṭhāsi 'kuto āgacchasi[1] tātā' ti ca vutte 'Kosambiyaseṭṭhino putto 'mhi tātā' ti āha. So 'amhākaṃ sahāyakaseṭṭhino putto' ti haṭṭhatuṭṭho ahosi. Tasmiñ ca khaṇe tassa seṭṭhino dhītāya ekā dāsī pupphāni āharituṃ gacchati. Atha naṃ seṭṭhi āha: 'tvaṃ etaṃ kammaṃ ṭhapetvā Ghosakakumārassa pāde dhovitvā sayanaṃ attharitvā dehī' ti. Sā tathā katvā āpaṇaṃ gantvā seṭṭhidhītu pupphāni āhari. Seṭṭhidhītā taṃ disvā 'tvaṃ ajja ciraṃ bahi papañcesī' ti tassā kupitā 'kin te ettakaṃ kālaṃ ettha katan' ti āha. 'Mā kathesi ayye,[2] mayā evarūpo na diṭṭhapubbo, tuyhaṃ kira pitu sahāyaseṭṭhino putto eko,[3] na sakkā tassa rūpasampattiṃ kathetuṃ, seṭṭhi maṃ pupphānaṃ atthāya gacchantiṃ "tassa kumārassa pāde dhovitvā sayanaṃ attharitvā dehī" ti āha, tenāhaṃ bahi ciraṃ papañcesin' ti.

5. Sā pi kho seṭṭhidhītā tassa kumārassa catutthe attabhāve gharasāminī ahosi. Tasmā tassa vacanassa sutakālato paṭṭhāya neva attano ṭhitabhāvaṃ na nisinnabhāvaṃ aññāsi. Sā tam eva dāsiṃ gahetvā tassa nipannaṭṭhānaṃ gantvā taṃ niddāyamānaṃ oloketvā dasante paṇṇaṃ disvā 'kin nu kho etaṃ paṇṇan' ti kumāraṃ anuṭṭhapetvā 'va paṇṇaṃ gahetvā vācetvā 'ayaṃ attano maraṇapaṇṇaṃ sayaṃ eva gahetvā gacchatī' ti taṃ paṇṇaṃ phāletvā tasmiṃ appabuddhe yeva 'mayā tava santikaṃ putto pesito, sahāyakassa me gāmakaseṭṭhissa vayappattā dārikā atthi, tvaṃ sīghaṃ amhākaṃ āṇāpavattiṭṭhāne uppādaṃ gaṇhitvā sabbasatena mama puttassa gāmakaseṭṭhino dhītaraṃ gahetvā maṅgalaṃ karohi[4] maṅgale ca niṭṭhite "iminā me vidhānena katan" ti mayhaṃ sāsanaṃ pesehi, ahaṃ tava idha

[1] M_9, M_{10} gacchasi.
[2] T_1, M_9 ayyo.
[3] om. M_9.
[4] All MSS. have karohī ti.

Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā.

seṭṭhi atthi, tassa ghare pātarāsaṃ katvā parato[1] gacchāhī' ti.

So sādhū ti pitaraṃ vanditvā nikkhamanto taṃ gāmaṃ[2] patvā seṭṭhigharaṃ pucchitvā gantvā seṭṭhijāyaṃ passi[3] 'kuto āgato 'sī' ti ca vutte 'anto nagarato' ti āha. 'Kassa putto 'sī' ti? 'Tumhākaṃ sahāyakaseṭṭhino ammā' ti. 'Tvam asi Ghosako nāmā' ti? 'Āma ammā' ti. Tassā saha dassanen' eva tasmiṃ puttasineho uppajji. Seṭṭhino pan' ekā dhītā atthi pannarasasoḷasavassapadesikā[4] abhirūpā[5] pāsādikā. Taṃ rakkhituṃ ekam eva pesanakārikaṃ dāsiṃ datvā sattabhūmikassa pāsādassa uparitale sirigabbhe vasāpenti. Seṭṭhidhītā tasmiṃ khaṇe taṃ dāsiṃ antarāpaṇaṃ pesesi. Atha naṃ seṭṭhijāyā disvā 'kuhiṃ gacchasī' ti pucchitvā 'ayye dhītāya pesanenā' ti vutte 'ito tāva ehi, tiṭṭhatu pesanaṃ, puttassa me pīṭhakaṃ attharitvā pāde dhovitvā telaṃ makkhitvā[6] sayanaṃ attharitvā dehi, pacchā pesanaṃ karissasī' ti āha. Sā tathā akāsi. Atha naṃ cirenāgataṃ seṭṭhidhītā santajjesi. Atha naṃ sā āha: 'ayye[7] mā me kujjhi, seṭṭhiputto Ghosako āgato, tassa idañ c'idañ ca katvā tattha gantvā āgatā 'mhī' ti.

5. Seṭṭhidhītāya 'seṭṭhiputto Ghosako' ti nāmaṃ sutvā 'va pemaṃ chavi-ādīni chinditvā aṭṭhimiñjaṃ āhacca ṭhitaṃ. Kotuhalika[8]-kālasmiṃ hi sā tassa pajāpatī hutvā nāḷikodanaṃ paccekabuddhassa adāsi. Tass' ānubhāvena gantvā imasmiṃ seṭṭhikule nibbattā. Iti naṃ so pubbasineho avattharitvā gaṇhi. Tenāha Bhagavā:—

Pubbe 'va sannivāsena
paccuppannahitena vā
evaṃ taṃ jāyate pemaṃ
uppalaṃ 'va yathodake ti.

Atha naṃ pucchi 'kuhiṃ so ammā' ti? 'Sayane nipanno niddāyatī' ti āha.[9] 'Atthi pan' assa hatthe kiñcī' ti?

[1] C. purato.
[2] Ed. gāmakaṃ.
[3] C. passitvā.
[4] C. °vassuddesikā.
[5] Ed. puts pās° before abhi°.
[6] Ed. makkhetvā.
[7] om. Ed.
[8] C. °laka; cf. Sum. Vil. (P.T.S., 1886), pt. i, p. 317.
[9] om. C.

Manoratha-Pūraṇī.

kattabbaṃ jānissāmī' ti paṇṇaṃ likhitvā taṃ eva lañchaṃ datvā paṭhamaṃ baddhaniyāmen' eva dasante bandhi. So pi kho kumāro taṃ divasaṃ tattha vasitvā punadivase seṭṭhiṃ āpucchitvā kammantikassa gāmaṃ gantvā paṇṇaṃ adāsi. Kammantiko paṇṇaṃ vācetvā gāmike sannipātetvā 'tumhe 'va maṃ na gaṇetha, mama sāmī attano jeṭṭhaputtassa[1] sabbasatena dārikaṃ ānetuṃ mayhaṃ santikaṃ pesesi, vegena[2] imasmiṃ ṭhāne uppādaṃ sampiṇḍethā' ti sabbaṃ maṅgalasakkāraṃ sajjetvā gāmakaseṭṭhissa sāsanaṃ pesetvā sampaṭicchāpetvā sabbasatena maṅgalakiriyaṃ niṭṭhāpetvā Kosambiseṭṭhissa paṇṇaṃ pahiṇi: 'mayā tumhehi pahitapaṇṇasāsanaṃ sutvā idañ c'idañ ca katan' ti.

6. Seṭṭhi taṃ sāsanaṃ sutvā aggidaḍḍho viya 'idāni naṭṭho 'mhī' ti cintāvasena[3] lohitapakkhandikaṃ rogaṃ patvā 'yena kenaci naṃ[4] upāyena pakkositvā mama santakassa asāmikaṃ karissāmī' ti maṅgalassa niṭṭhitakālato paṭṭhāya 'kasmā mayhaṃ putto bahi hotī' ti 'sīghaṃ āgacchatū'

[1] M_9 jeṭṭhaka°.
[2] M_9 visāna (?).
[3] M_9 cittā°.
[4] M_9 taṃ.

Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā.

'Dasante[1] paṇṇaṃ atthī' ti. Sā 'kiṃ paṇṇaṃ nu kho étan' ti? Tasmiṃ niddāyante mātāpitunnaṃ aññavihitatāya[2] apassantānaṃ otaritvā santikaṃ[3] gantvā[3] taṃ paṇṇaṃ mocetvā ādāya attano gabbhaṃ pavisitvā dvāraṃ pidhāya vātapānaṃ vivaritvā akkharasamaye kusalatāya paṇṇaṃ vācetvā 'aho bālo attano maraṇapaṇṇaṃ dasante bandhitvā vicarati,[4] sace mayā na diṭṭhaṃ assa natthi jīvitan' ti taṃ paṇṇaṃ phāletvā seṭṭhissa vacanena aparaṃ paṇṇaṃ likhi[5]: 'ayaṃ mama putto Ghosako nāma gāmasatato paṇṇākāraṃ āharāpetvā imassa janapadaseṭṭhino dhītarā saddhiṃ maṅgalaṃ katvā attano vasanagāmassa majjhe dvibhūmikaṃ gehaṃ kāretvā pākāraparikkhepena c'eva purisaguttiyā ca susaṃvihitā rakkhaṃ karotu mayhañ ca "idañ c'idañ ca mayā katan" ti sāsanaṃ pesetu; evaṃ kate ahaṃ mātulassa kattabbayuttakaṃ pacchā[3] jānissāmī' ti likhitvā ca[6] pana saṃharitvā dasante yev' assa bandhi. So divasabhāgaṃ niddāyitvā uṭṭhāya bhuñjitvā pakkāmi. Punadivase pāto 'va taṃ gāmaṃ gantvā āyuttakaṃ gāmakiccaṃ karontaṃ yeva passi. So taṃ disvā 'kiṃ tātā' ti pucchi. So[3] 'pitarā me tumhākaṃ paṇṇaṃ pesitan' ti āha.[3] 'Kissa paṇṇaṃ tāta, āharā' ti paṇṇaṃ gahetvā vācetvā tuṭṭhamānaso 'passatha bho mama sāmino mayi sineham, "jeṭṭhaputtassa me maṅgalaṃ karotū" ti mama santikaṃ pahiṇi, sīghaṃ dāru-ādīni āharathā' ti gahapatike vatvā gāmamajjhe vuttappakāraṃ gehaṃ kāretvā gāmasatato paṇṇākāraṃ āharāpetvā janapadaseṭṭhino santikā[6] dhītaraṃ ānetvā maṅgalaṃ katvā seṭṭhissa sāsanaṃ pahiṇi: 'idañ ca idañ ca mayā katan' ti.

6. Taṃ sutvā seṭṭhino 'yaṃ kāremi[7] taṃ na hoti, yaṃ na karomi[8] tad eva hotī' ti mahantaṃ domanassaṃ uppajji. Puttasokena saddhiṃ so[6] soko ekato hutvā kucchidāhaṃ uppādetvā atisāraṃ janesi. Seṭṭhidhītā pi 'sace koci seṭṭhino santikā āgacchati, mama[9] akathetvā seṭṭhiputtassa

[1] C. amma dussante.
[2] C. aññā°.
[3] om. Ed.
[4] C. carati.
[5] C. likhitvā.
[6] om. C.
[7] Ed. kārema.
[8] Ed. kuroma.
[9] C. tumhe mama.

Manoratha-Pūraṇī.

ti sāsanaṃ pesesi. Sāsanaṃ sutvā kumāro gantuṃ āraddho, seṭṭhidhītā cintesi: 'ayaṃ bālo "kaṃ nissāya imaṃ sampattiṃ alatthan" ti na jānāti, yaṃ kiñci katvā imassa gamanaṃ paṭibāhanupāyo kātuṃ vaṭṭatī' ti. Tato naṃ āha: 'kumāra, mā ativegāyi,[1] kulagāmaṃ gacchantena nāma attano parivacchaṃ katvā gantuṃ vaṭṭatī' ti. Kosambakaseṭṭhi pi tassa cirāyanabhāvaṃ ñatvā puna sāsanaṃ pahiṇi: 'kasmā me putto cirāyati, ahaṃ lohitapakkhandikarogaṃ[2] patto, jīvantaṃ eva maṃ āgantvā daṭṭhuṃ vaṭṭatī' ti. Tasmiṃ kāle seṭṭhidhītā tassa ārocesi: 'na eso tava pitā, tvaṃ pana pitā' ti, saññaṃ karosi: 'esa tava māraṇatthāya kammantikassa paṇṇaṃ pahiṇi, ahaṃ taṃ paṇṇaṃ apanetvā aññaṃ sāsanaṃ likhitvā tava etaṃ sampattiṃ nipphādayiṃ, esa tava "aputtakaṃ[3] karissāmi" ti pakkosati, etassa kālakiriyaṃ āgamehī' ti. Ath' assa dharamānakass' eva kālakatabhāvaṃ sutvā Kosambinagaraṃ agamāsi. Seṭṭhidhītā pi 'ssa pageva[4] saññaṃ adāsi 'tvaṃ pavisanto sakalagehe tava ārakkhaṃ ṭhapento pavisā' ti. Sayam pi seṭṭhiputtena saddhim eva pavisitvā ubho hatthe ukkhipitvā rodantī viya hutvā andhakāraṭṭhāne nipannakassa santikaṃ gantvā sīsen' eva hadayaṃ pahari. So dubbalatāya ten' eva pahārena kālam akāsi. Seṭṭhikumāro pi pitu sarīrakiccaṃ katvā 'tumhe mahāseṭṭhissa maṃ sakaputto ti vadathā' ti pādamūlikānaṃ lañcaṃ adāsi. Tato sattamadivase[5] rājā 'seṭṭhiṭṭhānāraham laddhuṃ vaṭṭatī' ti 'seṭṭhissa sakaputtabhāvaṃ jānathā' ti pesesi. Seṭṭhipādamūlikā rañño[6] sakaputtabhāvaṃ[7] kathayiṃsu. Rājā sādhū ti sampaṭicchitvā tassa seṭṭhiṭṭhānaṃ adāsi. So Ghosakeseṭṭhi nāma jāto.

[1] T_1 °vehāyi; M_9 °vehāyi corr. to °vegāyi.
[2] T_1, M_{10} °pakkhandirogaṃ.
[3] M_{10} puttakaṃ.
[4] M_9 bahi eva.
[5] M_9 sattame di°.
[6] M_9 inserts seṭṭhissa.
[7] T_1, M_{10} °puttakabhāvaṃ.

Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā.

paṭhamataraṃ mā kathayitthā' ti jane[1] āṇāpesi. Seṭṭhi pi kho 'na[2] dāni taṃ duṭṭhaputtaṃ mama sāpateyyassa sāmikaṃ karissāmī' ti cintetvā ekaṃ āyuttakaṃ āha 'matula puttaṃ daṭṭhukāmo 'mhi, ekaṃ pādamūlikaṃ pesetvā mama[3] puttaṃ pakkosāpehī' ti. So sādhū ti paṇṇaṃ datvā ekaṃ purisaṃ pesesi. Seṭṭhidhītā[4] tass' āgantvā dvāre ṭhitabhāvaṃ sutvā pakkosāpetvā 'kiṃ[5] tātā' ti pucchi. 'Seṭṭhi gilāno puttaṃ passituṃ pakkosāpeti[6] ayye' ti. 'Tāta, seṭṭhi[1] balavā vā dubbalo' ti? 'Balavā tāva, āhāraṃ bhuñjati yeva ayye' ti. Sā seṭṭhiputtaṃ ajānāpetvā etassa nivāsanañ[7] ca paribbayañ ca dāpetvā 'mayā pesitakāle gamissati, accha tāvā' ti āha. Seṭṭhi[8] puna āyuttakaṃ avaca[9]: 'kiṃ mātula, na te mama puttassa santikaṃ pahitan' ti? 'Pahitaṃ sāmi, gatapuriso pana[10] na tāva etī' ti. 'Tena hi puna aparaṃ pesehī' ti. So pesesi. Seṭṭhidhītā tasmim pi tath' eva paṭipajji. Atha seṭṭhino rogo balavā jāto, ekaṃ bhājanaṃ pavisati, ekaṃ nikkhamati. Puna seṭṭhi āyuttakaṃ pucchi: 'kiṃ mātula, na te mama puttassa santikaṃ pahitan' ti? 'Pahitaṃ sāmi, gatapuriso pana na etī' ti. 'Tena hi puna[1] aparaṃ pesehī' ti. So[1] pesesi.[1] Seṭṭhidhītā tatiyavāre āgatam pi taṃ[10] pavattiṃ[11] pucchi: 'kiṃ[12] seṭṭhino ābādhan' ti? So 'bāḷhagilāno ayye, seṭṭhi āhāraṃ pacchinditvā mañcapāyaṇo jāto ekaṃ bhājanaṃ nikkhamati, ekaṃ pavisatī' ti āha. Seṭṭhidhītā cintesi[1] 'idāni gantuṃ kālo' ti seṭṭhiputtassa 'pitā kira te gilāno' ti ārocetvā 'kiṃ vadasi bhadde' ti vutte 'aphāsukam assa sāmī' ti āha. 'Idāni kiṃ kātabban' ti? 'Sāmi,[1] gāmasatato[13] upaṭṭhānakapaṇṇākāraṃ[14] ādāya gantvā passissāma nan[15]' ti āha.[1] So sādhū ti paṇṇākāraṃ āharāpetvā[16] sakaṭenādāya[17] pakkāmi. Atha naṃ sā 'pitā te dubbalo, ettakaṃ paṇṇākāraṃ gahetvā

[1] om. Ed.
[2] C. inserts taṃ.
[3] C. mamaṃ.
[4] C. adds pi.
[5] E. kinti.
[6] Ed. °pesi.
[7] Ed. nives°.
[8] C. mahāseṭṭhi.
[9] C. avoca.
[10] om. C.
[11] C. pavuttiṃ.
[12] Ed. omits this question.
[13] Ed. °sate.
[14] C. uṭṭhānaka°.
[15] Ed. tan.
[16] Ed. harāpetvā.
[17] C. °ṭehi ādāya.

gacchantānaṃ papañco bhavissati, etaṃ nivattehī' ti vatvā taṃ sabbaṃ attano kulagehaṃ pesetvā seṭṭhiputtaṃ[1] āha: 'sāmi, tvaṃ attano pitu pādapasse tiṭṭheyyāsi, ahaṃ ussīsakapasse ṭhassāmī' ti, gehaṃ pavisamānā yeva[2] 'gehassa purato ca pacchato ca ārakkhaṃ gaṇhathā' ti attano purise āṇāpesi.[3] Paviṭṭhakāle pana seṭṭhiputto pitu pādapasse aṭṭhāsi, itarā ussīsakapasse.

Tasmiṃ khaṇe seṭṭhi uttānako nipanno hoti. Āyuttako pan' assa pāde parimajjanto 'putto te sāmi āgato' ti āha. 'Kuhiṃ[4] so' ti? 'Esa pādamūle ṭhito' ti āha.[5] Atha naṃ disvā āyakammikaṃ[6] pakkosāpetvā 'mama gehe kittakaṃ dhanan' ti pucchitvā 'sāmi, dhanass' eva cattāḷīsakoṭiyo, upabhogaparibhogabhaṇḍānaṃ pana gāma-kkhetta-dipada-catuppada-yānavāhanānañ ca ayañ[7] ca[7] paricchedo' ti vutte 'ahaṃ ettakaṃ dhanaṃ "mama puttassa Ghosakassa na demī" ti vattukāmo[8] demī' ti āha. Taṃ sutvā seṭṭhidhītā 'ayaṃ puna kathento aññaṃ kiñci katheyyā' ti cintetvā sokāturā viya kese vikiritvā rodamānā 'kin nām' etaṃ tāta vadetha, idam pi nāma vo vacanaṃ suṇoma, alakkhikā vat' amhā'[9] ti vatvā matthakena taṃ uramajjhe paharantī patitvā, yathā puna vattuṃ[10] na sakkoti tathā 'ssa uramajjhe matthakena ghaṃsentī ārodanaṃ dassesi. Setthī pi taṃ khaṇañ ñeva kālam akāsi. 'Seṭṭhi mato'. ti gantvā Udenassa rañño ārocayiṃsu. Rājā tassa sarīrakiccaṃ kārāpetvā 'atthi pan' assa putto vā dhītā vā' ti pucchi. 'Atthi deva Ghosako nāma tassa putto, sabbaṃ sāpateyyaṃ tassa niyyādetvā[11] 'va[12] mato devā' ti. Rājā aparabhāge seṭṭhiputtaṃ pakkosāpesi. Tasmiñ ca divase devo vassi, rājaṅgaṇe tattha tattha[12] udakaṃ saṇṭhāsi.[13] Seṭṭhiputto 'rājānaṃ passissāmī' ti pāyāsi.[13] Rājā vātapānaṃ vivaritvā taṃ āgacchantaṃ[14] olokento rājaṅgaṇe udakaṃ laṅghetvā[15] āga-

[1] C. punna taṃ.
[2] Ed. inserts ca.
[3] C. ānā°.
[4] C. kahaṃ.
[5] om. Ed.
[6] C. āyutakaṃ (sic!).
[7] C. twice.
[8] Ed. omits vattu° demī ti; C[1] has vattukāmo, whereas C., also C[2], C[3], have vuttukāmo.
[9] C. vatāmhā.
[10] C. vuttaṃ.
[11] Ed. nīyā°.
[12] om. C.
[13] C. °ti.
[14] Ed. gacch°.
[15] C. lagh°.

Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā.

cchantaṃ disvā āgantvā vanditvā ṭhitaṃ 'tvaṃ Ghosako nāma tātā' ti pucchitvā 'āma devā' ti vutte 'pitā me mato' ti, 'mā soci, tava pettikaṃ[1] seṭṭhiṭṭhānaṃ tuyhaṃ eva dassāmī' ti taṃ assāsetvā 'gaccha tātā' ti uyyojesi. Rājā gacchantañ ca taṃ[2] olokento 'va aṭṭhāsi. So āgamanakāle laṅghitaṃ udakaṃ otaritvā sanikaṃ agamāsi. Atha naṃ rājā tato 'va pakkosāpetvā 'kin nu kho tāta? tvaṃ mama santikaṃ āgacchanto udakaṃ laṅghitvā āgamma gacchanto idāni[3] otaritvā sanikaṃ gacchasī' ti pucchi. 'Āma deva, ahaṃ tasmiṃ khaṇe kumārako, kīḷanakālo nām' eso,[4] idāni pana me devena ṭhānantaraṃ paṭissutaṃ, tasmā yathā puraṃ acaritvā idāni sanikaṃ[5] sanikaṃ[5] hutvā carituṃ vaṭṭatī' ti. Taṃ sutvā rājā 'dhitimā ayaṃ[3] puriso, idān' ev' assa ṭhānantaraṃ dassāmī' ti pitarā bhuttaṃ[6] bhogaṃ[6] datvā sabbasatena seṭṭhiṭṭhānaṃ adāsi. So rathe ṭhatvā nagaraṃ padakkhiṇaṃ akāsi. (Olokita[7]-olokitaṭṭhānaṃ[7] kampati.)

Seṭṭhidhītā pi Kāḷidāsiyā saddhiṃ mantayamānā nisinnā 'amma Kāḷi, puttassa te ettikā sampatti maṃ nissāya nipphannā' ti āha. 'Kiṃ kāraṇā ammā' ti? 'Ayaṃ hi attano maraṇapaṇṇaṃ dasante bandhitvā amhākaṃ gharaṃ āgato, ath' assa mayā taṃ paṇṇaṃ phāletvā mayā saddhiṃ maṅgalakaraṇatthāya aññaṃ paṇṇaṃ likhitvā ettakaṃ kālaṃ tattha ārakkho kato' ti. 'Amma, tvaṃ ettakaṃ[8] passasi, imaṃ pana seṭṭhi daharakālato paṭṭhāya māretukāmo māretuṃ nāsakkhi, kevalaṃ imaṃ nissāya bahuṃ[9] dhanaṃ jīyī'[10] ti. 'Amma, atibhāriyaṃ vata seṭṭhinā katan' ti. Nagaraṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā gehaṃ pavisantaṃ pana taṃ disvā 'ayaṃ ettikā[11] sampatti maṃ nissāya[12] nipphannā' ti sitaṃ akāsi. Atha naṃ seṭṭhiputto disvā[3] 'kiṃ kāraṇā hasī' ti pucchi. 'Ekaṃ kāraṇaṃ nissāyā' ti. 'Kathehi tan'[13] ti. Sā na kathesi. So 'sace na kathesi, dvidhā taṃ[14] chindissāmī' ti asiṃ nikkaḍḍhi. Sā 'ayaṃ ettikā[11] sampatti

[1] C. peti°.
[2] C. naṃ.
[3] om. Ed.
[4] Ed. nāma so.
[5] C. sanikaṃ sannekaṃ; Ed. sannisinnena.
[6] bhūtabho°.
[7] C. olokitolo°.
[8] Ed. ettha kaṃ.
[9] C. bahu.
[10] C. khiyati.
[11] C. ettakā.
[12] om. C.
[13] C. nan.
[14] Ed. naṃ.

Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakatha.

maṃ nissāya laddhā' ti cintetvā 'hasi tan' ti āha. 'Yadi[1] mama pitarā attano santakaṃ mayhaṃ niyyāditaṃ, tvaṃ ettha kiṃ hosī' ti? So kira ettakaṃ kālaṃ kiñci na jānāti. Ten' assā vacanaṃ na saddahi. Aṭh' assa sā 'tumhākaṃ pitarā maraṇapaṇṇaṃ datvā pesitā tumhe mayā idañ c' idañ ca katvā rakkhitā' ti sabbaṃ kathesi. 'Abbhutaṃ kathesī' ti asaddahanto 'mātaraṃ Kāḷiṃ pucchissāmī' ti cintetvā[2] 'evaṃ kira ammā' ti? 'Āma tāta, daharakālato paṭṭhāya taṃ māretukāmo māretuṃ asakkonto taṃ nissāya bahuṃ dhanaṃ jīyi,[3] sattasu ṭhānesu tvaṃ[2] maraṇato mutto, idāni bhogagāmato āgamma sabbasatena[4] seṭṭhiṭṭhānaṃ patto 'sī' ti.'

[1] C. Seṭṭhi: yadi. [2] om. C. [3] khiyati.
[4] Ed. adds saddhiṃ.

III. TRANSLATION.

Manoratha-Pūraṇī.

1. While Udena was king (of Kosambī), the angel Ghosaka vanished from the city of angels and received a new existence in the womb of a courtezan at Kosambī. At the end of ten months, she brought forth; and having perceived that it was a son, caused him to be thrown away on a dust-heap.

Now at that moment a workman of the merchant[1] of Kosambī, who went to the latter's house in the early morning, observed something around which crowds were gathering. As he drew near and saw that it was a boy, "Very fortunate must be this boy" (thought he, and) by the hand of another man he sent him to his own house while he himself went to the merchant's.

The merchant, too, while he was going to the king's court at the hour of the official attendance, saw by the way the (king's) chaplain, and so he asked, "What's the star to-day?" Stopping at that very place, the chaplain reckoned and said: "Such and such a star; to-day under

[1] The late Hofrath Bühler of Vienna made the proposition to translate seṭṭhi (śreṣṭhin) with 'Commercienrat' (counsellor of commerce). See Sitzungsber. d. Berliner Akad., 1883, p. 886. Indeed, 'merchant' is not adequate, but, to avoid a long name, I used it nevertheless. As to the real meaning of the word, I may now refer to R. Fick, "Die sociale Gliederung im nordöstlichen Indien zu Buddha's Zeit" (Kiel, 1897), pp. 166 sqq.

III. TRANSLATION.

Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā.

1. Now (the angel Ghosaka), while he was enjoying the pleasures of sense, became forgetful and vanished by reason of exhaustion of food,[1] and, vanishing, he received a new existence in the womb of a courtezan at Kosambī. At the day when she brought forth, she asked her maidservant "What is it?" "A son, my lady" (was the reply). "Well, now," said she, "put this boy into an old winnowing basket, and throw him away on a dust-heap!" So she caused him to be thrown away.[2]—Courtezans, of course, take care of a daughter, not of a son, because it is by a daughter that their custom suffers no interruption.—Crows and dogs surrounded the boy and staid there, but, as a consequence of his (former) affection for the Paccēka-buddha[3] and his uttering the sound "hem," not even one of them ventured to approach him.

At that very moment, a man who was going out perceived that (object) around which crows and dogs were assembled, and, drawing near, he saw a boy and conceived an affection for him. "I have come by a son" (thought he), and brought him home.

At that time the merchant of Kosambī, while he was going to the king's court, saw the (king's) chaplain returning from the royal residence, and asked: "Teacher, have you observed any junction of a star with a lunar mansion to-day?" "Verily, great merchant, what else

[1] Our text adduces four reasons in order to explain why a *devaputta* (angel) vanishes from the world of gods (angels), viz., āyukkhayena (exhaustion of life), puññakkhayena (exhaustion of merit), āhārakkhayena (exhaustion of food), and kopena (anger).

[2] Cf. Mahāvagga, viii, 1, 4.

[3] As related in the previous part of our legend, both in the Manoratha-Pūraṇī and in the Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā.

this star has been born a boy who will attain the merchant's office in this town." Hearing this speech, the merchant speedily despatched somebody to his own dwelling, saying: "This chaplain means but one thing; my wife is pregnant; find out whether she has brought forth or not!" They went there, and, having found it out, (returned and) said: "Sir, she has not yet brought forth." "Well, then, go and seek for a boy who has been born to-day in this town!" They sought for, and having seen such a boy in the house of the merchant's workman, told it to the merchant. "Well, then, I say, summon that workman!" They summoned him. Now the merchant asked him: "Is there in your house a boy?" "Yes, sir." "Give us this boy!" "No, sir, I will not give him." "Well, take a thousand pieces (of money) and give him to me!" "It is difficult to know if this child will live or die" (thought he), and so he took a thousand pieces and gave him.

2. From that time the merchant thought: "If my wife gives birth to a daughter, I will make him; if she gives birth to a son, I shall have him killed." Now, she gave birth to a son. Afterwards the merchant thought: "This being the case, the kine may trample on him and kill him"; and so he gave orders, "Put this boy at the door of the cow-pen." They put him there. Then the bull, leader of the herd, who was the first going out, saw him, and to prevent the others from trampling on him remained standing so that the boy was lying between his four legs. Seeing him, the cow-keepers thought: "Very fortunate is this boy, since even the animals know his value; let us take care of him"; and so they brought him to their own house.

have we to do?" "Teacher, what will befall the country?" "Nothing; in this town, however, to-day has been born a boy who will become chief merchant." At that time the merchant's wife was pregnant. Therefore, he quickly sent a man to his house, saying, "Go, I say, find out whether she has brought forth, or not!" Having heard she was not yet in labour, and (at the same time) seeing the king, he speedily went home and sent for a slave-girl named Kāḷī (the black one). To her he gave a thousand pieces (of money) and said: "Go; in this town a boy has been born to-day; look out for him, buy him and then come to me!" She, looking out for him, went to a house where she saw a boy, and asked the housewife, "When was this boy born?" "To-day," she was told, (and saying), "Give him to me," she began with one piece of money, and so, augmenting the sum, at last gave a thousand pieces, and, having procured him, she presented him to the merchant.

2. The merchant thought: "If a daughter is born to me, I will marry him to her and get him the post of merchant; if a son is born to me, I will destroy him," and so he caused him to be brought into his house. Now, after a few days his wife gave birth to a son. The merchant thought: "If this boy did not exist, my own son would be merchant; at present the best plan is to kill him"; and so he said to Kāḷī: "Go then, and at the time when the kine go out put him across the middle of the door of the cow-pen; thus the kine may trample on him and kill him, and when you know if he has been trampled, or not, come to me!" She went and put him there at the moment when the door of the cow-pen was opened by the cow-keeper. The bull, chief of the herd of kine, at other times went out behind all; this day, however, he went out before all and remained standing so that the boy was lying between his four legs. Many hundred kine, rubbing the two sides of the bull, went out. The cow-keeper thought: "Formerly, this bull went out behind all;

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The merchant too, asking if he was dead, heard that the cow-keepers had taken him away. Again he gave a thousand pieces, and caused the boy to be brought to him and ordered him to be cast out. At this time,[1] the goat-keeper drove the she-goats near the cemetery. Now, on account of the merit of that boy, a milch-goat got out of the way and, approaching the boy, gave him milk and went away. Afterwards, she came back and did the same once more. The goat-keeper thought: "This she-goat steps aside even in the early morning; what is that?"; and so he drew near and, having looked into the matter, he understood the reason. "Very fortunate is this boy, since even the animals know his value; I will take care of him" (thought he): and he took him and went home. Next day, the merchant sent to see if the boy was dead, or not, and as he heard that the goat-keeper had taken him, he gave a thousand pieces and, having caused him to be brought to him, he said: "To-morrow the leader of a caravan will come into this town; bring this boy and lay him on the cart-track, then a cart-wheel may go over him." The oxen of the caravan-leader's first cart, seeing him put down there, planted their four legs over him like pillars. "What is that?" (thought he, and) he looked into the reason of their standing still. Seeing the boy (he thought): "A very fortunate boy indeed, it behoves me to take care of him"; and so he took him and went his way.

[1] The second plot in the Manoratha-P. corresponds with the third in the Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā, and the second in the latter with the third in the former.

to-day, however, he has gone out before all; what is the reason that he stands quite still at the door of the cow-pen?" He drew near, saw the boy lying under the bull, and conceived an affection for him. "I have come by a son" (thought he): and brought him home.

Kāḷī, being asked by the merchant, told him what had happened. "Go and fetch him again for these thousand pieces," said he, and she fetched him and gave him up to the merchant. The latter said to her: "Mother Kāḷī, in this town five hundred carts go forth to trade at dawn; bring the boy and put him on the cart-track, then either the oxen will trample on him or the wheels will crush him; and when you know what has happened, come here!" She brought him and put him on the cart-track. The chief of the waggoners went first. His oxen, having reached that place, cast off their yoke, and though it was put on again and again, and they were driven on, they would not go forward. While he was exerting himself with them, the sun rose. "What are the oxen doing?" (said he, and so) he looked on the road and, seeing the boy, he thought: "A weighty matter for me; I have come by a son," and pleased at heart he brought him home. Kāḷī, being asked by the merchant, told him what had happened. "Go and fetch him again for a thousand pieces," said he, and she did so. Thereupon he told her: "Now bring him to the charnel-grove and put him in a shrub; there he will die either eaten by dogs and other animals or assailed by evil spirits; and when you have found out if he is dead or still living, come here!" She brought him there and after having put him down she stood aside. But no dog nor crow nor evil spirit was able to approach him.

"He has neither mother nor father nor brother."

The verses beginning thus speak of one who has been protected, but who protected him? At the time when he was a dog, he made the sound "hem" through love for the Paccekabuddha, and this good deed protected him.

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The merchant gave orders to see if the boy was dead, or not, and as he heard that the caravan-leader had taken him he gave the latter a thousand pieces, caused the boy to be brought to him, and had him thrown over a precipice not far from the town. Falling, he fell into the workshop of some basket-makers just on the place where they worked the reeds. By the power of his merit, it was as if he had fallen on the finest cotton and wadding.[1] The chief of the reed-workers took him up, saying: "Very fortunate is this boy, it behoves us to take care of him"; and went home. The merchant, seeking to know whether the boy had been saved at the spot where he had fallen, or had died, found out that the chief of the reed-workers had taken him up, and so he gave him, too, a thousand pieces and caused the boy to be brought to him.

3. In the meanwhile, the merchant's own son and the other both grew up. Again the merchant was meditating on a means to kill young Ghosaka, and so he went to his potter's, and said secretly: "Oh, there is in my house

[1] *Literally* like hundred times beaten cotton and like wadding.

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A goat-keeper, who was leading several thousand goats to the pastures, went past that grove. Now, a she-goat eating leaves and the like went into that shrub, and seeing the boy she went down on her knees and gave suck to him. The goat-keeper called out "heh, heh," but she did not go out. He struck her with a stick, and at last in order to drag her out he went into the shrub, where he saw her suckling the boy. Out of affection for the child he took him (saying), "I have come by a son," and went his way.

Kāḷī returned, and, questioned by the merchant, she told him what had happened. "Go and fetch him again for a thousand pieces," said he, and she did so. Then he told her: "Mother Kāḷī, take this boy, go up the mountain whence thieves are thrown down, and let him fall; he will fall to ground in the mountain-ravine and be dashed to pieces; and when you have found out if he is dead or not, come here!" She took him there, and let him fall from the summit of the mountain. But there was growing in the ravine against the mountain-side a tall thicket of bamboo, and the top of the mountain was covered by a very thick guñjā-shrub. The boy fell there as if on a fine coverlet. That very day the chief of the reed-workers had a gift of bamboos, and together with his son he had come to cut the thicket. When this was shaken, the boy uttered a cry. "That is the cry of a boy" (he thought, and) climbing on one side he saw him, and glad at heart he took him up, saying, "I have come by a son," and went his way. Kāḷī came back to the merchant, and, questioned by him, she told him what had happened. "Go and fetch him again for a thousand pieces," said he, and she did so.

3. While this was going on, the boy grew up, and he was called Ghosaka. He was as a thorn in the eye of the merchant, and he could not look him in the face. But meditating on a means to kill him, he went to his potter, and asked him, "When are you heating the

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a certain low-born boy; that boy must be killed in any case." Stopping both ears, the other said: "Such evil speech should not be uttered." The merchant thought, "This man will not do it for nothing," and so he said: "Well, friend, take a thousand pieces and do the deed!" (A bribe cuts all knots.) Then he took a thousand pieces and consented, saying: "Sir, on such and such a day I shall heat the admixture; then at such and such an hour send him to me!" To this the merchant consented. From that time he counted the days, and when he knew that the day fixed by the potter had come, he sent for young Ghosaka (saying): "My dear, on such and such a day we need many vessels; go then to our potter, and say: 'What my father has told you, do to-day.'" He agreed, saying, "Very well," and went out.

On the road the merchant's own son, who was playing at marbles, saw him and ran to him, saying: "Brother, playing with the boys, I have lost so much, win it again for me!" "I have no time," said the other: "my father has sent me to the potter on urgent business." But the other replied: "Brother, I will go there; play with these boys and win the stake back for me!" "Well, then, go!" said he, and gave him the message as it was told to him, and played with the boys. The young man went to the potter and gave him the message. "Well, my dear, I will do so"; and so he brought the young man indoors, and, having cut him to pieces with a sharp axe, he threw him into a jar. Shutting the aperture of the jar, he put it among the other jars and heated the admixture. Young Ghosaka, after winning a large sum, sat looking out for the arrival of his younger brother. Though he knew that he liked loitering, (he at last thought), "How late he is!" and so he himself went to the potter's, but, seeing his brother nowhere, he thought, "He must have gone home." So he turned back and went home. The merchant saw him coming from afar and thought: "What can the reason be? I sent him to the potter to be killed, but here he

admixture?" "To-morrow" (replied he). "Well, then, take this thousand pieces and do some work for me!" "What work, master?" "There is a low-born son of mine; I shall send him to you; seize him and bring him indoors, cut him into pieces with a sharp axe, and throw him in a jar and bake him in the admixture!" The potter agreed, saying, "Well." Next day the merchant called Ghosaka, saying: "My dear, yesterday I have ordered the potter to do some work; go to him, and say: 'Yesterday my father has ordered you to do some work: do it.'" He sent him there. Ghosaka went, saying, "Very well."

While he was going there, the other son of the merchant, who was playing at marbles with boys, saw him, and calling him, asked, "Where are you going, brother?" "With a message from my father to the potter," said he. "I will go there," said the other; "these boys won many of my stakes, win them again for me!" "I am afraid of my father." "Be not afraid! I will take the message, for I have lost much; play until I come back, and win my stakes again!" (Ghosaka was clever at playing marbles, therefore he pressed him hard.) Ghosaka said: "Well, then, go and tell the potter: 'Yesterday my father has ordered you to do some work: do it.'" Thus he dismissed him. He went to the potter and spoke as he was told. The potter, after killing him in the way indicated by the merchant, threw him into the admixture. Ghosaka, having played all day long, went home in the evening. The merchant seeing him said: "My dear, did you not go?" He told him why he himself had not gone, and the younger brother had gone there. Hearing this, the merchant cried aloud, "Woe to me!" And his whole body streamed with blood. Crying, "Oh! potter, do not destroy me; do not destroy me!" and, stretching out his arms and weeping,

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comes again." "My dear, did you not go to the potter?" said he to the boy as he came near. "No, dear father, I did not go." "Why, my dear?" So he told the merchant why he himself returned and his younger brother went. The moment he heard these words it seemed to the merchant that the great earth was overwhelming him. "Are you speaking the truth?"; and in terror he ran to the potter, and since he could not speak in the presence of others (freely), he said: "See, friend; see, friend!" "What is there to see? now the deed is done." Thereupon he turned back and went home.

4. From that time, he fell into a sickness of mind. Even now he could not eat with the boy. "By some means or other" (thought he) "I must see the ruin of the enemy of my son"; and so he wrote a letter and sent for young Ghosaka and said: "Take this letter; in such and such a village dwells our workman, go to him and give him this letter and say: 'Quickly do what is written in this letter'"; and besides he charged him, saying: "On the road there lives our friend, the merchant of the village; go to his house, take a meal, and depart."

He saluted the merchant, took the letter, and went out. On the road, having asked where the dwelling of the village-merchant was, he entered. The latter was sitting outside the gate and shaving his beard. After saluting him he stood aside. "Whence do you come, my dear?" he said, and the other answered: "I am the son of the

he went to him. The potter saw him coming and said: "Master, make no noise, your work has been done." Overwhelmed with sorrow like a mountain, his grief was great as if one with a wicked mind (sinning) against one, who is not corrupted. Therefore the Blessed One said:—

"He who does wrong with violence to those who are harmless and innocent, soon comes to one of ten states: he will meet with cruel suffering, loss, maiming of the body, severe illness, madness, danger coming from the king, heavy accusation, ruin of relations, destruction of wealth, and bright fire burns his houses, and after the dissolution of the body the foolish man is reborn in hell."

4. This being the case, the merchant again would not look him in the face. "How? I would fain kill him," thought he. "I will send him to the superintendent of my hundred villages and thus kill him." So seeing a means, he wrote a letter as follows: "There is a low-born son of mine; kill him and throw him into a cesspool, and when this is done I shall know what I have to reward my uncle." Then saying: "Dear Ghosaka, there is a superintendent of our hundred villages; take this letter and give it to him," he attached the letter to the hem of his garment. He, however, was illiterate, because, from his childhood up the merchant tried to kill him and yet was not able to do so (and so he thought): "Why should he learn to read and write?" Thus, when the letter, which was his death-warrant, was attached to the hem of his garment, he said, on going out: "Father, I have no provisions for a journey." "Do not trouble about provisions! On the road there dwells my friend the merchant: take your breakfast in his house and go on!"

"Well," said he, and saluting his father he went out. On reaching that village he asked about the house of the merchant, and going there he saw the merchant's wife, and when she said: "Whence are you come?" he answered, "From the town." "Whose son are you?" "Your friend the merchant's son, lady." "You are

merchant of Kosambī." "You are the son of our friend the merchant!" (said he, and) was glad and joyful. At the same time, a slave-girl of the merchant's daughter was going to fetch flowers. The merchant told her: "Let this work alone, and bathe the feet of young Ghosaka and prepare him a couch!" She did so and, going to a shop, she bought flowers. Seeing her, the merchant's daughter was angry with her and said: "To-day thou lingerest long outside; what hast thou been doing there for ever so long?" "My lady, do not speak thus! I have never seen his like! The only son of the friend of your father (is there); it is impossible to say how beautiful he is; the merchant told me when I was going for flowers: 'Bathe the feet of the young man and prepare him a couch.' Therefore I have lingered so long outside."

5. The merchant's daughter herself had been his wife in her fourth existence (before this). Therefore, from the moment she had heard the girl speak of him, she could neither stand nor sit. She took her slave-girl and went to the room where he was lying, and fixed her gaze on him sleeping, and observed the letter in the hem of his garment. "What is this letter?" thought she, and without awakening him she seized the letter and read it. "This young man goes about taking his own death-warrant with him." So she tore up the letter, while he was still sleeping, and wrote another, as follows: "Herewith I send my son to you; my friend the village-merchant has a girl of marriageable age; quickly procure in due legal form the hand of the village-merchant's daughter for my son, when the omens have been observed at a duly appointed place; prepare a feast, and this being done send a message to me, saying: 'According to the plan, I have carried it out.' I then shall know how to recompense you." Then sealing this letter, she attached

Ghosaka?" "Yes, indeed, lady." Seeing him, she felt an affection for him as for a son. But the merchant had a daughter of fifteen or sixteen years, who was beautiful and gracious. In order to guard her, they had given her a slave-girl, who was employed to go on errands, and had given her as residence a royal bedchamber in the upper story of a seven-storied palace. The merchant's daughter, at this very time, had sent her slave-girl into a shop. But seeing her, the merchant's wife asked: "Where art thou going?" She replied: "Your daughter, lady, has sent me." "First come here, leave that errand alone, prepare a chair for my son, bathe his feet, and, having anointed them with oil, prepare a couch for him and perform thy errand!" She did so. As she came back after a long while, the merchant's daughter abused her. But she replied: "My lady, be not angry with me! The merchant's son Ghosaka has arrived; for this reason I did thus and so, and after that I have come back here."

5. Hearing the name of Ghosaka, the merchant's son, love arose in the merchant's daughter and penetrated her from the skin to the marrow. For in the time of Kotuhalika she had been his wife, and as such she had given a nāḷī-measure of rice to a Paccekabuddha. By the power of this action she had been born after death in the family of the merchant. Thus penetrating, her former love had seized her. Thereupon the Blessed One said:—

"Because one has lived (with another) in a former existence, or because of a present benefit, love arises like a blue lotus in the water."

She asked her: "Where is he now, my dear?" "He sleeps lying on the couch." "Has he anything in his hand?" "In the hem of his garment he has a letter." She thought: "What may this letter be?" Thus, while he was sleeping, and her parents being engaged in another business could not observe her, she descended (from the upper story) and, having gone to him, she detached that

it to the hem of his garment as it was attached there before. The young man stayed there that same day, but next day he took leave of the merchant and, going to the village of the workman, he gave him the letter. The workman read it, and called the villagers together and said: "You look down on me; my lord has sent to me his eldest son, in order that I may in due legal form procure the hand of a girl for him; knead quickly lumps for an omen[1] at this very place!" After having prepared all for the feast, he sent a message to the village-merchant, and he also consented, and, the feast having been finished with all legal forms, he despatched a letter to the merchant of Kosambī, saying: "I have done thus and so according to the message sent to me in your letter."

6. Hearing this message, the merchant was as if burnt by fire. "Now I am a ruined man" (thought he), and since he never ceased to think thereon, he sickened of

[1] uppādaṃ sampiṇḍeti, *literally* to lump together an omen, i.e. to knead lumps for an omen. This rite is known from Āśvalāyana. Gṛhya-Sūtras, i, 5, 4. 5. Cf. A. Hillebrandt, "Ritualliteratur, Vedische Opfer und Zauber" (Grundriss d. Indo-Ar. Philol., iii, 8), p. 64.

letter, took it, and going into her own chamber she shut the door and opened the window, and being able to read and write, she read the letter. "Ah!" cried she, "this fool walks about with his death-warrant attached to the hem of his garment. If I had not seen it his life would have been lost." So she tore up that letter and wrote another in the name of the merchant as follows: "Cause a present to be brought from the hundred villages for my son Ghosaka; make a feast for him with the daughter of the country-merchant; build in the village where he lives a two-storied house for him, and provide a fence for his protection as well as a personal guard; then send me a message, saying: 'I have done thus and so, and I shall know what I have to reward my uncle.'" After having written it, she folded it up and attached it again to the hem of his garment. Having slept that day he rose, and having eaten he went away. Next day, in the morning, he came to the village, where he saw the superintendent transacting village-businesses. The latter, seeing him, asked: "What is your pleasure, my dear?" "My father has sent a letter to you," said he. "From whom is that letter, my dear? Tell me." So he took the letter, and having read it, glad at heart he addressed the householders: "Behold, friends, the love of my lord to me! He has sent to me, saying: 'Make a feast for my eldest son.' Quickly fetch wood and the like!" And he caused a house to be built of the kind spoken of in the midst of the village, and a present to be brought by the hundred villages, and then he sent for the daughter of the country-merchant. Having held the feast, he despatched a letter to the merchant, saying: "I have done thus and so."

6. Hearing this, the merchant was greatly grieved, thinking: "What I would have done, is left undone; what I would leave undone, is done."[1] So his sorrow for a (lost)

[1] Cf. Shakespeare, "Troilus and Cressida," Act iv, sc. 4:

"But something may be done that we will not:
And sometimes we are devils to ourselves."

a bloody flux. "By some means or other" (thought he), "I will send for my son and, as he belongs to me, I will disinherit him." From the time when the feast was over (he always asked), "Why is my son abroad?" and sent a message, saying, "Let him come quickly." Hearing the message, the young man set out to go, but the merchant's daughter thought: "This fool does not know through whom he has obtained his good fortune; I must, at any rate, do something to prevent him from going." Therefore she told him: "Young man, be not overhasty; he who returns to his native village must prepare himself." The merchant of Kosambī, too, who knew that he liked to loiter, sent again a message (saying): "For what reason does my son tarry? I am sick of bloody flux; he must come if he would find me still alive." Then the merchant's daughter told him: "This man is not your father, but you are father"; and she made known to him: "He sent the letter to the workman in order that he might kill you; I removed that letter and wrote another message, and thus I brought about this prosperity for you; he sends for you in order to disinherit you; wait until he is dead." And hearing that he was dead, although he was still alive, he went into the town of Kosambī. The merchant's daughter advised him yet more urgently: "When you go there, first put a guard in the whole house." She herself, having entered with the merchant's son, held up both hands as if she were weeping, and so she drew near him lying in a dark room and struck him over the heart with her head. His weakness was so great that he died from this blow. Having performed the funeral ceremonies, the young merchant gave a bribe to the servants (saying): "Say that I am the merchant's own son." On the seventh day following the king sent (saying): "Some one must have the post of merchant; do you know if this man is the merchant's son?" The servants told the king that he was truly his son. The king consented, saying: "Well," and gave him the post of merchant. Thus he became the merchant Ghosaka.

son added to this sorrow burned him with inward fire and gave rise to diarrhoea. The merchant's daughter gave orders to the people (saying): "If anybody arrives from the merchant, do not tell the merchant's son before telling me!" The merchant thought: "Now I will not make this wicked son heir of my wealth," and so he told his chief attendant: "Uncle, I would fain see my son; send a servant for him!" "Well," said he, and gave a letter to a man and sent him there. The merchant's daughter, hearing that this servant had arrived and stood at the door, sent for him, and asked him: "What is your pleasure, my dear?" "The merchant is ill and sends to see his son, my lady." "My dear, is the merchant strong or weak?" "Still strong; he eats food, my lady." Without giving notice of it to the merchant's son, she had this man supplied with clothing and paid the expenses he had had, saying: "He will go at such time as I send him; stay here a while." The merchant spoke again to his chief attendant: "How, uncle, have you not sent to my son?" "My lord," said he, "I have sent to him; but the man who has gone there has not yet returned." "Well, then," he replied, "send another there!" He did so. The merchant's daughter did the same with this man. In the meanwhile, the merchant's illness grew worse. Always he was on the chamber-pot. Again he asked his chief attendant: "How, uncle, have you not sent to my son?" "My lord," said he, "I have sent to him; but the man who has gone there has not yet returned." "Well, then, send another there!" He did so. The merchant's daughter, for the third time, asked for news from the man who had come, saying: "What is the merchant's illness?" He answered: "He is very ill, my lady; the merchant vomits his food, he is bedridden and always on the chamber-pot." The merchant's daughter thought: "Now it is time to go," and so she told to the merchant's son: "Your father is ill." "What do you say, my dear?" he replied, and she: "Husband, it may be an indisposition." "But now, what

is to be done?" She said: "Husband, take a present from the hundred villages to tend him withal; then let us go and see him!" "Well," said he; and he caused a present to be brought, and set out on a cart. But (his wife) said: "Your father is very weak; such a present might delay you; return it"; and she sent it all into the house of her own family. She also said to the merchant's son: "Husband, you may stand at your father's feet; I shall stand at the pillow"; and entering the house, she ordered the people to keep guard before and behind the house. Now, from the time they came in, the merchant's son stood at his father's feet, and the woman at his pillow.

At that very time the merchant was lying on his back. The chief attendant who rubbed his feet said: "My lord, your son has arrived." "Where is he?" "He stands at your feet," said he. Seeing him, he sent for the receiver of his revenues, and asked him: "How much wealth is there in my house?" "My lord, there are four hundred millions of money; for temporary use there are villages, fields, bipeds, quadrupeds, cars and other vehicles, it is impossible to determine them exactly." On this statement the merchant declared: "Although I would fain say, I do not give it to my son Ghosaka, yet I give him all that wealth." Hearing this, the merchant's daughter thought: "If he speaks once more he may say something different," and so she dishevelled her hair, and weeping as if she were afflicted, said: "What are you saying, my dear? We are indeed unhappy to hear such words!" Then she fell across him, striking him on the breast with her head; and she rolled her head about on his breast so that he might not speak again, making as if she were weeping. And the merchant instantly died. They went to the king Udena, and told him, "The merchant is dead." When the funeral ceremonies were performed, the king asked: "Had he any son or daughter?" "Sire, he had a son, Ghosaka by name; he handed over all his property to him, and then he died, sire." Afterwards the king sent

for the merchant's son. It rained on that day, and in the court of the palace, here and there, water was standing. The merchant's son went to see the king. The latter opened a window and saw him coming, while he was jumping over the water in the court of the palace. When he arrived and saluted the king, the latter asked him: "Are you Ghosaka, my dear?" "Yes, sire," he replied; "my father is dead." "Do not mourn! I shall give you the post of merchant as successor to your father." Thus having comforted him, he dismissed him (saying): "Go, my dear." The king stood there looking after him while he was going. He stepped over the water, over which he had jumped before when he arrived, and went slowly away. The king sent for him anew, and asked him: "How's this, my dear? When you were coming to me, you jumped over the water, but now you step over and go slowly away." "Yes, sire; I was then a boy. That is the age for sport. At present, however, it behoves me to walk slowly and with dignity." Having heard this, the king (thought): "This is a wise man; now I will give him the same place" (as his father has had), and so he gave him the wealth possessed by his father and the post of merchant in due legal form. Thereupon he made a procession around the town standing on a chariot. (He who ponders over and over comes to no firm resolution.)[1]

The merchant's daughter, in the meanwhile, was talking with the slave-girl Kāḷī and said: "Mother Kāḷī, your son has reached such prosperity through me." "For what reason, my dear?" "He came to our house with his own death-warrant attached to the hem of his garment; then I tore up this letter and wrote another, and therein I bid (them) prepare a feast for him with me, and I protected him the whole time." "My dear, you know no more than

[1] Cf. Shakespeare, "Hamlet," Act iv, sc. 7:

"That we would do,
We should do when we would; for this *would* changes,
And hath abatements and delays as many
As there are tongues, are hands, are accidents."

that; the merchant, however, from his childhood up wished to kill him, yet could not do so, but a great deal of money was wasted because of him." "Mother, the merchant's deeds were too wicked!"

Having made the procession round the town, he entered the house, and when she saw him she thought: "This man has reached such prosperity through me," and smiled. Seeing her, the merchant's son asked: "Why did you laugh?" "For a certain" (reason). "Tell me what it is!" She would not tell him. "If you do not tell me, I will cut off your head," and he drew his sword. She said: "Thinking, 'He has reached such prosperity through me,' I laughed." "If my father had not handed over to me his own wealth, what would you be then?" All this time he knew nothing. Therefore he did not believe what she said. But she told him all, saying: "Your father had given you a letter, which was your death-warrant, and sent you forth, and I did thus and so and protected you." "You are telling me strange things," and, not believing it, he thought: "I will ask mother Kāḷī." "Is it true, mother?" asked he. "Yes, my son, from your childhood up he wished to kill you and yet could not do so, and thus much wealth wasted away; seven times you have been released from death; now coming from the village of which he was headman, you have obtained the post of merchant in due legal form."

IV. CONCLUSIONS.

It seems desirable first to take into consideration in what respect the story, as it is narrated in the Manoratha-Pūraṇī, agrees with, or deviates from, that in the Dhammapada-Commentary, and afterwards to examine in what degree the different non-Buddhist Indian versions are related to them. My intention, however, is not to discuss the several other Oriental and Occidental versions of our tale, hitherto known to us.

Evidently the two Buddhist forms we have before us are taken from one common source. It is *au fond* only a free version of the same story which we meet with in both. Thence it follows that we can only base any conclusion concerning their primitive form upon the features they have in common, whereas those points in which both differ from each other should be used for such a purpose only with great precaution. In neither of them do we possess the original, and it would be wholly vain to endeavour to find it out, or to establish it in such a way as would preclude any doubt at all. For oral traditions, especially where profane literature is concerned, give us no warrant against falsifications. Every narrator adds here and passes over there many details, according to the circumstances. Such being the case with the Buddhist narrators too, we can never succeed in laying bare a primitive kernel, which may be attributed to the first narrators.

It is almost certain that our story has been handed down in a certain given form, hallowed as it were, by the reputation of those who had selected it for the instruction of others. But, since every selection appears to be also an adaptation, we hope to be right in saying that all that we expect to find is neither more nor less

than a variation of what we may call their common type. There are, of course, in variations, too, some different degrees, and perhaps by a comparison with other non-Buddhist forms we shall be able to determine the measure and mode of their deviation from a common Indian type which we are entitled to presuppose for each of them.

Now, before going on, let us notice the following points:—

(1) Two topics are combined in one tale, viz., firstly, the fable which relates how a persecutor's own son perishes in place of the person whom he wished to make away with; and secondly, the fable which relates how through one letter having been changed with another, the man who carried his own death-warrant wins a wife, namely, the girl who has written and substituted another letter, and how he, by a new trick of the latter, also wins the immense riches of his persecutor. The plan invented to destroy him by sending him to a potter on a day before agreed upon, is followed by the plot to ruin him by a letter.

(2) A series of very costly attempts at murdering him precede the two plans mentioned before. Here, always, another person acts as agent of the persecutor. Every time the fortunate boy escapes, and is brought back to the house of his persecutor, who pays for him a thousand pieces of money.

(3) The lucky boy himself is a foundling. A prophecy read in the stars has declared that he will become heir to the office of a setṭhi, or foreman of the guild of merchants.

(4) He who actually held this office at the time when that prophecy had been uttered, expects the birth of a child, and so he decides to save him provided it be a daughter, or to kill him if it be a son. After a son is born to him, he determines to destroy the low-born boy.

Against these points of conformity between M. and Dhp..A.[1] we may be permitted to set as many differences:—

(1) In M. the future seṭṭhi, before the death of the rich merchant, is not unaware of being himself persecuted by the latter. In Dhp. A. he has obtained the post of seṭṭhi without knowing that strictly speaking he has no right to it. Whereas in M. bribery and false testimony must do their work, in Dhp. A. all takes place without any irregularities.

(2) Dhp. A. lays much more stress upon the part of Providence, which the wife of the young man plays in his behalf, than M. where everything occurs with a greater simplicity.

(3) According to Dhp. A. the merchant's own son is thrown into the hot mixture after having been cut into pieces by the potter. M. leaves out this circumstance.

(4) It is only from Dhp. A. that we learn the actual contents of the death-warrant, which we can only guess from M.

There is no need to mention expressly here also the fact that the Dhp. A. likes to quote passages from the Holy Scriptures. Both versions once insert, but at different occasions, a proverb into the context of the story.

If we could only compare the two Buddhist forms of the tale, we should be at a great loss to decide, which of them has a claim to be nearer to our hypothetical original. I, at least, would not venture to pass judgment upon it, guided merely by subjective reasons, which depend principally on feeling. Fortunately, we possess some other Indian versions of our tale, viz., one in the Jaiminī-Bharata,[2] one forming the Campakaśreṣṭhikathānaka,[3] and

[1] Henceforth I use the following abbreviations:—M. = Manoratha-Pūraṇī; Dhp. A. = Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā; J. = Jaiminī-Bharata; C. = Campaka-śreṣṭhikathānaka; K. = Kathākośa.

[2] i.e. the episode of Candrahāsa and Viṣayā, analyzed by A. Weber in Monatsber. d. Berliner Akad., 1869, pp. 14 sqq.

[3] Edited and translated into German by A. Weber in Sitzungsber. d. Berliner Akad., 1883, pp. 567 sqq. An additional note, see l.c., pp. 885 sqq.

one in the Kathākośa.[1] Now, on comparing the two Buddhist versions with the last named, we find that the latter put the incident of the letter before the fable of which we have the last offshoot in our Western literature. Moreover, according to the non-Buddhist sources, the girl who writes another letter to be substituted for the one by which a young man is sent to death happens to be the daughter of the cruel persecutor. Further, they bring the death of that wicked man into close connection with the failure of the second plan, so that both, he who escapes from death and he who plotted the murder, never meet each other again. There exists, as we may see, a closer agreement between the non-Buddhist versions themselves than between these and the Buddhist ones. Besides, J. and K. agree better than K. and C. notwithstanding that the latter were both composed by Jainas. This becomes apparent from the following reasoning, viz. :—

(1) In J. and K. the boy, who is destined to become a rich and respectable man, is an orphan; he does not know his parents who died soon after his birth (J.), or he had known them, but they died when he was eight years old (K.).

(2) The prophecy concerning the boy is not taken from the stars, but from the marks on his body (J., K.). It is told later on, five years (J.) or eight years (K.) after the birth of the boy, at the moment when he entered the house of the man who afterwards persecuted him (and also became his father-in-law). This very man had a son (J. gives him two sons, but only one plays a conspicuous part in our story), and, therefore, he dislikes him and attacks him in order to destroy him.

(3) The assassins are some Caṇḍālas (J.) or one Caṇḍāla (K.), but compassion keeps them back, and they are contented to cut off the small supernumerary sixth toe at the left foot (J.), or the small finger (K.), in order to have a token for him who had commissioned them.

[1] The Story of Dāmannaka, translated by C. H. Tawney, "The Kathākoça" (London, 1895), pp. 169 sqq.

(4) Many years later on, while visiting at the house of the foster-father of the boy, the persecutor recognizes him. He is confirmed in the belief that he is the same by the foster-father himself, who told him how he had got this son (J.), or he perceives that the small finger is wanting and the other said that he has found him in a forest (K.).

(5) The plot of the letter is eluded by the daughter of the writer herself, who observes a sleeping young man (J., K.). She sees him outside her house in the neighbourhood of a pond (J.), or of a temple (K.), and changes the word visa (poison) into her own name Visayā, or Visā, saying: "Visayā, or Visā, shall be given to him!" She acts so, supposing that her father had erroneously written an anusvāra instead of an *ā* (K.). According to J. she was affrighted at the contents of the letter.

(6) The second plan is agreed upon with the same people who ought to have killed the child. They expect the sacrifice near a temple. But in lieu of the person who has been destined to be killed arrives the son of the man who had conceived the plot. Thus this youth is killed (J., K.).

(7) Both sources, herein agreeing with C., relate that he is beaten to death, whereas we have heard from M. and Dhp. A. that he has been cut into pieces and then thrown in the fire. By this circumstance at least one of the Buddhist versions (Dhp. A.) comes near to the form adopted in the Kathāsaritsāgara.[1]

There are, however, a number of traits common to J. with C., and to K. with C., viz.:—

(1) The twofold act of recognizing the fortunate child, which occurs in K. and J., occurs also in J. and C. (K. and C.), excepting only that in C. the unborn boy is first recognized as auspicious from indications given by the family goddess to his mother.

[1] i.e. the story of the queen Kuvalayāvalī (xx, 194 sqq.). Here the king's own son is killed by the cook, and so probably burned by him, while the pious Phalabhūti, who was destined to be killed, does the prince some service. Cf. A. Weber in Monatsber. d. Berliner Akad., 1869, p. 45; also M. Haberlandt, "Der Altindische Geist" (Leipzig, 1887), pp. 65 sqq.

(2) The letter is addressed in J. and C. (K. and C.) to a person belonging to the same family. The contents of the substituted letter are the same in J. and C. It is in C., however, written anew, not only changed, as in J. and K. In J. and C., in contradistinction to K., the falsified letter is read afterwards by the author of the plot.

(3) In K. and C., differently from J., the purpose to struggle against fate gives rise to many utterances by the persecutor.

Now, if we examine those traits which combine J., K., C. with M. or Dhp. A. we find :—

(1) In J., K., C., M. is said that the letter was sealed; only in Dhp. A. it is unsealed, and this because the deliverer of the letter is illiterate.

(2) In J., C., M., Dhp. A. the receiver of the letter gives notices of its contents in an assembly. All versions, including K., mention the subsequent wedding feast. According to J., C., K. the wicked writer of the death-warrant just arrives when the marriage is celebrated. He cannot prevent it, and so he gives his consent. Before the marriage favourable omens are attended to in M., J., K.

(3) The words addressed by his brother to the merchant when he arrived after the marriage is celebrated, viz., "I quickly executed your command"[1] (C.), recall the words of the potter in M., Dhp. A.

(4) On the whole, the social position of the characters indicated in our story is that of common people and not of the nobility. Always without any exception the beauty of the fortunate boy is extolled; he has particular skill in playing (M., Dhp. A.), in the use of arms (J.), in commercial transactions (C.), he is pious (J.) and virtuous (K.).[2]

(5) C. agrees with Dhp. A. in also having written in the death-warrant the order to throw the bearer of it into a pit (well, cesspool) when he is killed.

[1] Śīghram eva bhavad ādiṣṭaṃ kṛtaṃ maye.
[2] Also in the Kathāsaritsāgara.

Even such isolated traits, or particular details, as e.g. the description of the wedding-feast (J.), the "mother" who has found and taken up the boy (C.), the overhearing[1] of the prophecy by the merchant (K.), are not missing.

Summing up, the question is to know if any of the five Indian versions containing both chief points—viz., the replacing of an innocent man by another, the death of whom brings retribution to the guilty person; and the changing of a death-letter into its opposite by the hand of the subsequent wife of the saved man—is entitled to be considered prior to all the rest.

I maintain that neither of the two Buddhist versions, notwithstanding their higher antiquity, has preserved the model for the chronologically younger versions (J., C., K.). The primitive form is given neither in M. nor in Dhp. A. Though they are much less coloured, so to say, from a sectarian point of view, than J., C., K., we nevertheless hesitate to pronounce them the original. On the contrary, we see from a comparison of M. with Dhp. A. on the one side, and of J., C., K. on the other, that certain principal points of the story have held together with a relative persistency, as well in Buddhist communities as in those of Krsnaites and Jainas. Which of them belonged to the primitive form may be deduced conjecturally from a comparison of the two groups with each other. Even thus, there remains as the first principal point only the despatching of the substitute by fire, not to mention the act of substitution itself, and, as the second principal point, the winning of the daughter of the writer of the death-letter. This, at least, seems to be the natural *pointe* of the story, and not that which is represented as such in the Buddhist versions. These latter, having attributed but a son as natural heir to the rich merchant, are therefore obliged to give another turn to the story. Firstly, they relate how the merchant's

[1] Exactly as in the Ethiopian and Arabic versions. See E. Kuhn, in Byzantin. Zeitschr., iv, pp. 242 sqq.

own son died at an early age, whence follows the arrangement of the two themes of our tale in the manner mentioned above; secondly, they introduce the sojourn on the road; and thirdly, they explain (by somewhat forced reasoning, as we may see from the contradiction in which M. stands to Dhp. A.) why the young man became the rich man's heir.

Art. XXVIII.—*The Geography of the Kandahár Inscription.*

By John Beames, B.C.S. (retired).

In the *Journal Asiatique* for 1890, vol. xv, p. 195, the late eminent scholar M. James Darmesteter gave the text and a translation of the inscription in the vaulted chamber constructed by order of the Emperor Bábar on a rock near Kandahár, A.D. 1522–27. The inscription is not entirely of the same date as the building. It is in three parts, the first of which only is synchronous with the dome, having been engraved under the orders of Prince Kámrán, then governor of Kandahár. The second, which has been partly defaced, seems to have been executed after Bábar's death by Prince 'Askari, to whom Kámrán entrusted the government of Kandahár at the time when, after their father's death, he began those scandalous intrigues against his brother, the long-suffering Humáyún, which ended in the temporary downfall of the dynasty. The third part was written and set up seventy years later by Mir Ma'súm, an official in the service of the Emperor Akbar. M. Darmesteter remarks on this portion of the inscription: "Un commentaire de la liste géographique contiendrait toute l'histoire géographique de l'Hindoustan . . . . Cette liste serait un bon point de départ pour remonter dans la géographie historique du moyen âge et pour descendre jusqu'à nos jours" (p. 223).

This, however, is giving the inscription far higher importance than it deserves. It can in no sense serve as a point of departure for the historical geography of mediaeval India. Whatever value it may have is of a far slighter description, as will be seen from a comparison between it and two other nearly contemporary documents which have come down to us. I allude to Bábar's own

statement of the provinces he found himself in possession of after the defeat of Ibráhim Lodi at Pániput (A.D. 1526), and to the elaborately detailed geographical lists in the Áín-i Akbari (A.D. 1589). The third part of the Kandahár inscription was executed in A.H. 1007 (A.D. 1597–98), and is thus the latest of the three. It would almost seem as if the writer of it had seen Abul Fazl's work or at least heard of it, for there are many points of similarity between them, and his aspiration that the whole inhabited world may soon be brought into subjection to His Majesty reminds one of the similar expression at the beginning of Abul Fazl's chapter on the Subahs.

The relation of Mir Ma'súm's list to the other two will be clearly seen from the following remarks. I give Ma'súm's list first, then that of Bábar and, where necessary, references to the detailed list in the Áín-i Akbari.

I.

The Kandahár List.

The list contains two sets of names. There is first (*Journal Asiatique*, vol. xv, p. 205, lines 7–10) a rough description of the boundaries of the Empire as follows:—"When the imperial sway was extended over most of the climes of the habitable world (*rub'-i maskún*), the length whereof from the frontiers of Sarandíb and Udesa and Bandkúrakát and Kúr and Bankála to Tatta and Bandar Láhirí and Hurmuz is a distance of nearly a two years' journey, and the breadth thereof from Kábul and Kandahár to the frontier of Dakin and Barár is a journey of nearly a year and a half." At p. 219 of the same article there is a translation in French and in the notes an identification of the places mentioned. It must be remembered, as M. Darmesteter points out, that in Persian inscriptions گ is represented by ک, and aspirated letters are written without the aspiration, while no distinction is made between cerebrals and

dentals. The places mentioned as constituting the eastern frontier are thus (1) Ceylon (which is, of course, a mere empty boast); (2) Orissa; (3) a place to be discussed presently; (4) Gaur; and (5) Bengal; which two last places Ma'súm apparently regards as separate provinces. The western frontier is formed by Tatta, the old capital of Sindh; Bandar Láhirí, near Karáchi; and the island of Ormuz in the Persian Gulf: a sufficiently vague description.

The place omitted above (3) is written in the Persian characters *Bandkúrá Kát*, بندکوراکات. This M. Darmesteter resolves into Bánkúrá and *Kát*, the latter of which he is unable to explain. But the first part of the word cannot be Bánkurá, for three very good reasons:—

1. Bánkurá is not on, or anywhere near, the eastern frontier of Akbar's dominions, but in the extreme west of the modern British province of Bengal.

2. Bánkurá was not subject to Akbar, nor is it mentioned in the Á'ín. It was not conquered by the Mughals till long after Akbar's time.

3. Bánkurá is merely an English corruption. The real name is बाकुंडा Bákunḍá, and until the days of British rule it was an obscure and very small village. Indeed, it is not much more than that now, though the headquarters of a district.

If we refer to the detailed list given by Ma'súm a little lower down, we find (line 16 on p. 205) two places in Eastern Bengal, Sunárgáon and Ghorághát, one following the other. The first of these, Sunárgáon, was a famous port, and as such was often spoken of as Bandar. It seems to me that in line 8 the name has been omitted by a mistake of the sculptor, and that what Ma'súm meant to write, and probably did write, was بندر کوراکات Bandar Ghorághát, and a ر has dropped out either in the carving or in the transcript made by the Mirzá in 1889. Bandar would refer to Sunárgáon, and the next place of importance on the north-east frontier is Ghorághát. It is even not

impossible that Ma'súm may have originally written "Bandar Sunárgáon wa Ghorághát."

The second set of names is much longer. Ma'súm says: "It should not be concealed that between the boundaries mentioned above there are many provinces, cities, and forts. It would be difficult to mention them all, but a few are cited for the sake of brevity. This is the list"; then follow the names of 106 places, some of which are towns or fortresses, while others are provinces. As M. Darmesteter has correctly identified most of them, it will be sufficient to follow his list, supplying omissions and noting some instances in which a different identification seems called for.

First comes the province of Orissa. Udesá should be read, not Adisa (D.).[1] So also Jagannáth, not Jagnáth.

In Bengal we have Sátgáon, and next to it, in contempt of all geography, Chatgáon, which the English have corrupted into Chittagong. Ma'súm seems to have taken this name from Abul Fazl, for it is well known that Chittagong was not conquered by the Mughals until the reign of Aurangzeb.

Then we go back to Western Bengal again with Bardwán and Sulaimánábád, the capital of the Sarkár of that name. Next comes a word written پیرنیہ which D. omits. It can hardly be Purniya, as that name occurs a little lower down; and at p. 229, l. 20, he gives a variant پیرنیز. Judging from the situation following upon Sulaimánábád, I should conjecture that the place meant is Pandúa or Panrúa, an ancient town mentioned in the Á'ín.[2] It had probably got to be written Panría, which would easily slip into پیرنیہ for پنریہ.

The other names in Bengal are Sunárgáon, Ghorághát, Shírpúr Múrcha (written میرچہ with *i* for *ú*, a similar corruption to Panría for Panrúa), Purniya, Tájpur, Gaur, Tánda, and Á'gmahal (Rájmahal), all well-known places and all mentioned in the Á'ín.

[1] To avoid repetition the letter D. stands for M. Darmesteter's name.
[2] See my article on Súbah Bengal, J.R.A.S., January, 1896, p. 99.

In Behár first comes Mungir (Monghyr), then the provinces of Behár (south of Ganges) and Tirhut (north of Ganges) and Hájipúr. The next word is in the Persian text بیه, which D. renders Biyat and explains by Bihiya. This seems rather doubtful, as Bihiya, though mentioned in the Aín, was always a small place and hardly of sufficient importance to be selected as one of the principal towns in Bihár. It will be observed that the consonants of this word will serve equally well for Patna: بسه may be pointed پتنه just as easily as بیه. In fact, the consonants suit Patna better than Bihiya, for the latter is correctly written بیها Bihíyá. It would be surprising if the great flourishing and famous city of Patna should be omitted, while an obscure place like Bihiya (wrongly spelled too) were inserted. I should therefore prefer to read Patna. The Mirza who made the copy used by D. may easily have mistaken the vowel points in this, as he has in several other instances. Patna is mentioned in the Aín under Sarkár Bihár, with two forts.[1]

Ruhtál is obviously a mistake for Ruhtás or Rohtás, the great hill fortress so celebrated in history, Sher Sháh's stronghold. Sahasrám and Chausá are also well known places.

The list now passes into Súbah Ilahábás (Allahabad), the next province, going westwards, to Behár. Here we have a somewhat capricious selection of names, though on the whole fairly representative. Chausá was in Todar Mal's lists, probably in Behár, though the reading is doubtful. Gházipúr, Chunár, Banáras, and Jaunpúr are well known. The next place is given by D. as Kar (?), and in a note he suggests that it may mean Garh = 'fort.' The correct reading is, I think, Karra کڑہ. It was one of the Sarkárs of Súbah Ilahábás.[2] The town is on the right bank of the Ganges, not far from Mánikpúr on the left, and in Indian

[1] See my article on Súbah Bihár, J.A.S.B., liv, 162.
[2] See Jarrett's "Aín," vol. ii, p. 167, for Karrah, and p. 164 for Mánikpúr.

historians the two places are constantly mentioned in conjunction as Karra-Mánikpúr. The latter was also one of the Sarkárs of Súbah Ilahábás.

The next two places, Kálpí and Kálinjar, have been put in the wrong order, Kálinjar, the well-known fortress in Bundelkhand, being further to the east than Kálpí, the other strong place on the Jamná. Then the list crosses the Jamná to Etáwah and Kanauj, where it crosses the Ganges into Oudh. The spelling Laknod is noteworthy, the Á'ín and Bábar's list write Lakhnau, the final syllable of the original name, Lakhnauti, having disappeared, though in Ma'súm's list the final *d* is a reminiscence of it. The only other places in this Súbah are Od = Audh or Avadh, the ancient Ayudhyá, and Bahráich.

Then we come to Rohilkhand, in which only three places are mentioned—Sambhal, Amrohá, and Badáon. The first and last of these give names to Sarkárs of Súbah Delhi, the second is a town in Sarkár Sambhal.

The list then crosses the Ganges into the Doáb, and mentions Kol and Jalálí, which D. treats as one name. Kol or Koil, the celebrated fortress at Aligarh, is, however, some twenty miles or so west of the town of Jalálí. The next place, Shamsábád, is outside the Doáb, west of the Jamná, a few miles south of Á'gra. Then we go off southwards, taking the well-known cities and fortresses of Á'gra, Gwálior, Chanderi, Ráisin (called in the Á'ín "one of the famous fortresses of Hindustan" [1]), Sárangpúr, Ujjayin, Mándú (or Málwah Mándú as it stands in the inscription), and Hindia on the Narbadda; all of which but the two first are in Súbah Málwah. Next Berár is mentioned, but none of its towns, unless the fortress-rock of Asírgarh and the town of Burhánpúr, which come next, are to be considered as in it.

The place written تطربار Tatarbár, is really نظربار, a mistake of dots only as between these two words, but there is a string of mistakes if we include the Á'ín. The

[1] Jarrett's "Á'ín," vol. ii, p. 199.

place meant is Nandarbár, a town on the Tápti a little above Súrat. نندربار is often corrupted into نذربار, Nazarbár, in MSS. of the Aín, the dot over the second *n* having been read as belonging to the following د. Then the composer of the inscription has altered ذ into ظ, which is not surprising, as both letters are pronounced *z* in India.

Then follow the principal places in Gujarát—Súrat (with ص), Bharoch, Baroda, Muhammadabad (near Kaira), Khambáit (Cambay), Diu (the Portuguese settlement), Júnágarh, Nawánagar, and Kachh, ending with Ahmadábád and the native state of Idar. Patan Baharvála, which D. correctly surmises to be Nahrwála, is for Anhilwára. Going northwards, we have Jálor, Sirohi, Mirtá, Jodhpúr the capital of Márwár, and Jesalmer. The next name, Nágor, brings us to Northern Márwár, whence by a long jump we land at Nárnol, 150 miles off, the capital of a Sarkár of Súbah Ágra. Then we are taken southwards again to Ajmer and Ranthambhor, and a place written لنبلمير, which is unintelligible,[1] whence we return to the neighbourhood of Agra again. Biána, a famous place, and Fathpúr (probably Fathpúr Sikri) lead to Muttra (Mathurá), Delhi, Pánipat, Máhim (an obscure place west of Pánipat), Hisár Fíroza, and on to Thánesar and Sirhind, whence we make another surprising jump back to Tijárah, an old Sarkár of Súbah Agra, now in the native state of Alwar, some 200 miles south of Sirhind. Then follows one of the numerous places called Sultánpúr, and we then go on into the Panjab with Jalandar, Láhor, Kalánúr, Nagarkot, and Rohtás (the fortress built by Sher Shah near Jhelam as a defence against the Gakkhars, and called after his stronghold in Behár); thence to Atak (Attock), diverging to Jamú and on again to Jalálábád, skipping back to Bherá on the Jhelam, and thence to Ghaznín in the heart of Afghanistan; lastly, returning to the Panjab at Shor Patan Shaikh Farid, Multan, Dodai (which D.

[1] Mr. Beveridge's suggestion that the place mentioned is Kambalmír or Kamalmir, a now obscure place in Ajmer territory, seems correct; *l* for *k* is a common mistake in MSS. and inscriptions. See Jarrett's "Aín," ii, 268, and Gazetteer of India, viii, 287.

considers to be Rohri, but this is very doubtful), and Uchh. The list closes with Bhakkar and Sehwán, both well-known places on the Indus, Umrkot, Akbar's birthplace in the desert, and Taṭṭá the capital of Lower Sindh.

II.

Bábar's List.

At p. 334 of his Memoirs (Erskine's translation) Bábar says that the dominions conquered by him from the Lodis extended from "Bherá to Bihár"; this somewhat alliterative phrase is often used by him in his Memoirs to indicate the whole extent of his Indian dominions. It covers the whole country from the Jhelam in the west to the Kúsi in the east, and it will be seen that it excludes a very large portion of the country mentioned in the Kandahár inscription. Bábar then goes on to allude to "a detailed statement" of the revenue and provinces of the conquered area. Erskine was unable to find this statement when he was translating the Memoirs, but at p. 541 of vol. i of his History he gives it, with the vague and unsatisfactory remark that he found it "in a manuscript translation or paraphrase of parts of Babar's commentaries now in my possession." He unfortunately does not tell us who was the author of this paraphrase, whether Abdurrahím or some one else, so that we cannot be sure that the list is either authentic or contemporaneous with the Memoirs; and as there seems to be only one copy of it extant there is no means of correcting or restoring ambiguous names and phrases. Perhaps a search in the British Museum and other libraries might bring to light other copies of this very valuable statement. Even in its present evidently corrupt condition it can be made use of by the light of contemporary authorities to define roughly, though far from precisely, the extent of Bábar's conquests in India, and it may therefore serve as a standard of comparison with the Kandahár list.

The names of twenty-five provinces are thus stated. It should here be noted that as Erskine does not give the original Persian text we have to work from his transliterations of the names of places in Roman characters, and Erskine is throughout his works very careless and inconsistent in the spelling of Indian words, as well as loose in his translation of Persian sentences. I restore, as far as possible, the correct spellings.

1. "The Sarkár on the other side of the Satlaj, Bherá, Láhor, Siálkot, Dipálpúr, etc." The "other side" means evidently the side furthest from Delhi, i.e. the western side. This item practically includes all the northern Panjab, as far west as the Jhelam river. It does not include the trans-Indus country nor Multán. The former Bábar seems to have regarded as part of his Kábul territory, and the latter was not conquered from the Lodis, but was surrendered to Bábar at the close of A.D. 1526 by the Arghuns of Sindh.

   Bherá, which Erskine persistently misspells Bhíra, is a well-known town, now on the eastern or left bank of the Jhelam, but from several passages in the Memoirs it was in Bábar's time evidently on the right or western bank, and the territory attached to it seems to have included all the Salt Range as far as Kálábágh on the Indus. This view is confirmed by Cunningham, "Ancient Geography," p. 155, who found the ruins of the older Bherá on the west bank. In his first invasion of India in A.D. 1519 (Memoirs, p. 254), Bábar says that "the countries of Behreh, Khusháb, Chanáb, and Chaniút" had long been in the possession of the Turks; he therefore considered them his own domains. In another place he says he claims them as having been conquered by Timúr (ib., p. 255). Behreh is, of course, Bherá. Khusháb is on the west bank of the Jhelam below Shahpur, and its territory comprises the southern

part of the Sindh Ságar Duáb as that of Bherá does the northern. Chenáb apparently means the Chaj Duáb (between the Chenáb and Jhelam rivers); and Chiniot, a town on the Ravi near Gugaira, the Rechna Duáb. In the list we are now considering these older names have given place to Láhor for the Bárí Duáb, Siálkot for the northern Rechna Duáb, Dipálpúr for the southern Bári Duáb, and the "etc." for the rest of the country as far as the Satlaj. But there are no boundaries and the description is excessively vague.

2. "Sirhend and its dependencies." This vague description covers the country now called the Cis-Satlaj, i.e. from the Satlaj to the Jamná. The ancient town of Sirhind is in the northern part of this territory, about half-way between Ambála and Ludiána, or rather nearer to the latter. The spelling Sirhind and the derivation from *Sari-i hind*, 'head of India,' are an afterthought. The place could never at any period of its history have been correctly described as the 'head of India,' neither in the sense of the chief town nor in that of the frontier or beginning of the country. Cunningham ("Ancient Geography," p. 145) shows that in Sanskr. it was written Sirindha सिरिंध. Provisionally the extent of the Sirhind territory may be assumed to be the same as that of Akbar's Sarkár of Sirhind in Súbah Delhi,[1] Akbar's divisions of territory being admittedly based on previously existing divisions.

3. Hisár Firúza. This well-known town and fort was also the capital of one of Akbar's Sarkárs in Súbah Delhi. This with Sarhind makes up the whole of the Cis-Satlaj, and we shall probably not be far wrong if we assume that the extent of Bábar's Hisár Firúza was identical with Akbar's.

4. "The capital (dár ul mulk) Delhí in the (Mián) Duáb." Thus Erskine. What the original Persian text was

[1] Jarrett's "Aín," vol. ii, p. 295.

we unfortunately do not know. The city of Delhi itself is, as we know, not in the Duáb between the Jamná and Ganges, but the greater part of Akbar's Sarkár Delhi is in the Duáb, and probably this is what is meant. But the point cannot be decided till the Persian text can be found.

5. Mewát. This corresponds nearly to Akbar's Sarkárs of Tijárah and Alwar, Súbah Ágra,[1] and to the modern native state of Alwar. Here Erskine gives an obscure sentence, which from his transliteration appears to have run كه در ميان اسكندر داخل نبودة, and which he interprets to mean, "which was not included in Sikander Lodi's revenue roll." It may be so, but the Persian words will hardly bear that meaning; some word has apparently been omitted after *miyán*, unless ميان is a mistake for بيان *biyán*, 'account' or 'description.' Here again we must wait until the Persian text can be found. Mewát was constantly in rebellion, even after Bábar's conquest, and was nearly always so under the Lodis.
6. Biána. This well-known place was in Akbar's time a parganah of Sarkár Ágra in the Súbah of the same name. It is now in the native state of Bhartpúr. Bábar's entry probably includes so much of Súbah Ágra as lay west of the Jamná, as will be seen from the next two entries.
7. Ágra. This entry, from the smallness of the revenue, probably includes only the royal city itself, with perhaps the immediate environs.
8. Mián e Vilaet (Miyán-i viláyat). This, like the similar remark under Delhi, refers apparently to that portion of Súbah Ágra which lay within the Duáb. But the use of viláyat in this sense is peculiar.
9. Guáliar. Gwálior was one of the Sarkárs of Súbah Ágra. In Akbar's time the revenue was 29,683,649 dams, which may be compared with Sikandar Lodi's revenue of 22,357,450 tankas.

[1] Jarrett's "Ain," ii, pp. 191, 192.

10. Kálpi, Sehindeh, etc. This entry is vague. Kálpi is the celebrated fortress on the Jamná, but I cannot explain Sehindeh, and suspect a mistranscription.
11. Kanauj. The ancient town on the Ganges, capital of a Sarkár of Súbah Ágra.
12. Sambala. Sambhal, a Sarkár of Súbah Delhi, comprising southern and western Rohilkhand. Here it seems to indicate the whole of Rohilkhand, as no other place in that neighbourhood is mentioned. Much of north-eastern Rohilkhand was at this time uninhabited.
13. Laknau and Baksar. Here there is probably some mistake, as it is not likely that two places so far apart as Lucknow and Buxar would be mentioned together. Erskine is doubtful as to the reading of the latter word.
14. Khairábád. North-western Oudh.
15. Oud and Behraich. Oudh implies Sarkár Avadh (Ayudhya), a portion of the modern kingdom lying south-west of the Sarayu or Ghogra river, while Bahráich is on the north-eastern bank and comprises most of northern Oudh.
16. Juánpur. Jaunpúr, a Sarkár of Súbah Allahabad, comprising most of the country between the Ganges and Ghográ.
17. Karrá and Mánikpúr. The two Sarkárs of Súbah Allahabad, which lie opposite each other on the Ganges above that city. They are constantly mentioned together in Indian history.
18. Behar. Refers to so much of the Súbah of that name as lies south of the Ganges, the region north of the Ganges being mentioned under other entries.
19. Sirwár. This was the ancient name of the country "across the Sarayu" (it is contracted from Sarayupára), corresponding to the modern district of Gorakhpúr. In Akbar's time, however, some portions of the country on the south of the river were included in Sarwár.

20. Sáran. A Sarkár of Súbah Behár and a modern district between the Ganges and Gandak rivers.
21. Chipáran. Meant for Champáran, the district north of the Gandak adjacent to Gorakhpur and Tirhut.
22. Gondleh. Probably meant for Gondah, a district between Sarwár and Bahráich in North-east Oudh.
23. Tirhut. The northern portion of Súbah Behár, between the Ganges and the Nepalese Terai. This large tract of country seems merely to have been tributary, not fully conquered and amalgamated with the empire. It was often, and for long periods, subject to the independent kings of Bengal.
24. Rantambor. Ranthambhor (रणस्तम्भपूर Raṇa-stambha-púra, 'city of the pillar of war'[1]), the historic fortress, a Sarkár of Súbah Ajmer. Apparently only three parganahs—Boli, Milarna, and Chatsu—all of which are mentioned in the Ain, paid revenue. The rest of the Sarkár is included under heading 26.
25. Nagor. In Marwár. It was a Sarkár of Súbah Ajmer.

Then follow the names of five Rájás, to only two of whom is a locality assigned—

26. (*a*) Rájá Bikarmájit from Rantbor (Ranthambhor), the rest of the Sarkár (exclusive of the parganahs mentioned in heading 25), which apparently only paid tribute, not revenue; and are thus to be regarded as not actually conquered, but only tributary.
(*b*) Rájá Kálinjarí. This entry seems to show that Bundelkhand was also only tributary, not conquered, territory.
(*c*) Rájá Barsang Deo (? Bír Singh).
(*d*) Rájá Bikam Deo.
(*e*) Rájá Bikam Chand.
} It is not stated what were the territories of these chiefs.

[1] Jarrett's "Ain," vol. ii, p. 274. Not as Colebrook renders it, 'Bee of the pillar of war,' which is meaningless. He evidently took *bhor* to be = *bhaunr* (Skr. *bhramara* 'a bee'). But it is Prakrit Raṇa-thambha-úra, where *úra* is for *pára* by a well-known rule.

The comparison of these lists would be rendered easier by a map. But the places themselves may without much difficulty be found on any good map of India. It will be seen from the above remarks that the Kandahár list is a mere superficial summary of names chosen at random without any system, probably just as they happened to occur to the worthy Ma'súm's recollection at the moment.

ART. XXIX.—*The Northern Frontagers of China.* By Sir HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., M.P.

PART X.

THE UIGHURS OF KAO-CHANG AND BISHBALIGH.

IN a series of papers which by the favour of the Asiatic Society I have been able to publish in its transactions, I have endeavoured to trace the various revolutions which have taken place among the tribes on the north of China, and I have thought it most convenient in doing so to begin with the latest of these race movements and changes and to gradually work back to earlier times. I should like to continue this work somewhat further, and propose in the following memoir to give an account of the history of an area which has greatly occupied English travellers and students during recent years, and whose history is still very obscure: I mean the great district bounded on the north by the so-called Celestial Mountains, the Tien Shan of the Chinese, and on the south by the Kien Lung Range. This district is generally known as Eastern Turkestan, and I propose to collect in this paper what I can find of the history of its Turkish, as distinguished from its Mongol, masters from the ninth to the sixteenth century.

The greater part of the district in question, consisting of its central and southern portion, has little or no interest for the historian. Its barren wastes are almost tenantless, and we have no records of them. The really interesting part is the strip of country which borders the Tien Shan Range along its southern flanks, forming a ribbon which extends from Hami or Khamil in the far east right round to Khoten in the south-west.

In the previous paper of this series, I endeavoured to tell the history of the Muhammedan Turkish rulers of Western Turkestan from the time of their conversion to Islam to the time when their dynasty was finally extinguished by the death of Sultan Osman. These Muhammedan chiefs had their capital at Belasaghun, on the river Chui, and were apparently the overlords and masters of the various nomadic Turks of the Kirghiz Steppes as far as the Volga, as they were of the Mountain Turks, called Karluks, who lived about Lake Issikul. As we saw, they conquered the district of Mavera-un-Nehr or Transoxiana from the Samani rulers, who had long reigned there, and they also seem to have afterwards conquered Kashgar and Khoten and the western parts of what we sometimes call Chinese Turkestan. The last conquest was probably only made at the end of the tenth century. De Guignes and others have confused these Khans with another set of rulers, with whom they had in fact nothing to do, who reigned over the Uighurs with their two capitals at Kao-chang and Bishbaligh, and who were a very important element in Asiatic history. The country of the latter was rich and prosperous; it was planted half-way between China and the lands of the West, and was the focus and centre from which a religious, literary, and artistic propaganda was spread over Inner Asia. Like the former dynasty just referred to, this one also has been much neglected in England. Nor do I know of any connected account in our language of it. I have tried in the following notice to bring together all that I know about these Uighurs.

While the dynasty which reigned at Belasaghun was Muhammedan, this one belonged to a very different faith, and was apparently Manichean, while Buddhism and Nestorian Christianity also flourished among its people. The name Uighur, by which these Turks were known, was that by which their ancestors, of whom we may have something to say on another occasion, were known, when the latter dominated the steppes of Mongolia from

Karakorum. They first invaded the district we are now concerned with in the middle of the ninth century, and the culture for which they were afterwards famous they adopted from another race of Turks, who had been there a long time, and who were known as Tokuz Guz, or as the Arabs called them, Tagazgaz. This latter name the Arabs in fact transferred to them.

Masudi, who wrote about the year 332 A.H., i.e. 944 A.D., tells us that at the time he wrote, the Tagazgaz, who occupied the town of Kushan (Kao-chang, the old name for Karakhojo), situated between Khorasan and China, were the bravest, the most powerful, and the best governed of all the Turkish tribes. Their kings, he tells us, bore the title of Irkhan (i.e. Ilkhan or Ilikkhan), and they were the only Turks who professed the religion of Manes ("Les Prairies d'Or," ed. De Meynard, ch. xv). He calls them Tagazgaz. The name has sometimes been read Bagargar, and it is curious that not only does the mode of writing the name favour this ambiguity, but the Eastern and Western dialects of the Turks respectively replace *s* or *z* by *r*. This is an interesting fact to remember, and led Klaproth to conjecture that both names are forms of the name Uighur.

Vambéry suggested, in his work entitled "Das Türkenvolk," that Tagazgaz really should be written as Tokuz Guz, that is, the Nine Guz or the Nine Oguz; a suggestion which has been amply confirmed by the inscriptions of Kosho Zaidam published by Radlof ("Alt-Turkische Inschriften," p. 661), where the name is given as Tokus Ogŭs.

Let us continue our analysis somewhat further. Masudi tells us in another place that the king of the Tagazgaz was entitled "the king of wild beasts and the king of horses," since no ruler on earth had under his authority warriors more valiant and more bloodthirsty, and that none possessed a larger number of horses; that no Turkish ruler could rival him in power, and that his kingdom was situated between China and the deserts of Khorasan (op. cit., chap. xvi). In another place he makes the Chinese emperor, addressing an Arab traveller and describing his own country,

say: "After us comes the 'king of savage beasts.' This is our neighbour, the king of the Turks, who are among men what savage beasts are among animals. To him succeeds the 'king of elephants,' that is, the king of India" (id., ch. xv).

This implies that the term "king of savage beasts" was known to the Chinese. It is interesting on turning to Visdelou, who was the most learned of the Jesuit missionaries in China, and who was dependent on Chinese sources only, to find him telling us "that the Khitans gave a mortal blow to the supremacy of the Hoei-hu or Uighurs, who only preserved four states out of their great empire: the most powerful of them was that of the Hoei-hu who called themselves Aslan or Arslan Hoei-hu, which means Lion Hoei-hu." The Lion Hoei-hu of this notice can be no other than the Turks whose rulers were styled "kings of savage beasts" by Masudi.

We will now try to trace out the history of the folk we are dealing with.

In the year 840 A.D. the Kirghises, with an army of 100,000 men, attacked the Eastern Uighurs, laid siege to and captured their capital Karakorum, and killed their Khan. This was a tremendous blow, and it led to the break-up of the nation. We are told that Sao-chi, one of their ministers, with the fifteen tribes which were under the command of Mang-te-le, joined the Khololo, i.e. the Karluks, who lived in the country about Lake Issikul and Lake Balkbash, while others sought refuge at Gansi or Ansi, and among the Tibetans. (D'Herbelot, Suppl., 69.) There can be little doubt that it was at this time that the Uighurs took possession of Peting, or the Northern Capital, which they named Bishbaligh, or the Five Towns, which is now known as Urumtsi, and which remained one of their principal seats for many centuries. This seems to follow from a notice in the Kangmu about the Chinese having at this time lost both Peting and Gan-si or An-si, i.e. Si-ngan-fu. I believe also it was at this time that the Uighurs occupied the eastern part of Sungaria, where their descendants were known in later times as Naiman

Uighurs, or Naimans, of whom we shall have more to say presently.

When the Eastern Uighurs were finally dispersed by the Kirghises, about the year 848 A.D., Lang-te-le (Visdelou calls him Mang-te-le), who had lived, we are told, for some time in Gan-si, and commanded some tribes of Uighurs, moved his residence to the west of Kan-chau and Sha-chau. He also occupied all the towns west of the desert, i.e. the towns of Chinese Turkestan, and sent tribute to the Chinese, who, in consideration of the favours which they had formerly received from the Uighurs, gave him the title of Pi-kia-hoai-kien Khan. De Guignes says his full title was Vu[1]-lu-teng-li-lo-nu-mo-mi-chi-ho-kiu-lu-pi-kia-hoai-kien Khan ("Histoire des Huns," ii, 271, note). Visdelou says this Khan lived in Kan-chau. The Emperor Tang-suen-tsung sent envoys to Ninghia to visit the Uighurs, who again sent envoys in return (Visdelou, Suppl., 70). In the course of the next ten years or more this Khan only sent one or two embassies to China.

The Tibetans were at this time harassing the Chinese very seriously, and had apparently made themselves partially masters of large parts of so-called Chinese Turkestan; and we read in the Kang-mu that their king Lun-kong-gé or Lun-chang-gé engaged a large number of Tan-hiang and Uighurs to attack and pillage China (De Mailla, vi, 499); but his severity and the discipline he maintained caused these allies to presently desert him, and return to their homes (id., 499, 500).

In the year 856, we are told, in the same work, that Ke-mang-li was the Khan of the Uighurs of An-si. He was probably either the same person as or the successor of Pang-te-le or Mang-te-le. We are told that the Chinese emperor, remembering the services which the Uighurs had once done the empire, and that they had had frequent alliances with the imperial family, suggested to his grandees that he desired to send their chief letters patent conferring

[1] Visdelou reads this Ghao.

on him a title, and when shortly afterwards an envoy arrived from them with tribute, he was charged to carry these letters patent home for his master (id., 505).

Visdelou tells us that in the reign of I-tsung, of the Tang dynasty (i.e. 860–873 A.D.; the Tang annals definitely date the event in 866 A.D.) one of the principal chiefs of the Hoei-hu or Uighurs, named Puku-tsun, who had apparently settled about Urumtsi, left Peting (i.e. Urumtsi) to fight against the Tibetans. He defeated them and decapitated their king, Lun-chang-gé, i.e. the king mentioned above. This victory made him master of Si-chau (i.e. Kao-chang), of the town of Lun-thai (mentioned at an early date as a military colony east of Yenki), and others. He sent the Takan (i.e. Terkhan), named Nu-hoai-yu, to the Chinese emperor with some of his Tibetan captives, and asked to be made Khan. The emperor promised to do this (op. cit., 70). Mr. Parker says he was acting in this campaign on behalf of the Chinese; that he drove the Tibetans out of Kan-suh and the Kuche group of cities, and sent the head of the Tibetan general as a trophy to the Chinese emperor ("A Thousand Years of the Tartars," 285).

We next read that Pu-ku-tsun, having desired to be duly invested with his kingdom and the title of Khan, the Emperor Hi-tsong, in the year 874, sent one of his officers for the purpose, but the Uighurs had been meanwhile again beaten by the Tibetans, and been obliged to retire; and the Chinese envoy, who did not go to the place to which they had withdrawn, returned to China. The following year, however, the Uighurs seem to have recovered themselves, and again sent tribute (De Guignes, ii, 28).

This, so far as we know, was the beginning of the famous kingdom of the Uighurs, whose chiefs were known as Lion Khans. When they adopted this style, we do not altogether know.

The Chinese Empire was now undergoing one of those processes of disintegration which have so often overtaken it. The famous Tang dynasty was falling to pieces. The Shato

Turks had founded a small empire in the north, which we described in a previous paper. The Tibetans were also very powerful and aggressive, and there was consequently no access to the country, and the tribes of the West ceased to send embassies, or they are not reported.

In the year 911, during the domination of the short-lived dynasty of the later Liang, an embassy arrived from the Uighurs, but no particulars are recorded. (Parker, op. cit., 286.)

We now reach the time when the Khitans commenced their extraordinary career of conquest by subduing most of the nomadic tribes of Central Asia, and apparently among them the Uighurs, who became their tributaries. (See Visdelou, Supplement, 82.)

In the year 913 the Uighurs of Huo-chau (by whom no doubt the Uighurs which are occupying our attention in this paper are meant) sent tribute to Apaokhi, the founder of the Khitan dynasty (Visdelou, 83; Bretschneider, "Med. Res.," i, 242). In the year 917 the Uighurs again sent an embassy (Bretschneider, 242). The second Liang dynasty came to an end in the year 923, and was succeeded by that of the second Tang, during the reign of whose first emperor a chief who styled himself acting-Khan (in Chinese Wang Jen-yu) sent an envoy with jewels and horses; a return envoy was sent to invest him with the dignity of Khan, but he died the same year, and was succeeded by a younger brother, who was styled Wang Ty-in (perhaps Tighin or Tekin is meant) by the Chinese writer (Parker, op. cit., 286).

In the year 924, while Apaokhi was encamped at Karakorum, Bali or Bari, a Uighur chief (who perhaps belonged to some other division of the Uighurs), sent an embassy (Visdelou, 86; Bretschneider, 242).

In the same year we are told of a certain Bi-li-ko, or Piligho, who was Tutu or Dudu of the Uighurs of Kanchau (an office subordinate no doubt to the Khan), having been captured by the Khitans. Apaokhi took advantage of this, as we are told, to send an embassy to the Khan himself,

U-mu-chu, who was probably then residing at Peting and Kao-chang, where his successor and descendant, as we shall see, lived (Visdelou, op. cit., 86; Bretschneider, "Mediaeval Researches," ii, 242). The letter written on this occasion by Apaokhi is afterwards recited by his descendant, Yelu Tashi, and from this recital we learn that Apaokhi himself was near Karakorum when he wrote the letter, and he evidently treated U-mu-chu as the representative of the ancient Uighur Khans of Karakorum. In the letter he said: "Do you still cherish a remembrance of your ancient country? I shall secure it for you if you do; if not, I will retain it myself. It is immaterial whether it is in your hands or mine." It seems that U-mu-chu replied that ten generations had already gone by since his people had abandoned their old land, and settled in China; that his soldiers and people were content with their new country, and would not leave it willingly, and that he could not therefore return (Visdelou, p. 28). U-mu-chu was doubtless chief of the whole of the Uighur districts of the Tian Shan.

In the year 925, we are told in the Khitan annals that an embassy arrived at the Khitan Court from U-mu-chu (Visdelou, 86; Bretschneider, id., 242). This Khan, U-mu-chu, was doubtless the same person as the chief referred to by his Chinese title, Wang Tyin, and previously mentioned. If so, he did not live very long, for we read that in the year following, i.e. 926, he was succeeded by another chief named Aturyuk. He only reigned a few months, when he was succeeded by another chief, also styled 'acting regent,' i.e. Wang Jên-yü; perhaps it was the same chief restored. This ruler sent an envoy in the year 927 to Ming-tsong, the emperor of the Tsin dynasty, founded by the Shato Turks, upon whom we have already written a paper. This prince was duly invested with the title of Khan (Parker, 286). We are struck by the easy way in which the tributary tribes transferred their allegiance from one rival dynasty to another, and how their chiefs apparently deemed their patents of investiture quite regular if they were only given by the *de facto* ruler. Parker says

the chief who calls himself acting regent continued to reign until about 960, when he was succeeded by his son, and frequently sent tribute (op. cit., 287).

If this be so, then it seems pretty certain that the real name of this prince was Arslan, or Lion, for we are expressly told in the Khitan annals that in the year 932 the Uighur ruler Asalan sent an embassy with presents (Bretschneider, 242). In the year 933 a present of white pigeon hawks came from the Uighur chief to Ming-tsong, already named, who ordered the birds' fastenings to be loosened and their liberty to be given them. Thenceforward the Uighurs often sent horses. Mr. Parker has collected some interesting facts about the Uighurs from the notices of the various embassies, etc., at this time. Thus the Uighur country is described as producing yaks, precious stones, wild horses, single-humped camels, antelope horns, sal ammoniac, castoreum, diamonds (?), red salt, hair rugs, cotton, and horse-skins. The country grew various kinds of wheat, barley, yellow hemp (abutilon), onions, and carraways. The land was sown after having been ploughed by camels. The Khan usually lived in a storied house, and his wife was called the Celestial Princess. Ministers of State were styled *meiluk* (? Malik), and when they had audience of the Khan they removed their hats and entered with dishevelled hair. The women bound up their hair in a kind of knot, five or six inches high, and put it in a red silk bag. When they married they added to this a felt cap.

Reverting to our story: In the year 944 the Uighur Khan sent to ask the hand of a princess from Tai-tsung, the second emperor of the Khitan dynasty, but was refused (Visdelou, 91). About the year 948 another embassy went from the Uighurs to the court of the later Tang emperor Kao-tsu, with tribute and homage, and asking for help against the Tang-khiang, who continually molested them. The emperor received these envoys well, and wishing to pacify the districts of Kuan-si he gave orders that several thousand men should be sent to the help of the Uighurs,

under the command of Wang-king-tsong, but they were afterwards detained and did not go (De Mailla, vii, 386).

It was usual, we are told, for all the precious stones the Uighurs took with them to be sold to the government officials, but this regulation was withdrawn in 952, and the trade was thrown open; thereupon the price fell. Kao-tsu's successor declined a present of gems, because however precious they were useless. We have seen how the acting regent (probably called Arslan Khan) reigned till about 960, when he was succeeded by his son.

In 960 the Chinese Empire was once more united in the hands of the Sung dynasty.

In 962 the Uighur A-tu-tu, with forty-one others, did homage to the emperor. In 965 the Uighurs of Si-chau, or Kao-chang, sent a bonze (i.e. a Buddhist priest) as an envoy to the same emperor, and he took with him, *inter alia*, some teeth of Fo-tho, i.e. of Buddha (Visdelou, 237).

Parker tells us the envoys who took tribute on this occasion also took, *inter alia*, jewels, amber, yak's tails, sables, etc. These embassies were repeated several times during the next ten years, and also took horses (Parker, 289).

In the year 970 we are told that the Liao or Khitan emperor sent an envoy to the A-sa-lan or Lion Uighurs (Bretschneider, 242). In 977, on the arrival of the Uighur envoys at the Sung Court, the emperor ordered that the Uighur Khan of the Kan-sha-chaus, i.e. Kan-chau and Sha-chau, son-in-law to the emperor, should be presented with a sum of money and various objects, and that he should be called upon to send five horses and guns for the Imperial use.

In the year 981 tribute was again taken by the Uighurs (Parker, 289), and Visdelou tells us that in this year the King of Uighur adopted the title of Si-chau-van-seng-se-tsi-wang, i.e., "the King of the Lions of Si-chau or Uighur, nephew by the female side." The latter part of this phrase is explained by the fact that the Uighur chiefs had frequently married Chinese princesses. In Tartary, the same author says, these Khans were known as Arslan

Khans or Lion Khans. At this time we get a much more detailed account of the Uighurs, for it was in the year 981 that Wang-yen-ti was sent as an envoy by the Sung emperor to Kao-chang. When he reached the convent called I-tien-si, the chief of Kao-chang sent some messengers to meet him, and having successively passed P'ao-choang and Liu-chong (Willow City), he arrived at "Kao-chang, otherwise called Si-chau." On the south this country, we are told, bordered on Yu-thien (Khoten), on the south-west on the Ta-che (i.e. the Arabs) and the Po-sse (i.e. the Persians), and on the west on Si-thien (i.e. Western Tibet). "Neither rain nor snow falls there," says our traveller, "and the heat is so excessive that the people withdraw to underground dwellings, while the birds collect in swarms on the banks of the rivers. The houses are covered with a white earth. In 970 there was a rainfall of five inches.

"A river flows by, and comes from the mountains Kin-lung. It has been utilized for irrigation, and for turning mills, and flows round the city. The five species of grain grow there, but not khiao-rice (i.e. *sarrazin*). The richer people live on horse-flesh; the poorer on sheep, ducks, and geese. They use a kind of mandolin (*pipa*), and a guitar of twenty-five cords (*kongheon*). Tables, white felt, embroidered stuffs, and brocades are among the products of the country.

"The men love horse exercises and archery. The women wear varnished hats, called *suruncha*. They follow the Chinese calendar published in 587 as it was reformed in 719, and use it for fixing their two annual sacrifices called *Ké*, offered to the spirit of the earth, and for the winter solstice. They make tubes of silver and copper, which they fill with water and throw at each other. They thus destroy the *yang* or principle of heat. When on a journey they always take a musical instrument with them. There are at Kao-chang some fifty Buddhist monasteries, with inscriptions over the doors, which have been sent them by the Tang emperors. In one of these convents is preserved the great collection of Buddhist books (? the Ganjur), the Chinese dictionaries entitled Tang-yun and Yu-pien, and the Buddhist dictionary, King-in.

"In the Spring the people collect in parties to visit their temples. They go on horseback armed with bows and arrows, and shoot at all kinds of objects, and they call it conquering misfortunes. They have several collections of imperial decrees. *Inter alia* they keep under lock and key a decree written by the Emperor Tai-tsong, of the Tang dynasty (627–650). There is a temple called Ma-ni-si, or the temple of the Pearl (in Sanskrit, Mani), attended by priests from Persia, who faithfully observe their particular rites, and who treat the Buddhist books as heretical.

"The Uighurs rule over the Turks of the South, and those of the North, over the Wei (? Shi Wei) of the Great and Little Horde, over the tribes of Moko, Lotien, Kosi, Yongman, Kheto, Yulong, etc.

"There are no paupers in the country; those who are in want are provided for at the public cost. Many of them reach an advanced age, many of them being centenarians, and few die young."

The Chinese envoy tells us that when he arrived it was the fourth month of Spring. The king, he says, was called Se-tsu-wang, or Lion Khan; in Uighur, Arslan Khan. According to Ma-tuan-lin, Arsalan Khan was accustomed to withdraw to his northern capital, Pe-ting, to escape the heats, and left the administration of the kingdom to his father-in-law, A-to-yu-yué. The latter sent a messenger to welcome Wang-yen-ti, and to ask if he were prepared to salute him, he being the Khan's father-in-law (Visdelou says uncle). The Chinese envoy said he could not do so. He represented the emperor, and it would not be etiquette to do so even if A-to-yu-yué were the sovereign himself.

In the course of a few days A-to-yu-yué paid him a visit, and showed him every courtesy. The Khan also sent to ask him to pay him a visit at Pe-ting. He traversed the district of Kiao-ho, and in six days arrived at the defile of the mountain Ki-ling, or Golden Summit. Two days later he reached Han-kia-chai, i.e. the Chinese camp; five days later he reached the Kin-ling mountain, i.e. the Golden

Mountain. In crossing the pass he suffered much from the rain and snow. There was a cave there, bearing the name of Lang-tang, or Hall of the Dragons. On it was an inscription, "Siao siuè shan," i.e., "This is the little snowy mountain." The pass (? the modern Dabashan pass south of the Bogdo-ula) was much choked with snow, and the people crossing it had to wear woollen clothes. At daybreak the envoy reached Pe-ting, i.e. "the Northern Court." In the language of the natives, we are told, it was called I-lo-lu or Ir-lu (Visdelou, 13). They put up at the monastery of Kao-tai-si, i.e. the Monastery with the High Tower. The Khan had a sheep and horse killed for the envoy's food, and gave him a splendid entertainment. The country abounded in horses: the Khan, his wife, and the Royal Prince all raised horses, and pastured them in an enclosed valley about a hundred *lis* in length; each herd was recognized by its colour. The valley of Pe-ting was several thousand *lis* (? hundreds) in length. There were many vultures, kites, and falcons. Among the tufted grass is an animal of the size of a hare, and like a rat with red jaws. It is caught by a bird of prey trained for the purpose. A lucky day having been chosen for the interview, the King, his son, and servants paid a visit to the envoy, all turning to the East while saluting him, and thus received the Imperial presents. Near the chief was a musician, who beat on a sonorous stone, and thus regulated the movements of the salutation; this was called Kling. The King first saluted, made the *kowtow* with his forehead to the ground nine times; then his son, then the daughters and relatives, of the King dismounted and did the same. Presently there was a feast, with music and acting, which lasted till night. Next day the envoy, with the royal family, went on the lake in a boat, while music was played all around. Next day he visited the Buddhist temples called Jing-yun-si and Tai-ning-si, which were built in the first year of Ching-kiuan, i.e. 637 A.D. (Visdelou says 640).

In the towns of the country many of the houses were built in several storeys. They also had many pleasure-houses,

etc. The Uighurs were an intelligent and honest people. They were good artificers, and made excellent vessels in gold, silver, copper, and iron, and especially knew how to work jade. A good horse cost a piece of silk; the poorer horses, which were used for eating, might be had for a *chang*, i.e. about three metres of silk each. All the poor people ate meat.

Westward, the country of these Uighurs extended as far as the country of the Asi (i.e. the old Parthian country).

From a mountain to the north the inhabitants drew sal ammoniac. This high mountain, which was snowy, produced smoke in the daytime and fire at night. The miners who got the sal ammoniac had wooden soles to their shoes to prevent their feet being burnt. There were openings in the flanks of the mountain whence there came out a black mud, which changed into a sandy rock which the natives use to prepare leather with.

While Yen-ti stayed at Pe-ting an envoy came from the Khitans, who in this notice are referred to by their old name of Kiuen-yong. The two envoys seem to have tried to arouse jealousy of each other in the mind of the Uighur ruler. Eventually Yen-ti set out on his return; this was in 981. He reached Kao-chang in the Spring of the following year, and we are told that he gave presents to the chiefs of vestments, golden girdles, and pieces of silk wherever he went, and returned to China accompanied by about one hundred envoys from their various chiefs, who went to thank the emperor. He arrived at Yong-hi, the Sung capital, in 984 (Journ. As., 4th ser., ix, 56–66; Visdelou, 137), and in the same year tribute again arrived from the Uighurs. In 988 a few Uighur families, under a royal prince named Mara and another high official, settled at the foot of the A-la-shan hills. They had no horde, and the various people carrying tribute passed the same way. The prince explained how the road had been previously blocked by a military adventurer, but that now he wished to belong to China. He and his friends were all presented with robes and girdles (Parker, 290).

In the Khitan annals we read that in this same year, i.e. 988, tribute again arrived from the Asalan or Arslan Uighurs (Bretschneider, 242). The Uighurs no doubt found it convenient to mollify both dynasties which at this time controlled China, namely, the Sung in the south and the Liao or Khitans in the north.

In the year 996 Arslan, the ruler of the Uighurs, again sent an embassy to the Khitan Court. This time it was to ask for a matrimonial alliance, which was, however, refused (id., 242).

During the height of their power these Uighurs seem to have dominated over the whole of Eastern Turkestan from the Pamirs to Kan-chau, but as time went on this district was broken in upon at two points. It would seem that at the close of the tenth century the western part of the Khanate was invaded by the Muhammedan Khans of Turkestan described in the former paper. At another point it was apparently broken in upon by the people of Hia or Tangut, who separated the district round Kao-chang from the eastern parts of the Uighur dominion at Kan-chau, Su-chau, etc., which now became virtually an independent community. At this time it would seem that the Great Khan removed his capital from Kao-chang further west to Kui-tze, otherwise called K'utze and Kuchi, which was situated to the west of Kao-chang, and which is now known as Kucha. In the Sung annals called Sung-shi, ch. ccccxc, we are told that this place belonged to the Hui-ho or Uighurs, and are also told that their ruler was called Shu-tze-wan (i.e. Lion Khan), and that he was dressed in yellow garments. The Hui-ho or Uighurs of Kue-tze were expressly called Hui-ho of Si-chau.

Let us limit ourselves for a little space to these detached Uighurs east of the desert. We are told that in the year 996 the Khan of Kan-chau, i.e. of the Uighurs whom we are discussing, offered the Sung emperor assistance against the Tangutans or people of Hia, who were very troublesome to that empire. He was duly thanked for his offer.

Mr. Parker tells us that in 1008 the Uighurs of Ts'in-chau, which is almost on the Shen-si frontier, sent a jewelled belt as a present. There were three clans living there, and the chief was called An-mi or Gan-mi in the Chinese notice (see also De Guignes, ii, 31). Later on another Uighur chief named Ye-lo-kê sent to report a victory he had gained over Hia or Tangut, and his generals were rewarded. He apparently ruled over Kan-chau and the neighbouring towns. It is a proof of the aggressiveness and power of the Tanguts at this time that his envoys needed a Tibetan tribe, which was under some obligations to China, to convoy them. We are next told that Ku-su-lo, a native of Karakhojo, was at issue with the Uighur Khan, i.e. the Superior Khan, because the latter would not give him his daughter in marriage, and the result was that the road to China was again blocked. The Khan asked the intervention of the Chinese to induce the Tibetan tribe in question to again offer its services, which was done (op. cit., 292, 293). The chief Ku-su-lo probably ruled over the Uighurs east of the desert, and was continually at feud with the rising empire of Hia or Tangut.

In the beginning of the year 1009 the Khitan princess Siao-chi sent the Khitan general Siao-tu-yu, who belonged to her family, against "the remnants of the Hoeiho or Uighurs," i.e. the detached Uighurs we are discussing, from whom he captured Kan-chau and compelled their king Ye-la-li to submit. A short time later the same general also captured Su-chau from them and transported its inhabitants to Tu-wei-keou, an abandoned town, which they were compelled to rebuild (De Mailla, viii, 166). It would seem that the Khitans did not continue to hold Kan-chau, but only made its people tributary, for we read that in the year 1026 the Khitans, who began to be afraid of Chao-ti-ming, the king of Hia or Tangut (vide J.R.A.S., N.S., XV, 450, etc.), determined to enclose his territory within their own, and consequently laid siege to Kan-chau. This aroused the jealousy of the Tsan-pu, or ruler of the Tang-hiang or Tibetans, who were afraid that they might be the next sufferers, and they accordingly marched against

the Khitans and compelled them to raise the siege (De Mailla, 189). This victory caused great joy to the emperor of Hia, and under pretence of punishing the effrontery of the Khitans he determined that he would himself conquer Kan-chau and annex that city. He accordingly sent his son Chao-yuen-hao in 1028 against the Uighurs there. They were defeated, and Kan-chau was captured and apparently annexed to the empire of Hia (id., 189, 190).

We read that in the year 1036 the king of Hia, named Chao-yuen-hao, maintained a force of 30,000 men at Kan-chau and Yeou-siang to keep the Tibetans and Uighurs in check (id., 201).

Two years later a revolt took place against the ruler of Hia, Chao-yuen-hao, headed by Suselo, who was supported, we are told, *inter alios*, by several thousand Uighurs. He held his court at Shen-chau, and his most western city was Liu-ku-ching, whence he communicated with the kingdoms of Tsing-hai and Kao-chang (i.e. of the Uighurs of Urumtsi, etc.), which carried on a considerable trade with his people (id., 203).

Let us now revert to the main line of Uighur chiefs further west. In the year 1001 the Uighur Khan sent an envoy with tribute to the Sung emperor, who reported that his master's kingdom extended from the Yellow River in the east to the Snowy Mountains in the west, that he had several hundred petty princes under him and possessed veteran troops. He said he should be pleased if the emperor would send a general to command his army, with which he would capture the ruler of Hia or Tangut and send him in chains to China. The emperor duly thanked him for his offer. The Uighurs again sent tribute in 1004 and 1007. On this last occasion the mission was accompanied by a bonze, who asked permission to erect a Buddhist monastery in the Chinese capital in order that prayers might be offered up for the emperor's life, and he suggested that the emperor would doubtless like to present the dedicatory door slab. The request was not conceded. As Mr. Parker says, the Sung dynasty did

not encourage Buddhism. It is curious that in the history of the Liao or Khitan dynasty we should be told that this very year a Sanskrit bonze, who was also a distinguished physician, was sent by the Uighurs to the Khitan Court (Parker, 291).

In the year 1009, according to the Muhammedan historians, Western Turkestan was invaded, as we saw in the last paper, by a vast host from the East. These could have been no other than the Khitans, whose power now dominated the whole of the great steppes of Central Asia, and who doubtless on this march traversed the Uighur country.

In the year 1011 the Uighurs applied to build a place of worship (probably one devoted to Manes and fire worship is meant) at the modern P'u-chau Fu in Shan-si (id.). It is possible that this was a detached community of Uighurs, and not the main body.

The rise of the empire of Hia or Tangut, which intervened between China and Turkestan, very largely interfered at this time with communication between the Sung empire and the Uighurs. Notwithstanding this, Dr. Bretschneider says that from 1029 to 1097 the Uighurs frequently sent envoys to the court of Southern China.

Their main tie, however, was no doubt with the rulers of Northern China, the Khitans, who were at this time in the full swing of their power, and were apparently obeyed by all the non-Muhammedan tribes of nomades of Central and Eastern Asia. The attachment of these nomades to their Khitan masters may be gauged from the fact that on the overthrow of their rule the fugitive Khitan prince Yelu Taishi, the founder of the empire of Kara Khitai, found a warm welcome among them. We are told that as he marched westwards in 1125 he addressed a letter to Pileko, Pilkha, or Pirka, who then apparently ruled over the Uighurs of Bishbaligh, which was couched in these terms:—

"In former days my victorious ancestor (i.e. Apao-khi), the founder of the Khitan dynasty, having carried his

victorious arms northwards as far as the city of Pu-ku Khan (i.e. of Karakorum), sent envoys to your ancestor U-mu-chu to Kan-chau to ask him to return to his old country of Karakorum if he wished" (*vide ante*). On being reminded of this kind action of Apao-khi for his ancestor, we are told that Pileku at once set out to meet the Khitan fugitive prince Yelu Taishi, and presented him with 600 horses, 100 camels, and 3,000 sheep, voluntarily surrendered several of his sons and grandsons as hostages, became his tributary, and accompanied him westward to the frontier of his own kingdom (Visdelou, Suppl. to D'Herbelot, Bibl. Or., 11), i.e. to those of the Muhammedan rulers of Turkestan whose history we discussed in the previous paper. The successors of Pileku continued, it would seem, to be tributary to the rulers of Kara Khitai until the year 1209, when Chinghiz Khan approached their territory, and we are told that the ruler of Bishbaligh broke off his allegiance to the Kara Khitai.

From this time the Chinese, instead of transcribing the Uighur name as Hoei-hu or Hoei-ho as they had hitherto done, began, in the Mongol annals called the Yuan-shi, to style them Wei-wu-rh, which is nearer the native form of the name, i.e. Uighur. They are there said to have had their principal seats at Bishibali or Bishbaligh, i.e. the Five Towns, which, as Klaproth showed, answers to the Urumtsi of modern travellers. Urumtsi is a Kalmuk name which first occurs in the last century. The place was the Pe-ting or "Northern Court" of previous notices. As we have seen, it had been the chief summer capital of the Uighurs from the middle of the ninth century. They also then dominated over Huo-chu or Ha-la-ho-djo, the Karakhodjo of modern travellers, and Kao-chang, near the modern Turfan (Bretschneider, op. cit., 248).

According to the historiographer Rashid-ud-din, the chief of the Uighurs at this time was Barjuk or Barchuk, or, as the Chinese give the name in full, Ba-r-ju-a-r-té-di-gin, and, like the other Uighur rulers, he was styled Idikut.

In the special biography of Barchuk in the Yuan-shi, we are told that having heard that Chinghiz Khan contemplated a campaign against So-fang, i.e. the northern regions of China, he ordered the officers of the Kara-Khitai who were in his country to be put to death and sent his submission to the Mongol chief. In the Yuan-chao-pi-shi or Secret Annals of the Mongol Dynasty, we are told that having heard of the successful career of Chinghiz Khan he sent Atgilakh and others as envoys to him with these words: "Having heard of your glory, O King, we were rejoiced as when we see the sun rising from among clouds and melt the ice on the water. If I am worthy of your favour, I would wish to be considered your fifth son and to serve you faithfully"; upon which Chinghiz Khan replied: "Come, and I will give you my daughter and make you my fifth son" (op. cit., Russian translation, 131).

In the Huang-yuan the envoys sent by Chinghiz to accept the Uighur chief's submission are called Anlienu and Nutabai, while those sent by the Idikut are given the names of Begusi and Alintimur. According to Rashid-ud-din, the darugha or deputy of the Kara Khitai ruler, who was killed by Barchuk, was called Shavagum or Shukem, and he was put to death in the town of Karakhojo. He calls the messengers who were sent by the Idikut to inform Chinghiz of his revolt, Khatalmish Kia, Omar Ughul, and Tatari; those of Chinghiz, Alp Utugh and Durbai; and the return envoys of Barchuk, Bugush Ais Aigushi and Alain Timur Khutukh.

Rashid-ud-din says that *idikut* means 'lord of the country' (D'Ohsson, i, 428), while Abulghazi says it means 'happy, rich, powerful' (op. cit., ed. Des Maisons, 94); but on an earlier page he explains it quite differently: *idi* he says means 'he has sent,' 'he has permitted to go,' thus *ip ni i*, 'to loosen the cord,' *siyhir idi*, 'the cow has parted with its milk'; *kut* in Turkish, he says, means 'life,' i.e. *idikut* 'he who has given life (to his people).' He adds that in his day the Usbegs called a brave man (*irlik kochi*) *idi kut* (op. cit., 40, 41).

Presently, when Chinghiz Khan had defeated Tukhta, the chief of the Merkils, and his sons had fled with their father's head towards the river Irtish, the Idikut of the Uighurs joined the Mongol army, and defeated and killed the four princes on the river Ch'an or Ts'an, probably a feeder of the Irtish. After this he sent convoys with valuable presents to Chinghiz, who was encamped on the Kerulon. Chinghiz sent him a *yarligh* or order to go to him in person, and to take with him the richest object in his treasury (Erdmann, "Temudschin," etc., 314). He accordingly set out and arrived at the Great Khan's court in the Spring of 1211, and, taking with him gold and silver and precious stones and rich stuffs, asked permission to make presents of horses and dogs to his sons. Chinghiz was evidently much attracted by him, and promised to bestow on him the hand of his daughter Alaji or Alchi Bighi, which was indeed a high distinction. He also accepted him as a son (Yuan-chao-pi-shi, 131; Bretschneider, Notes, etc., 123; Hyacinthe, 45). It would seem that the princess just named died before the marriage could be consummated (Bretschneider, op. cit., 131).

Rashid-ud-din has another story. He says that Chinghiz promised the Idikut the hand of his daughter Altun Bighi in marriage, but that the marriage was postponed in consequence of Chinghiz' death. Ogotai, the successor of Chinghiz, then gave him the hand of another princess, namely, Alaji or Alchi Bighi, but Barchuk having died, she was given to his son Kishmani, who succeeded his father as Idikut of the Uighurs (id., 259–261).

Let us revert, however. When Chinghiz Khan marched westwards in his great campaign, Barchuk accompanied the Mongol general Chepe Noyan against the Khwarezm Shah Muhammed, and distinguished himself at the siege of Nishapur. On his return from the west he took part in the campaign against Ho-si, i.e. Tangut. He had previously crushed a rebellion of 10,000 of his men, who had been unwilling to submit to the new institutions (Bretschneider, ed. i, 249, 250).

Barchuk, the protégé of Chinghiz Khan, survived him, and died during the reign of his successor, Ogotai. According to Rashid-ud-din, he was succeeded as Idikut of the Uighurs by his son Kishmani, to whom Ogotai gave the princess Alchi Bighi, who had been betrothed to his father, in marriage. He only lived a short time, and Turakina, the widow of Ogotai, and who was regent after his death, appointed his brother Salendi as his successor (Erdmann, "Temudschin," etc., 245).

This notice is not quite consistent with that contained in the biography of Barchuk as reported in the Yuan-shi, or official history of the Mongol dynasty. According to that work, Barchuk, having died, was succeeded by Yu-ku-lun-chi-ti-kin, his second son, who was succeeded by his son Ma-mu-la-ti-kin, who was succeeded by his son Ho-chi-ghao-ti-kin (Visdelou, 138), about whom we have a short and interesting notice.

Father Gaubil tells us how, about the year 1275, Prince Kaidu, who had rebelled against Khubilai, had drawn to his party several tribes. He was in alliance with Dua, who ruled over the *uluss* or kingdom of Chagatai, and was Kaidu's dependant; and we are told how, in the year mentioned, the two appeared at the head of 100,000 men in the country of Uighur and besieged the Y-tu-hu (i.e. the Idikut) in his capital. They wanted to compel him to desert the party of Khubilai and to join them. He defended himself courageously, and replied that he only recognized one master, namely Khubilai, that he wished to die as his tributary, and that he was prepared to be cut in pieces rather than desert him. He presently, having received help, compelled the two princes to raise the siege; after which he went to the imperial court, where the emperor treated him with great honour and covered him with riches. This Idikut, we are told, was the grandson and heir of the Idikut who submitted to Chinghiz Khan, and he had married a daughter of Kuyuk ("Histoire de Gentchiscan," 168, 169).

Reverting to the notice in the biography of Barchuk,

we read that Ho-chi-ghao-ti-kin left the crown to his son Nieou-lin-ti-kin, who married the grand-daughter of Ogotai, the Mongol emperor. He was succeeded by his son Themeur-pou-hoa, i.e. Timur-buka, and he by his younger brother, Tsien-kii, who succeeded to the throne in the year 1328 (Visdelou, 138). We do not know how long he reigned, but this is apparently the last entry in the biography in question.

In the year 1359 we read of a certain brave general named Peyen-pu-hoa-ti-kin, or Bayan-buka-tikin, who was in the service of the Mongol emperor in China, and who, we are told, was descended from the Idikut who had been on friendly terms with Chinghiz Khan. (Gaubil, 300.)

This will be a convenient place to condense a few notices of another kind recorded of the Uighurs during Mongol times.

The Uighurs were a cultured and cultivated race, and naturally exercised great influence upon their neighbours. The Mongols adopted their cursive writing from the Uighurs, who had in turn learned theirs from the Nestorians, who had introduced among them the Syriac writing, or perhaps the latter may have been introduced by the Manicheans from Persia, who had so much influence among them. They also seem very certainly to have borrowed their cycle from the Uighurs, for the names of three of the animals which occur in both, namely, *bars* 'tiger,' *lakiya* 'fowl,' and *mechin* or *pechin*, are clearly Turkish. It is probable also that they derived a good many of their religious notions from them.

When Chinghiz Khan defeated Tayang Khan of the Naimans, Tauta-tungo, the latter's secretary, and a man of letters, fell into his hands. Chinghiz Khan was much attracted by him, and made him his confidential minister, and took over with him the official seal he had been accustomed to use. He was a Uighur, and we are expressly told that he taught the Uighur letters to Chinghiz Khan's sons and to the other grandees (Abel Remusat, "Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques," ii, 61, etc.). Khubilai Khan, Chinghiz

Khan's grandson, when he issued a decree for the introduction of his new so-called Bash-pa characters, says:—"Formerly it was not deemed necessary to have characters adapted to our language. We only used the Chinese characters called Kiai (i.e. the square characters used during the Sung dynasty) and the writing of the Wei-u (i.e. of the Uighurs), and it was by means of them that the language of our dynasty was written" (Pauthier, Journ. As., 5th ser., xix, 12, 13). Carpini, in his notice of the Huiurs, as he calls the Uighurs, says expressly the Mongols accepted their letters, nor had they any letters previously. In his time these letters were called Mongol letters (D'Avezac, 657). The same fact is mentioned by Rubruquis, who noticed how they were written from left to right, and were also used by the Nestorians. The same fact is attested by Abul-faraj, who says that the Mongols having neither letters nor literature, Chinghiz Khan ordered the Uighur scribes to teach the Tartars letters. They wrote, therefore, Mongol words in Uighur characters, as the Egyptians in Greek and the Persians in Arabic. Arabshah, in his history of Timur, and Abdur Rizak say the same. Khubilai Khan tried to supplant the Uighur writing among the Mongols by his new Bash-pa characters. They continued, however, to be employed. In 1282 we are told that there appeared a *Mongol-Uighur* edition of the historical work called "Tung-kien," or Universal Mirror. In 1284 a decree appeared forbidding the use of Uighur characters in official documents (see Pauthier, loc. cit., and Remusat, "Recherches sur les langues Tartares," 194). In 1286 the Academy of Han-lin demanded permission to translate and publish works in the language and characters of the Uighurs, and one of the ministers, named Sa-li-man, in reporting that the bureau of the official history of the empire was engaged in preparing the authentic memoirs of the Court of 'the Great Ancestor,' demanded that the work should be translated into the Uighur tongue and character for the benefit of those who preferred to read it in that language, and this was carried out. In the year

1289 a second imperial college was founded at Tatu or Peking, and its direction was given to the Uighurs (Gaubil, 210). This latter was apparently known as the Uighur college, and, having fallen somewhat into decay, was restored in the year 1314 (id., 245). In 1321 we are told the emperor caused the temple which the Uighurs had at Shangtu to be destroyed, and during the same year it was forbidden to the Uighurs to buy young Mongol boys and girls to sell them to the Chinese (id., 253, note).

Even after the accession of the Ming dynasty we read of this Uighur influence in China, and we find a member of the college of Han-lin named Ho-yuan-kiei commissioned to compile a Chinese-Mongol dictionary, which was written in the characters of Kao-chang, i.e. of the Uighurs. ("Chinghiz Khan and his Ancestors," by Henry H. Howorth, 103.)

The Mongols were no doubt largely affected by the Uighurs in regard to their religious notions. Abul-faraj tells us that when the Mongols conquered the Uighurian Turks, they found among them certain necromancers called Kams. "We have heard from many," he says, "who reported that they (the Kams) had heard the voices of demons speaking with them through the light-holes in the tent; but these manifestations, they declared, only took place when they allowed themselves to be polluted by other men." ("Siquidem eorum multi hermaphroditae sunt. Adeo foedi sunt, ut, quando aliquid ex magica eorum arte facere volunt quemcunque qui iis obviam fit, vi cogunt ut eos polluat.")

Abul-faraj continues, and says that "Chinghiz Khan, having heard that the Chinese possessed idols and sacrificing priests, sent envoys to summon some of these, promising to receive them honourably. When they arrived he ordered them to have a discussion with the Kams. When the priests had spoken and read out of their book called Num, the Kams were discomfited, for they were of small understanding, and thenceforward the reputation of the sacrificing priests (i.e. of the more enlightened Buddhists of China) among the Mongols increased. They were ordered to make some images and statues such as they made at home, and

also to offer sacrifices and offerings as they were accustomed. Although they greatly honoured the priests, the Mongols did not despise the Kams. Both of them were tolerated; one did not abuse the other," says our author, "as is the custom among people who have sacred writings and prophets, among whom it is customary for each person to indulge in insults, to abuse his neighbour and call him an infidel." He also tells us how in the book Num just mentioned, besides profane sentences similar to those recorded by Saint Gregory, were laws of great excellence, ex. gr., violence and wrong-doing were forbidden; evil was not to be returned for evil, but good. The smallest animal was not to be killed by man, not even bees and flies. Like Plato, they believed in the transmigration of souls, and that the spirits of good and upright men migrated after death into the bodies of kings and grandees, while those of evildoers passed into the bodies of criminals, who duly suffered torture and were killed. The latter also passed into the bodies of animals. When some one took flesh for the priests to eat, they inquired if the animal had been killed purposely for them or had been bought in the market-place: if the former, they would not eat it (Bar-Hebraeus-Abul-faraj, Chron. Syr., 451–2). Speaking of Bokhara, Juveni says its name is derived from *bokhar*, a name which the Uighur and Chinese idolators give to their temples (D'Ohsson, i, 229, note).

Let us now revert and complete the actual history of the Uighurs. It would seem that during the long struggle between the Emperor Khubilai and his rival Kaidu for supreme authority among the Mongols, the Uighur chiefs were at last disappropriated from their old territory at Bishbaligh and Karakhojo, but they continued to rule as feudatories of the Chinese emperors in the oasis of Hami, which, in fact, remained in their hands for about two centuries, as we shall now see.

At the end of the Yuen or Mongol dynasty, the prince of the Uighurs who reigned over the district of Hami was Na-ha-li. He had also the title of Su-wang (Prince of

Su). When he died his brother An-k'o-t'ie-murh succeeded him ("Hist. des Mings," by De la Marre, 154; Bretschneider, ii, 177). The Ming emperor Hung-nu, having obtained the allegiance of the Uighurs, established military stations in An-ting, A-du-an, K'ü-sien, etc.

An-k'o-t'ie-murh was well disposed towards China, and sent an envoy to the emperor, who arrived in 1403 and took 190 horses as tribute. He also sold to the Chinese government 4,710 horses from Hami. In 1410 he again sent tribute, and the Emperor Yung-lo bestowed upon him the title Chung-shun-wang (Faithful and Obedient Prince), and gave him a golden seal ("Histoire de la Dynastie des Mings," by De la Marre, 156; Bretschneider, id., 180). The next year An-k'o-t'ie-murh was poisoned by the Mongol Khan Gur-li-ch'i (Bretschneider, id.). He was succeeded by his nephew T'o-t'o, who had spent his youth in China as a prisoner of war, and who inherited his father's title. In 1406 a Chinese military station (Wei) was established in Hami. This was apparently resented, for we read that T'o-t'o was ill-disposed towards China and offended the emperor's envoys, besides which he was given to drinking and neglected his government. His people accordingly rebelled. The emperor sent an officer to warn him, but before the latter reached Hami, T'o-t'o had died. This was in 1410. (De la Marre, 174; Bretschneider, op. cit., 181.) His cousin T'u-li-t'ie-murh succeeded him with the Chinese title of Chung-i-wang (Faithful and Righteous Prince). He died in 1425. De la Marre calls him his brother by a concubine, and says that he was given a seal and letters patent confirming him for life in the government of Hami, and he was very faithful to his suzerain (Bretschneider, id.; De la Marre, id.).

In the year 1414, and therefore during his reign, the Chinese emperor Chin-tsau sent one of his officers named Chin-ching to report on the condition of the country of Uighur. Visdelou says that on his return he reported that the country was laid waste. He then proceeds to give us some further details about it, apparently from the relation of this

traveller. He tells us Kiao-ching (i.e. Kao-chang), the capital of Uighur, was 1,840 geometrical paces in circuit, and was surrounded with walls. In the royal audience chamber was painted G'hai-king, king of Lu, interrogating Confucius. The officers of the country were much like those of China. There were eighteen towns in the kingdom, and forty-six forts with garrisons. The marriage and funeral customs of the people were like those of China, while their other manners and customs were like those of the Tartars (i.e. the Mongols). The men were dressed like the barbarians and the women like the Chinese. Both sexes wore their hair plaited and falling down behind. In their carriage, height, and air they resembled Coreans. They had projecting eyes and long noses. They wore brocaded and embroidered gowns. The women wore oiled caps. Their land was elevated, stony and sandy, but bore all kinds of grain except sarrazin, abounded in fruits, and the silkworm also flourished there; so did the vine, and they made wine there. One kind of tree bore a fruit like a cocoon, which produced a very fine and white fibre called *thielie*, whence they made clothes which they sold. They also had a kind of cotton, which was very heavy, and called by the Chinese *ho-tsau-mien*, i.e. fire cotton. Asbestos is doubtless meant. They also had in their country both red and white rock salt, and a tree called *yam-la*, producing very sweet honey (id., 139).

On the death of Tuli-timur the emperor nominated his son Bu-da-she-li as Chung-shun-wang, but owing to his minority T'o-huan-t'ie-murh, a brother of Tuli-timur, was associated with him with the title of Chun-i-wang. The latter died in 1437. His son T'o-t'o-t'a-murh succeeded him in his office, but died shortly after. Bu-da-she-li also died, whereupon the latter's son, Dao-wa-da-she-li, became the ruler of Hami with the title of Chung-shun-wang. These princes had all sent their annual tribute to China. Under Dao-wa-da-she-li's reign Ye-niu Khan of the Kalmuks twice took Hami, and made Dao-wa-da-she-li's mother and his wives prisoners. This was in 1440 and 1445. Dao-wa-da-she-li died in 1457. His brother and

successor, Buliego, reigned until 1460, and, as he died without leaving a son, his mother, Nu-wen-da-she-li, took charge of the regency. The people could not agree upon a successor, nor could they tolerate a woman to govern them, so that in 1463 disturbances broke out, and she was obliged to retire to Ku-yü, a city about 100 *li* north of Yü-men-hien, North latitude 39° (Bretschneider, 181).

In 1472 Ba-tā-murh, a grand-nephew of T'o-huan-t'ie-murh, was appointed by the emperor to rule as governor over the district of Hami, but he died the same year, and his son Han-ch'en (called Han-u by De la Marre) asked to be given the Lieutenancy, but, according to De la Marre, without real authority (De la Marre, 355; Bretschneider, 181).

Thereupon Ali, chief of Turfan, declared himself Sultan, suddenly arrived before Hami, plundered the city, captured the golden seal granted by the Chinese emperor, and carried off the princess dowager already named, leaving his brother-in-law Yalan in command of the place (De la Marre, 355; Bretschneider, 181). The Chinese military station was then transferred to the newly-built city of Ku-yü. In 1473 the Chinese emperor ordered Li-wen, who commanded the troops in Su-chau, to raise troops in the districts of Ch'i-ghur and Handung, among the Me-ko-li and other tribes, and to march against Ali. They advanced as far as Balunggirh (40° North latitude, between Kia-yu-kuan and Hami), but did not venture to attack the enemy, and returned, and the tribes of Uighur and Me-ko-li (? Merkit) were also transferred to Ku-yü (id.).

Hami remained in the hands of the ruler of Turfan for nine years, when, in 1482, Han-ch'en (already named) transferred his residence to Ku-yü, rallied the troops of Ch'i-ghur and Handung, and his own Uighurs, numbering altogether about 10,000 men, suddenly surprised Hami. Yalan, who commanded them, fled, and Han-ch'en reoccupied his old capital and again took up his residence there. The delighted emperor promoted him to the rank of Lieutenant-General (De la Marre, 380). In the year 1488 Han-ch'en was given the title of Prince of Chung-sung.

Sultan Ali of Turfan died in 1478, and was succeeded by A-hei-ma, who in 1488 or 1489 appeared before Hami, and, under pretence of proposing a marriage with Han-ch'en's daughter, enticed him out and killed him. After this A-hei-ma took possession of Hami (De la Marre, 401; Bretschneider, 182), but he presently surrendered it again. Han-ch'en's successor was Shan-ba, a descendant of T'o-t'o's nephew, but, having failed to pay the sums he had undertaken to do, A-hei-ma once more occupied Hami and took Shan-ba prisoner. This was in 1493 (De la Marre, 410; Bretschneider, 182). A-hei-ma, encouraged by his success, made an attack upon Shu-chau and compelled the district of Han-tung to recognize him. The emperor, having heard of this, ordered the troops of Ku-yü, Ch'ighin, and Hantung to march upon him under the general Pen-thsin. The different contingents joined each other under cover of a great storm of snow and rain, and Hami was surprised. Yalan, its governor, fled.

Two years later A-hei-ma submitted, and sent back Shan-ba, who was reappointed Prince of Chung-sung with the military government of Hami. This was in 1495 (De la Marre, 414–15; Bretschneider, loc. cit.). He died in 1505, and was succeeded by his son Bai-ya-dsi, who assumed the title of Sultan. He was an incapable ruler, and in 1513 Sultan Mansur of Turfan occupied Hami, and finally put an end to a state and a dynasty with a very long and remarkable history, which was the only community which came under the influence of the Mongols that managed to survive so long.

Art. XXX.—*The Syro-Armenian Dialect.* By D. S. Margoliouth.

That Armenian was at one time written in Syriac characters is asserted by writers on Armenian antiquities, of whom one, Indjidjean, whose work appeared at Venice in 1835,[1] says: "We hear that even to this day Armenian books are occasionally found written in Syriac letters; and Simon Assemani, one of the professors at Padua, assured us that he had seen such a MS."[2] It is unfortunate that Indjidjean gives no further information about this MS., for in no other work that is easily accessible does it seem possible to find out anything about either the method of transliteration or the dialect of Armenian that is so written. It would seem therefore that MSS. of this character are either wholly unknown hitherto in Europe, or, at any rate, concealed; and I am confirmed in that opinion by the fact that, although the last few years have produced a copious literature[3] on the origin of the Armenian alphabet, none of the writers who have contributed to it have taken any notice of Syro-Armenian MSS. Since some of these authors argue on *a priori* grounds that the Armenians must have

[1] Vol. iii, p. 71, note.

[2] The words are: յորոց զմին ինքնին տեսեալ վկայեաց մեզ Սիմոն ասսեմանին.

[3] Harouthiuneants, Հայոց գիրը, Tiflis, 1892; Daghavarean, Օրագրութիւն Հայ տառից, Vienna, 1895; Dashean, Ակնարկ մը Հայ Հնագրութեան վրայ, Vienna, 1898. Copious lists of earlier literature are given by the first two of those writers.

used the Phoenician alphabet between the time when they employed Cuneiform and the invention of their own alphabet, they could scarcely have neglected the practical light which the Syro-Armenian writing throws on the applicability of the Semitic alphabet to Armenian, had it been known to them. I am therefore disposed to believe that the subject of the present paper is new, or, at any rate, nearly so.

The MS. on which this article is based is the property of Professor RENDEL HARRIS, to whose skill the recovery of many unique texts is due. It professes to be a translation of the Syro-Arabic glossary of Bar Bahlul, but is in reality a compilation of the glossaries of Bar' Ali, Bar Bahlul, and others, with Armenian ordinarily substituted for the Arabic. Professor Rendel Harris most generously lent the MS. to the editors of the *Thesaurus Syriacus*, and also gave them permission to publish a description of it.

Few MSS. are so well supplied with dates and other information. At the beginning of every letter the scribe gives year, month, and day of writing; and at the end of the MS. he gives a series of subscriptions in Syriac, Arabic, and Armenian. He commenced writing in Ilul, 1969 (1657 A.D.), and finished in Ab, 1972 (1660 A.D.). His name was *Ephraim*, son of Joannes of "the blessed *Castra* of *Van* called Dair Abi Ghālib,[1] also called the region of Gargar in the locality of Claudia." The work was written in the Monastery of Mar Abhai[2] called *Dairā d' seblāthā*. It was written for the use of *Rabbān Ḥabīb*, a monk of Edessa. The scribe adds that, not being a professional scribe, he has made havoc with the work.

Although the various subscriptions cover two folio pages, the scribe is not apparently the same as the translator, and the Armenian translation of Bar Bahlul must have been made before 1658, though how long before cannot be precisely determined. This appears from the fact that our copy records *variants*, such as refer only to the orthography

[1] See Assemani, B.O., ii, 365.
[2] See ibid., xcvi.

of Armenian words, and imply the existence of several MSS. of the Armenian edition. The following are examples:—

13*b*. Gloss on ܐܘܡܘܪܘܣܝܣ (*ἀμαύρωσις*),

ܐܓܘܝܢ ܕܐܦܘܝܢ ܟܣܐ ܘܓܝܢ ܕܣܢܐܪ

i.e. *աչուին*, in another copy *աշուին բացա ու չի տեսնար*, where the variety of reading can only refer to the spelling of the Armenian word for 'eye.'

20*b*. ܓܘ ܟܓܣܐ ܕܟܟܣܐ

i.e. *կու պակսա*, in another copy *կու պագսա* (OA. *պակասէ*). The variety of reading here refers to the representation of the letter *կ*.

120*a*. *ἔκχεον* is interpreted in Syriac ܦܘܪ, in Armenian ܓܪܙܐ, with variant ܟܪܙܐ, i.e. *կործա*, in another copy *գործա*. The first, which means 'pour out,' is right.

146*a*. ܚܦܝܘ ܐܦܘ ܒܩܛܡܐ : ܐܪܓܘܦ ܐܝܪܢܦ ܐܪܡܐ ܡܟܝܪܐ ܕܡܟܪܘ

i.e. *ծածկեց իրենց երեսա մխիրա* with a various reading *մխրով*, the passage being rendered in one copy 'ashes covered their faces,' in the other '[they] covered their faces with ashes.'

139*a*. ܚܡܬܐ : ܟܬܡܪ ܕܟܪܬܡܪ

The new Armenian for 'stepmother' is *խորթ մայր* 'spurious mother,' and this is represented by the second of these renderings. The first *խաթմար* may be either a corruption of the same word, or, less probably, a dialectic form of it. It will be seen below that *այ* is almost invariably reduced to *ա* in SA. 'Stepmother' is a mistake for 'mother-in-law'; but these relationships are often confused.

113*b*. ἡπατικός is interpreted in Syriac ܟܒܕܐ ܕܟܒܕܐ, in Armenian ܓܝܓܪܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܕ̄ ܩܨܒܘܢ. Here the difference of reading recorded concerns the Armenian equivalent for the Syriac 'liver,' and (as elsewhere in the MS.) two foreign words appear to have been found in different copies—one the Persian جگر, the other the Arabic قصب.

These examples will be sufficient to show that the copy followed by Ephraim, son of John, had been made from a collation of different copies. The people for whose benefit the translation was made were probably inhabitants of the region between Malatiyah and Samsat, where Syrians and Armenians live together.[1] The translation has preserved for us a considerable monument of the Armenian dialect spoken in that region in the seventeenth century, and probably earlier. Its character, as will be seen, approaches that of the Polish Armenian, which is not otherwise known as a literary dialect. Those who study the Modern Armenian dialects become speedily convinced that their relation to the literary language is not so much that of daughters as of *nieces*—i.e., they spring from parallel dialects, and hence retain forms that are older than some which the literary dialect employs. For 'to happen' the literary language has *handipim*, the Syr.-Arm. *hampitim*, which seems to be the Sanskrit *sampadyē*, *sampad*, *sampatti*; and if this be so, the order of the radicals which are transposed in OA. is preserved in SA. The OA. *thshnami*, 'an enemy,' has long been recognized to be borrowed, through the Persian, from the Sanskrit *dur-manas*; the form *tushman* (spelt ܛܘܫܡܢ or ܛܘܫܡܢ) is found not only in SA. but also in popular songs taken down in Armenia.[2] The OA. *hreshtak*, 'angel,' is known to be borrowed from an ancestor of the Persian *firishtah*; in SA. 'angel' is regularly *firishtak*. A participle in *man*, of which examples will be collected below, seems to be of high antiquity. The SA. form of the verb 'to be' աղղնալ seems to stand between OA. եղանիլ and MA. ըլլալ.

[1] Badger, *Nestorians*, i, pp. 312–347.
[2] Alishan, *Armenian Popular Songs*.

The present papers will consist (1) of some texts with transliteration and translation; a photograph of a page is appended, to enable the reader to test the writer's accuracy; (2) of an account of the system of transliteration, which, as will appear, is not free from complication; the expression of thirty-eight letters by twenty-two, or, more strictly speaking, by seventeen, is no easy task; (3) of a sketch of the grammar. A series of papers by Hanusz in vols. i-iii of the Vienna Oriental Journal are a valuable guide to the student of the Polish Armenian dialect; but this careful writer goes no further than the sound-lore. Besides this series there is little in any language but Armenian which can be used for the study of the dialects. A foremost place is occupied by the critical grammar of Arsen Aidynean (two volumes, Vienna, 1866), which deals mainly with the Constantinople dialect. The two dictionaries published at Venice of Modern Armenian into Ancient (1869) and Ancient Armenian into Modern (1865) have also been of great service; the utility of the latter is greatly increased by its giving Turkish as well as Armenian equivalents in their Armenian dress. Of other publications I may refer to the chrestomathy of Modern Armenian passages published by Yonanean (Vienna, 1898). M. Duval's edition of Bar Bahlul has, naturally, been collated throughout with the manuscript dictionary, and has been of the greatest use.[1] I must also gratefully acknowledge the help I have received from Mr. Conybeare, and Mr. Essayan of New College.

[1] In rare cases M. Duval's readings can be corrected from this Armenian copy; but in 109*b*, εὖ παθόντες, *իրենց չարչարանքա ճարտար ա, աղէկ կու չարչարուին* gives the right reading المعتدلُ اَلَمُهم against M. Duval's. Ordinarily the translation is characterized by a sort of stupidity that would astonish anyone who was not familiar with the ways of Eastern grammarians and scholiasts: ἐπαλαιώθη, 118*b*, is rendered *տուր ինծի* 'give me,' ܗ̄ ܒܠܝ being misread ܗܒ ܠܝ; ἐλθέτω, 106*d*, is rendered ܬܬܐ, *թեզենի* (for *թզենի*) 'fig-tree'; ܗܘܐ is given the meaning 'he talked,' the Arabic يكون حدث being rendered *կազնա զուրուցեց*, the writer mistaking حدث for حدّث.

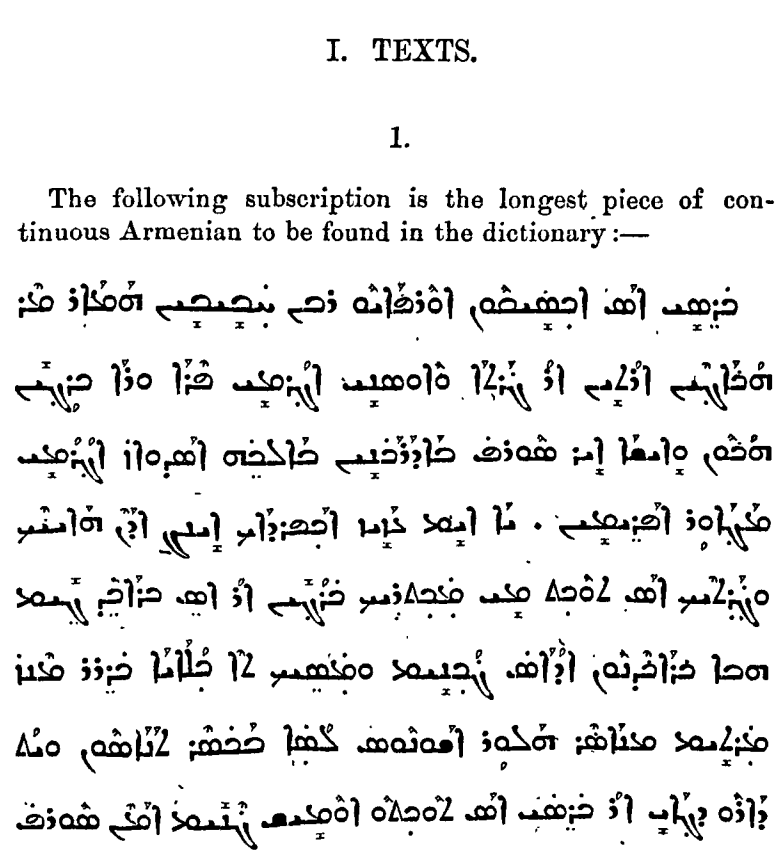
ABBREVIATIONS.

OA.=Old Armenian.
SA.=Syro-Armenian.
MA.=Modern Armenian.
MAG.=Modern Armenian Grammar of Aidynean.
MAL.=Modern Armenian Lexicon.

I. TEXTS.

1.

The following subscription is the longest piece of continuous Armenian to be found in the dictionary:—



ܟܝܪ ܐܝܬܝ ܒܗ ܒܝܥܐ ܗܘ ܐܒܘܙ ܐܢ ܐܦܝ ܒܝ ܐܠ
ܡܝܢܟ ܘܐܝ ܘܐܒܝܙ ܒܝ ܗܘ ܐܝ ܒܝ ܗܘ ܐܒܝ
ܒܝ ܐܦ . [ܒܝ ܗܘ ܐܝ ܒܐ] ܐܒܝܡܝ ܘܝ ܐܒ
ܒܝ ܐܦ ܐܝ ܘܐܒܝ ܗܘ ܐܝ ܐܝ ܐܝ ܒܝ ܐ ܘܐ
ܐ ܒܝ ܐ ܐ ܐ

Translation.

'I have written this Lexicon for the sake of Rabban Habib of Urfah, our spiritual son: whoso reads and learns, implore mercy on the soul of the writer, and remember [him in] his holy Eucharist; may be God will have mercy on the sinner Ephraim. O my dear brethren, whenever ye look at and read this book, do not blame the writer, for I am not a professional scribe, but grovel at the feet of the learned: neither say that the writing is bad: I am left, an aged man, but the light of my old eyes failed. I who wrote this book was a man of 77 years. I pray all blessed readers, whenever they read and study, to ask mercy on the soul of the sinner Ephraim; may be God will take pity on him by your blessed prayer. I wrote this dear volume in the staircase convent of Mar Abhai, in the year 1970 from Alexander and 670 [the margin adds about 1900] of Christ. May God be merciful to that man who reads and asks mercy for the sinful writer!'

Notes.

The writing of ւ to represent the copulative conjunction when it comes before a vowel is taken from Alishan's 'Popular Songs.' Most of the grammatical peculiarities will be illustrated in the third part of this paper, and need not at present detain us. Thus, the word ախբրտաք for եղբարք will meet us three times: as illustrating (1) the almost invariable change of ե to ա before the rough gutturals; (2) the substitution of խ for ղ in common words; (3) the termination տաք, which resembles տիք (of which examples are given, MAG., ii, 13), and is very frequently used. The plural of քահանա 'a priest' is, e.g., քահանտաք. The ք of this form counts as a nominative sign, and disappears in the other cases. In line 3 պատարագնի-ն is the nom.-accus. plural of պատարագ, of which the genitive would be նու-ն, as in գրագետնուն of line 6.

The MA. rule that monosyllables form their plural by adding *եր*, polysyllables by adding *ներ*, requires considerable modification before it can be applied to SA. In line 6 *խոլայա* stands for *խոլայ է*. It seems certain that in this dialect *ա* is substituted for *է* in the 3rd person singular of all verbs in which it ordinarily ends in *է*. Some examples may be quoted—

ܡܥܛܪ ܥܛܪܐ : ܟܘܢܓ ܓܘ ܙܟܐ

i.e. *խունկ կու ծխա*. (OA. and MA. *ծխէ*.)

ܐܚܕܐ ܢܘܪܐ : ܓܘ ܘܪܐ ܓܪܓܐ

i.e. *կու վառա կրակա*. (OA. and MA. *վառէ*.)

ܡܚܢܛ : ܓܘ ܬܓܐ

i.e. *կու թաղա*. (OA. and MA. *թաղէ*.)

The word *խոլա* is given in MAL. as a Turkish word (قولای), meaning 'easy'; but in SA. it means 'ugly, unseemly.' This is proved by a passage in f. 93*b*, where it corresponds to the Arabic قبيح : *կասա ձագմի գա իր տես իշով խոլայա* 'he says there is a certain chick whose appearance is very ugly.' Later on ܦܒܝܪܐ is glossed *խոլա*, and likewise ܡܦܒܪܐ *խոլա տես*. How the word comes to have this signification is not clear.

գրերր 'writing' is plural of *գիր*.

Similarly, 84*c*, *ջրերր* is plural of *ջուր* 'water'; *ձորերր* of *ձոր* 'valley,' 96*c*; *գրերր* itself occurs 97*c*, where γραμματικός is glossed *կու գրա ճարտար գրերր* 'he writes a good hand.'

With the phrase մենծ (for մեծ: see MAL.) մարդիմ մնացեր compare the gloss on ܕܡܟܬ 'I slept,' ܟܢܐܣܝܡܐ, ܕܡܝܟ ܟܢܐܣܝܡܐ. These words քնացեր իմ, քնացեր ա clearly represent a compound tense, and in MAG., ii, 96 (note), a writer of the twelfth century is quoted for չէաք յիմացեր. This stands to իմանամ in the same relation as մնացեր իմ to մնամ.

տղա is the usual word for 'son' in SA.: ܒܪܐ is glossed տղա, որդի. The form in the text seems to be a compound of տղա with էի on the analogy of the 1st imperfect of verbs in ամ.

աշունուս. The SA. for 'eye' seems to have been very irregular. ܥܝܢܐ is glossed աշք; and although the word is sometimes written with չ, it is far more frequently written with շ. The form here is compounded with ս, which in SA. is practically a suffix of the 1st person. In 99*c* ܕܒܬ ܥܝܢܝ is rendered ջրաց աշուխս; and the same form is given under ܡܚܝܠܢ ܥܝܢܝܗ կոտրած աշուի. Apparently աշուի is singular, as 275*b*, քնծ եզան աշուի կու լմանուի 'it resembles a bull's eye'; perhaps աշունի is the plural of this, 102*d*, a drug որ կու քաշեն աշունին 'with which they paint the eyes'; of աշունի the genitive would be աշունու. Some similar forms are noticed, MAG., ii, 414.

սանտխտով 'with the stairs' is instrumental from սանտուխտ, which, from the gloss on ܣܒܠܬܐ, we know to be the SA. form for սանտուխ.

լոսա = լոյսը. In MAG., ii, 23, some rather complicated rules are given for the use of the article; and Armenian scholars seem in some doubt as to the import of this ը, which Pakraduni (OA. Grammar, Venice, 1874, pp. 6–23) clearly regards as the sign of the accusative, whereas in MAG. this view is branded as an error. In SA. an ա is substituted for it, and this clearly represents the article. The effect of this affix on certain forms will give occasion for some observations.

կենիմ: = կընեմ. Compare the glosses:

ܐܘܕܐ : ܦܘܟܪ ܐܢܝܡ

ܐܟܪܐ : ܠܘܬܝܫ ܐܢܝܡ

ܐܟܠܗ : ܐܢܝܡ ܐܕܟܝܣ

And, indeed, it would seem that in the *e* conjugation the 1st person regularly takes *ի* just as the third takes *ա*. The verb *ենել* is, as appears in these examples, used with Arabic infinitives, like the Turkish ايتمك, to make transitive verbs.

պալքէ is the Turkish بلكه. The Armenian for this is *գուցէ*. In MAL. *պէլքի* is the spelling adopted.

2.

Story of Dinah, f. 104*d*.

Դինա Իկոբին ախջիկինա. ինչ ատէն որ աղաւ Դինան իր մօրա ախբրտաքա տարին նետեցին յապանա: շալկեց ասա աշխինա թռչումին ու տարաւ միսր: գտաւ ասա ախջիկա կռապաշտին երեսմին ու տարաւ ծառայեց ու մենցոց: առաւ ասա ախջիկ Յուսուբա: աղաւ իրնէ Էփրէմ ու Մնաշէ ւալ չուչուխալ.

'Dinah, Jacob's daughter. When Dinah was born, her mother's brothers took and cast [her] on the shore. A bird took that girl (?) and carried her to Egypt. A certain idolator found the girl, and took and served and brought her up. The girl was married by Joseph, and became the mother of Ephraim, Manasseh, and other children.'

ախջիկինա. This might be the word *աղճիկակին* given in MAL. (1865). But it is more likely that some words are lost.

յապանա. Perhaps this is for յափնը. The preposition յ only survives in isolated idioms in MA., but is sometimes employed in SA.; 106*c*, ܕܠܝܬܢܝ, քաշեց ես 'ի ջրէն 'he drew me out of the water'; 107*c*, ܕܨ ܥܘܠ ܒܒܪܣܐ, շաշկլտեցաւ չուչուխ 'ի մօր փորա 'the babe leaped *in utero matris*'; 117*b*, շահ կենա 'ի կերութինա 'it is good for food.' ափան, according to MAL., is obsolete in MA.

աշխինա. Perhaps this is corrupt.

մենծոց for մեծացոյց.

3.

The photographed page (f. 21 vers.).

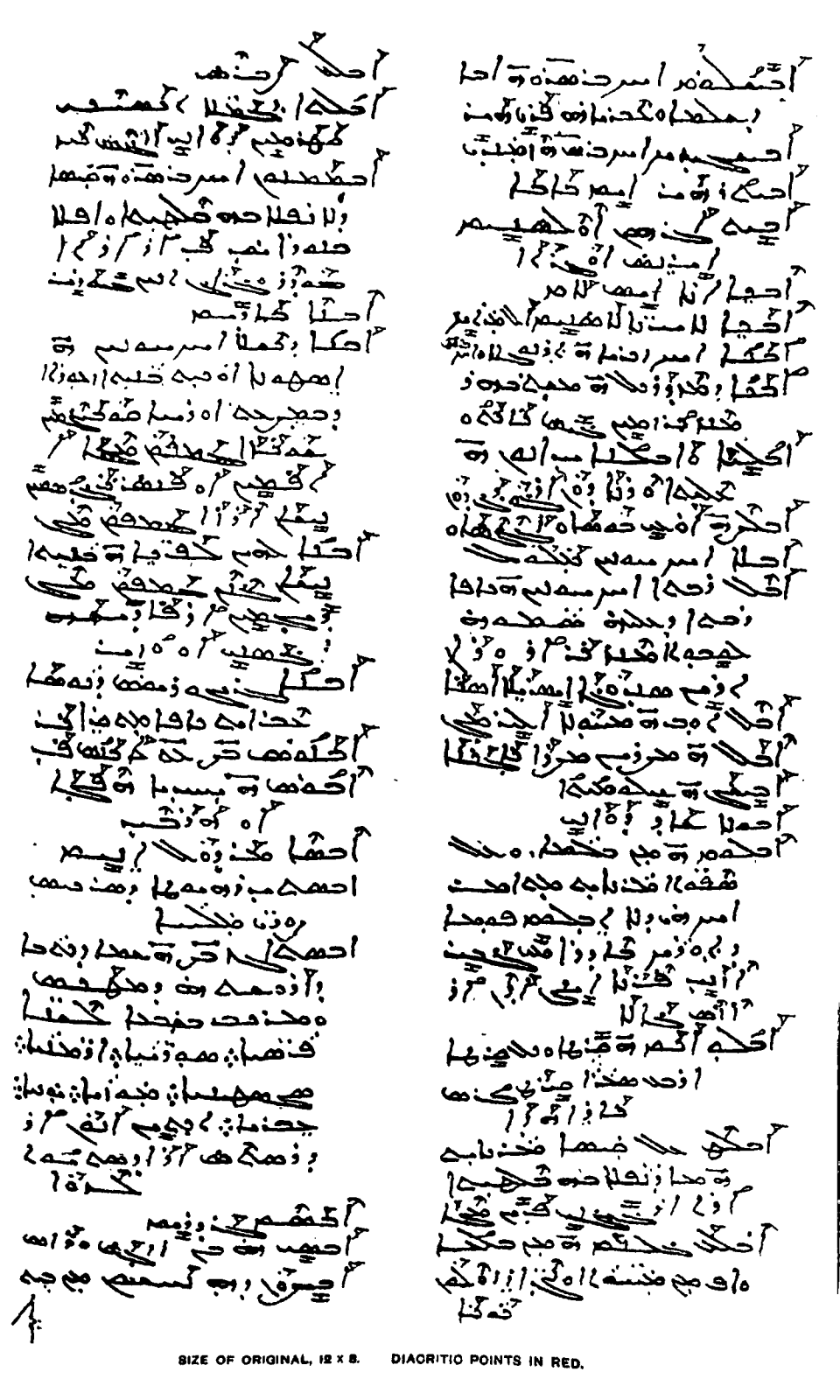
ܐܒܝܫܠܘܡ, etc.: բարի հայր.[1]

Compare the gloss 21*a*, "ܐܘܪܫܠܡ 'light and peace,' լոս ու բարև; otherwise 'vision of peace,' բարև տեսութին"; in the next gloss լոս ու բարիւա. Later on ܫܝܢܐ is glossed բարութին. It would seem, then, that բարի is not, as at first might be supposed, a mistake for պարշի (cf. 31*a*, εἰρηνικός, մուրասալա ըղրկեց պարիշելու համար), but the SA. for 'peace.' The termination, however, seems inaccurate.

It is surprising that the SA. keeps the diphthong in հայր (MA. հար), whereas in most words it is reduced.

ܐܒܝܫܓܝܪܟ, etc.: հեղմանտի. Probably this is to be corrected հեծմանտի (ܐ for ܐ). This word is the *plural* of the *participle* of the verb հեծնիլ. That a participle

[1] The Syriac will be abridged, as it does not concern the present discussion.



SIZE OF ORIGINAL, 12 x 8. DIACRITIC POINTS IN RED.

in *ման* existed in SA. is clear from many glosses. Here we may give a few of them:—

ܕܡܫܐ : ܟܘܟܡܢ (*կոխման*).

ܕܡܨܠܚܘ : ܙܪܕܪܡܢ، ܗܕܡܢ (*զարդարման*, *հագման*).

ܕܒܨܝܪܐ : ܩܫܡܢ، ܗܢܡܢ (*քաշման*, *հանման*).

ܟܬܝܒܐ : ܓܪܡܢ (*գրման*, written), 110*b*.

ܦܬܝܚܐ : ܒܨܡܢ (*բացման*, opened), 41*c*.

ܡܫܒܚܐ : ܓܘܠܡܢ، ܒܪܒܪܘܪܡܢ (*գովման*, *բարբաւորման*), 28*c*.

Secondly, polysyllables in SA. often form their plural in *նի*; but when the stem ends in *ն*, for the *ն* of the termination *տ* is substituted. Thus:

մարմին 'a body'; plural *մարմնտի*.
չօպան 'a shepherd'; plural *չօպնտի*.
ձի 'a horse'; plural *ձիանտի*.

Thus *հեծմանտի* is SA. for *հեծեալք* 'riders,' and translates the Arabic ركاب. The singular is given in the gloss on ܪܟܘܒܐ *հեղման* (read *հեծման*).

ܐܒܝ : *հայր իմ պապա*.
ܐܒܝ ܐܒܘܗܘܢ : *եւեղցնիմ իրենց ուճրաթա*.

That the 1st person of the present of the *e* conjugation takes *i* in SA., has already been seen; otherwise the verb (which signifies 'I increase,' and so is a mistranslation) is ordinary MA. The word for 'reward' is the Arabic اجرة.

ܐܓܪܐ ܠܝ : *իս քամ*.

Whereas in ordinary Armenian we have nom. *es*, acc. *z-is*, for 'I,' 'me,' SA. usually has *is*, *z-es*. Peculiar forms of the pronouns will be collected in the grammar.

ܐܒܟܐ : լացնիմ ալ մարդիկ.

ܐܒܟܐ, etc.: մենծ խորզմիմ կից գագաթով. խորոզ is MA. for 'cock.'

ܐܒܠܝܐ, etc.: վերնատուն, երկուտակտուն.

ܐܒܠܨ, etc.: պուսաւ, ծաղեկեցաւ.

ܐܒܠܐ : մալուլ.

This is the Arabic مَلُول.

ܐܒܠ ܪܒܬܐ : մենծ քար որ վրան դրին սնտուկա Իսրայելա ասգա.

ասգ is the ordinary spelling of ազգ in this dialect. որ վրան 'which upon it' is perhaps a Syriasm. The word for 'ark' is the Arabic صندوق.

Իսրայելա stands for Իսրայելայ; the final յ of the diphthong is regularly omitted as in Polish Armenian.

ܐܒܠ ܠܘܒ ܡܚܘܠܐ : ալիրմաղ 'a sieve for meal.' The translator supposed ܡܚܘܠܐ to be a gloss on ܐܒܠ.

ܐܒܠ ܗ̄ ܡܨܪܝܢ : մսրա քաղաքնա.

The plural of քաղաք is քաղաքնի in SA.: the ի is elided before ա of the article. This means 'the cities of Egypt.'

ܐܒܘܠܐ : շատ տաւանի 'many camels.'

Infra ܓܡܠܐ is glossed տաւա; of this word տաւանի is the plural. It is the Turkish دوه, spelt in MA. տէվէ. The translator thought ܐܒܘܠܐ a second plural from إبل 'camels.' Hence his addition of the word 'many.'

ܐܒܠܘܡ, etc.: . . մի կապիր եզանիդ բերանա ինչ ատեն որ ծեծես կալա 'do not bind the mouth of thy ox when thou beatest the floor.' It is to be observed that the letters *n*, *t* (*d*), *s* are used in SA. as though they were pronominal suffixes. The imperative of կապել is կապա (f. 81*b*). Tables will be given in Chapter III.

ܐܟܠܘ ܐܟܡ, etc.: չորս գարէհատա.

ܐܟܠܛ, etc.: որդ որ կիկնի փատին մէջա 'a worm which falls upon wood.'

կիկնի stands for կու + ընկնի. In the next chapter it will be seen that SA. substitutes ի for ը at the beginning of many words. The following ն is omitted for euphony, as in some other words.

ܐܟܠܥ: կլնամ. OA. կլանեմ 'to swallow.'

In many other verbs of the form անեմ, the SA. dialect substitutes ա for ե, and elides the ա. So մտնամ for մտանեմ, 52*b*.

Ibid. ծեծուելուն քուքա 'the stripes of being beaten.' In Wright's "Apocryphal Acts," p. 273, the word ܟܘܟܐ occurs, connected with ܡܟܐ. It is to be explained from this Armenian word.

ܐܟܠܥ: սապրեց. This is the Arabic صبر 'to be patient' with an Armenian termination. It is of frequent occurrence in the text.

ܐܟܠܬܐ, etc.: գաթարմին տաւանի ծածկեց քէզ 'a train of camels covered thee.' The first word is the Arabic قُطَار.

ܐܟܡܡܢܘܢ, etc.: փատ որ որթա չուտեր ու կրակ դնէն չի վառիր 'a wood which the worm does not eat, and is not ignited by the fire.' կրակ դնէն seems to stand for the ablative of կրակ.

ܐܟܢܐ: պատիմ.

ܐܟܢܐ, etc.: գուպայեկմին շուքածա ջամբուն մէջա աւ թափամին աւ բանձր քարկտոսմին նիշան եռածա ջամբուն մէջ 'a monument built in the middle of the road or column or tall obelisk, erected as a sign in the road.' The first word is clearly foreign, and indeed an Arabic diminutive قبيّة, probably from قبو (Dozy, s.v.). The word spelt թափան (or դաբան) is the OA. տապան 'a monument.' The third synonym is the OA. քարկոթող. The change

of ղ into ս seems extraordinary: in Armenian writing one would suppose that զ and ղ had been confused.

շուքացա or շուգացա. The verb whence this word is derived is of frequent occurrence, and signifies 'to make.' In 269*a* ܥܒܕ is glossed կու շուքա. In 94*b* a ܓܠܘܦܐ is said to be նաջար [نجّار] որ կու շուքա լծեր 'a carpenter who makes yokes.' In 95*b* շուքա մատնիմին 'make a seal.' Perhaps the word should be spelt շուգել. I can find no trace of it in either the MAL. or the OAL. But Mr. Essayan tells me that it is derived from շուք in the sense of 'splendour,' and is used in the province of Moosh.

With the spellings մէջ and մէջա compare the MA. մէջ and մէջը, MAL., 364. թափամին stands for թափանմին; the double consonant resulting from the assimilation is sometimes expressed: so ܦܡܡܝܢ for բան մին.

բանձր is the well-known OA. and MA. բարձր 'high': it is of constant occurrence in this form. We shall see that many of these adjectives in ր undergo some change in SA. The form is used in Vaspurakan (*Araks*, 1892, p. 126).

եռաց stands for MA. առաց (MAG., ii, 66). Compare 10*d*, ܐܗܪܬܘܢܝܢ, զարար եռիք ինծի (= ضرر). ܐܗܢܝ, շահ եռաց.

ܐܒܢܐ, etc.: նիշան կենեն ջամբուն մէջ: տիղմին որ բատիշահ կասնի աւ վոզիր. 'They made a sign in the middle of the road. A place where a king or vizier arrives.'

տիղ stands for տեղ: the plural is տաղեր. The SA. dialect avoids the employment of ե before ղ wherever possible.

կասնի stands for կու + ասնի for հասնի = հասանի. Several examples will be collected lower down of displacement and misplacement of the aspirate.

ܐܒܢܐ, etc.: քար.

ܐܒܢܘܣ, etc.: փատ.

ܐܒܘܣ, etc.: հեբաղա աւ հարապէտ. The first of these words is spelt հաբեղայ in MA., աբելայ or աբեղայ in

OA., rightly derived by Lagarde (*Arm. Stud.*) from the Syriac ܐܒܝܠܐ.

ܐܒܣܐ: մարտուլ ենիմ. This is the Arabic مرذول.

ܐܒܣܬܐܓܐ, etc.: թխթին անուն որ տրսթեց ջարատսդ յօթ լեզուա.

The verb seems to be the Ar.-Pers.-Turk. دستور with an Armenian termination. The fifth meaning given by Redhouse is 'a collection of laws.' The transposition need not surprise us.

լեզուա seems to represent a locative termination, of which some other examples occur.

ܐܒܣܡ: ճարտրիմ. This stands for the Arabic اطيب, and means 'I do well.' The word ճարտար is used in SA. generally in the sense of 'good.'

ܐܒܣܝ ܗܘ ܒܝ: ծծղաց վրաս. 'He laughed at me.'

It is clear from these examples that the Syro-Armenian dialect contains a great number both of grammatical peculiarities and of words which are at present unregistered in works on the Armenian language. The chief of these it will be my endeavour, in the rest of these articles, to collect. It will appear from the following table that though there is some difficulty in transcribing the Syriac into Armenian, there is none whatever in retranscribing the Armenian into Syriac; and since the words in their Armenian dress will be far more familiar to scholars than they could be in any other garb, the Armenian writing will be adopted throughout, except where, owing to exceptional spelling, the Syriac form ought to be recorded.

II. TRANSLITERATION.

The system of transliteration illustrated by these examples is as follows:—

ܐ = soft breathing; mater lectionis for ա.

ܒ = պ.

ܓ = կ.

ܓ = ղ.

ܓ[1] = ճ, չ, and ջ indiscriminately. In transliterating Turkish words the writer sometimes uses ܓ for ܓ̣.

ܕ = տ.

ܗ = հ; mater lectionis for է sometimes.

ܘ = վ, ւ; mater lectionis for ու.

ܙ = զ.

ܙ̇ = ծ.

ܝ = յ; mater lectionis for ի.

ܟ̇ = գ and ք indiscriminately.[2]

ܟ = խ.

ܠ̇ = լ.

ܡ = մ.

ܢ = ն.

ܣ = ս.

ܣ̇ = ձ and ց indiscriminately.

ܦ̇ = բ and փ indiscriminately.[2]

ܦ = ֆ.

ܪ = ռ and ր indiscriminately.

ܫ = շ.

ܫ̇ = ժ.

ܬ = դ and թ indiscriminately.[2]

Vowels. ܕ or ÷ = ա.

ܒ or ̣ = ե.

ܓ = ի.

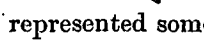
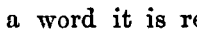
ܘ or ܘ = ո.

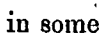
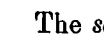
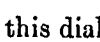
ܘ̂ = ու.

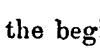
[1] In the MS. the ܓ has the stroke (three connected dots) in the *middle*. The form ܓ has been used owing to the difficulty of printing.

[2] Mr. Conybeare tells me that in Armenian MSS. of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries these letters are constantly confused.

The distinction between long and short vowels seems to be somewhat arbitrary. Words in which ա occurs are written sometimes with ի, sometimes without: քաղաք 'a city' is written , , and . Within a word է is represented sometimes by , sometimes by ; at the end of a word it is regularly represented in the ablative by , in some other cases by .

The *semi-vowel* յ is rarely represented. Those who spoke this dialect could not, as a rule, pronounce two consonants at the beginning of a word, and required some stronger vowel than յ: this is ordinarily ի. Thus  is written for ընկաւ;  for ընկուզ; կիշառք for կշիռք 'a balance'; Քրիստոս for 'Christos'; ստեղծեց 'he created' for ստեղծեց (see infra for the change of ե to ա); դիժար for դժուար 'difficult'; ինկեր for ընկեր 'a friend.' Occasionally, however, other vowels serve instead of ի. The verb ընել (OA. առնել) is regularly written with ե for its first vowel: կենա 'he does.' In սամպիչ 'a sponge' we seem to have a derivative of the OA. verb ըմպել 'to drink.'

Of the *diphthongs*, իւ is regularly represented by : e.g.  stands for the termination թիւն. In monosyllables, however, ՝ takes its place: thus  for ձիւն 'snow' (29*b*),  for սիւն 'a column.' In the word կռիւ 'dispute' the diphthong is represented by .

ոյ is rendered by ՝, e.g.  for լոյս in the subscription; for կոյս 'a virgin.'

աւ and ով are unchanged: in the case of the former a mater lectionis is sometimes written after the ՝. օ is sometimes distinguished from ո by the mater lectionis օ: ordinarily it cannot be distinguished. stands for օր 'a day' and որ 'who, that.'

The diphthong այ is generally reduced to ա: see infra.

The number of letters ordinarily employed to represent the Armenian 38 is, then, ordinarily 17 + 5 vowel-signs, or 22: not much more than half. Five letters of the Syriac alphabet, ܚ, ܛ, ܥ, ܨ, ܩ, are chiefly employed in foreign words: ܩܠܗ ܟܐܪ stands for կալաքար 'soda,' the first half of which, however, is Arabic; the word ܩܢܓܠܝ 'a wheel' (9*b*, 11*b*) is probably the Turkish قانغال; in 45*d*, ܟܐܪܝ ܩܝܣ for 'many' the second word represents the Persian كِس, written in Armenian քիշի (MAL.).

ܚ is very rare in Armenian words: 27*b*, ܚܡܐܘܪ and ܗܡܐܘܪ are written in consecutive lines, representing the hybrid compound համաւոր 'chaste,' from Arab. حما + ւոր, with which հայաւոր, from Arab. حيا, is synonymous (s.v. ܢܒܦܐ). The Arm. for 'revenge' հայֆ is written with ܚ in 30*a*.

ܥ is used regularly in the Armenian word for 'barren,' ܥܐܡܘܠ, ամուլ (glossed որ չոչուխ չաղնար իրի). This word is old, but may be borrowed. The Turkish word يابا 'a fork' is spelt ܥܐܒܐ (117*b*); in Arabic words *aleph* is often written for ع.

The remaining letters ܛ and ܨ are frequently used in place of ܬ and ܣ, and in some words regularly. Thus ոսկի 'gold' seems always to be written ܐܨܓܝ. The verb դառնալ and its derivatives are regularly written with ܛ. դուռ 'a door' is ordinarily spelt ܛܘܪ, whereas դուր in the phrases 'ի դուրս, etc., is written ܬܘܪ. The words դող 'a fever' and դողամ are regularly written with ܛ. Other words to be noticed are ܛܪܟܬ for դրախտ (36*b*, etc.), and ܛܢܙ 'a pear' for տանձ (36*b*). The Turkish pronunciation of ط would seem to have affected the SA. treatment of ܛ.[1] Usually this ܛ

[1] Thus Turkish طالغه 'a wave' is written ܕܠܓܕ, plural ܕܠܓܕܢܝ or ܕܠܓܢܕܢܝ (95*a*).

is written with a red dot in the loop, as in the Carshuni writing of ض = ظ.

The employment of ܨ for ܣ seems to occur most frequently in cases where the sibilant comes before a tenuis, which in the modern language would become a media. ܕܕܘܝ ܐܨܕܝܢ ܘܐܢܕܝܢ stands for դատուի աստէն ւանդէն 'is judged here and there.' ܐܨܦܢܠ is the ordinary spelling of սպանէլ 'to kill'; ܐܨܛܘܪ of աստուոր; ܗܨܛ of հաստ. The verb հասանել and its derivatives are often written with ܨ, e.g. ܗܨܢܝ for հասանի (29*a*).

It will appear from the table that the shifting of the mediae and tenues which is characteristic of Modern Armenian characterizes SA. also. There is, however, a considerable amount of inconsistency. As was seen above, the copies of the Armenian translation employed by the scribe varied somewhat: he notes in one place a variety in the spelling of the word for 'wilderness,' ܐܢܐܦܕ and ܐܢܐܒܕ,' and on f. 16*d* the genitive of this word is ܐܢܐܒܛܝܢ; on 117*b* տնկա and տնգա are given as varieties. Even in foreign words the Armenians seem to have been uncertain whether to pronounce mediae or tenues: ܬܓܐܠ is written for the Arabic دجّال; ܬܝܗ for the Persian دِهْ; ܡܐܛ for the Persian مات; ܐܘܡܘܛ for the Persian اومید, Turkish *umūd* 'hope.' In Armenian words it is therefore not uncommon to find the old tenues and medials preserved, but whether this is due to the scribes speaking different dialects is not clear. Cases are: 12*d*, ܓܕܝܡ : ܐܘܙܘܡܘܢ for գօտիմ 'I bind'; 8*d*, ܟܢܕܐܡ for ինդամ 'I rejoice'; 96*b*, ܦܢܒܣܐ for բամբասա 'he mocks.'

The old tenues are most frequently retained when they come after the sibilants շ, ս, or when another tenuis follows:

ܐܣܛܪ for աստղ 'a star.'

ܟܣܛܘܢܝܡ for խոստովանիմ 'I confess.'

ܡܝܬܪ for միտք 'mind.'

ܐܨܦܢܠ for սպանել 'to kill.'

ܒܫܬܓ for պաշտող 'worshipping.'

Per contra the familiar word ազգ 'nation' is regularly spelt ասգ ܐܣܓ. The name for God is ordinarily spelt ܐܣܕܘܣ, but sometimes ܐܨܛܘܣ.

Besides these there are still some forms of spelling which deserve notice. վ is represented by ܒ in ܐܬܥܝܕ ܣܒܪܣܐܢ for սովորեցան (83*d*). ւ is represented by ܒ in ܬܒܠܕܝ for թաւալի (88*a*). The combination ճշ is rendered ܓ: e.g., ܓܓܪܕܣܐܘ for ճշգրտեցաւ (gloss on ܐܬܬܒܗ); cf. ܓܓܠܣܐܘ for ճգնցաւ (gloss on ܐܬܥܙܙ). In some cases the letter ր seems to be used, as in English, to lengthen the vowel *a*. Thus ܐܪܬܡܪܬܝ is frequently written for Ադամորդի 'son of Adam,' 'man'; սարկուարկեր, plural of սարկուակ (103*b*); ܪ (with a dot) is used in the word ܪܠܡܐܢ ծալման 'folded' (participle of ծալեմ 'to roll': the phrase in which it occurs is կու դնեն մէջ ծալման լաթերուն 'they place in folded garments,' Syr. ܥܦܝܦܬܐ).

No notice need be taken of the frequent omission of diacritic points, which meets us in all alphabets in which Arabic, Persian, and Turkish are written. Not a little is curious, however, in the spelling of Arabic words: ܬܘܬܝܫ, which has been quoted above for تفتيش, seems to be due to

the influence of modern Syriac, the peculiarities of which explain the form. Perhaps ܟܙܡܬ and ܬܙܒܝܪ, for خدمة and تدبير, come from the same source. Turkish صوك *soñ* 'end' is written with ܓ: f. 91*d*, ܐܕܝ ܣܓܐ ܠܣܢܓܝܢ 'after the end of the moon.' Turkish vowels are represented in the spelling, e.g. ܣܘܪܘ 'a drove,' Turk. سورى (92*c*).

(*To be continued.*)

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. The Language of Somáli-land.

Dear Professor Rhys Davids,—Dr. Cust called attention, in the January number of the Journal of this year, to the Somáli grammar and dictionary lately published by the Rev. Frère Evangeliste de Larajasse, and quotes some remarks by the author regarding a supposed resemblance between that language and the Dravidian languages of India. M. de Larajasse writes: "Le langage des peuples Indiens qui parlent le *Concanim*, ou le *Tamil* ou *Tamul*, semble avoir quelque affinité avec la langue Somáli . . . . . le langage Somáli a de si grandes affinités avec le Tamil, qu'un Madrassien après quelques semaines est capable de comprendre un Somáli."

Having spent twenty-one years amongst the Dravidians of the South of India, and having acquired a fair colloquial acquaintance with Tamil and Telugu, I was naturally much interested in this question, and examined the Somáli grammar and dictionary in order to trace the resemblances alluded to. I determined first to skim the books rapidly, and, after seeing that this affinity appeared to be a fact, to go carefully into the subject and draw up lists of words which seemed to have a common origin.

But my first superficial survey has given me no encouragement to proceed. I see no likeness whatever, either in words or structure, sufficient to warrant an expenditure of time on a more careful examination.

A few notes may be deemed of use.

There are certain euphonic changes of consonants common to the Somáli and Dravidian languages, e.g., interchange

of *k* and *g* when joined to hard or soft consonants. But this practice is found in almost all languages.

I noticed a plural formation very like the Tamil (*abba* 'father,' *tuka* 'a crow,' have their indefinite plurals *abbayal, tukayal*); but the definite plurals (*abbayasha, tuka-yasha*) in Somáli do not resemble any Dravidian forms with which I am acquainted, nor do any other of the plural forms.

The general structure of the Somáli seems to bear no resemblance to Tamil. In affixes and suffixes determining gender of nouns, in the plural-formations (except as above noted), in case-formations, numerals, pronouns, manner of forming relatives, declensions of verbs—in all these I see no affinity whatever. There is one point, indeed, where a diversity exists so striking that it seems to present positive evidence to the contrary. In all the Dravidian languages with which I have come in contact the vowel-sounds *i, a*, are severally used to mark things present in time or place, and things past or distant—*Ikkaḍa* (Tel.), *ingkê* (Tam.), 'here'; *akkaḍa* (Tel.), *angkê* (Tam.), 'there.' *Ippuḍu* (Tel.), *ippô* (Tam.), 'now'; *appuḍu* (Tel.), *appô* (Tam.), 'then.' This formation is common, I believe, to all Dravidian dialects, and invariably the vowels are used in the same signification; so that it cannot be imagined that any Dravidian would ever transpose them, or use *a*-forms for things present and *i*-forms for things past or distant. Yet this is precisely what the grammar gives us as the practice in Somáli-land (p. 16). This, I think, may be used as a direct argument against any affinity between Somáli and Tamil.

That Tamils rapidly acquire a power of comprehending a Somáli in daily conversation is not, I think, a matter that need cause much surprise. From early youth the residents of South India are constantly brought into contact with dialects and languages other than that of their own village or town; and their facility for picking up foreign tongues is very remarkable.

R. Sewell.

2. Omar Khayyām.

Gonda, Oudh.
June 14, 1898.

Dear Sir, — In his paper, "Fresh Light on 'Omar Khayyām," in the Society's Journal for April, 1898, Dr. Ross says in the first footnote on p. 359: "No one has yet arrived at a satisfactory translation of the end of this line." The words referred to are evidently بل هم گشته, and Dr. Ross quotes Vullers' Lexicon and suggests they refer to some game. Having no means of access to the Lexicon, I do not know whether it discusses the phrase, but a simpler translation seems possible. The word بل is evidently a contraction of بلے = 'yes,' such as occurs in the word بلکہ = کہ بلے, and the meaning of the whole line is—"Oh! (thou who hast) gone and come, yea! even passed away."—Yours faithfully,

Richard Burn.

To the Hon. Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

3. Tathāgata.

Mon cher Confrère et Ami,—M. Chalmers s'est, dans le numéro de janvier dernier du *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, appliqué à interpréter le titre 'Tathāgata.' Sa notice a suscité d'autres communications. Ce petit problème parait éveiller en ce moment quelque curiosité. Voulez-vous me permettre de le toucher à mon tour très brièvement et de vous soumettre l'explication que, pour ma part, je me suis donnée dès longtemps à moi-même de ce mot curieux?

Les interprétations de Buddhaghosa se détruisent l'une l'autre; leur multiplicité même ruine leur autorité. Je dois avouer que celle que propose notre savant confrère ne m'a pas convaincu d'avantage. *Tathā-āgata* ne peut pas, je pense, s'employer, comme il le veut, pour dire: 'qui est parvenu à la vérité.' *Āgata* signifie, non pas 'qui parvient'

à un but, mais 'qui vient, qui arrive' là où se trouve, au sens physique ou au sens idéal, celui qui parle. Surtout, *tathā* ne signifie pas 'la vérité': simple adverbe il correspond uniquement à notre adverbe 'ainsi.' Les dérivés, comme *vitatha, yathātathaṁ*, ne nous autorisent pas plus à lui attribuer le sens de 'vrai' ni la fonction de substantif, que le jeu de mots que le Mahānibbānasutta, cité par M. Chalmers, tire de l'antithèse formelle entre *tathāgata* et *vitatha*.

À priori il faut se garder de supposer aux termes techniques religieux une valeur trop mystique ou seulement trop expressive. Le bouddhisme a, dans la forme sinon dans le fond, peu inventé; ses innovations, quand on en peut constater, sont assez terre à terre. Il importe surtout de ne pas séparer l'analyse d'un mot des analogies qu'on lui peut découvrir dans le milieu où il est employé.

Il en est une qui s'impose ici, c'est celle de *sugata*. J'en conclus d'abord que *tathāgata* est composé au moyen de *gata*, non de *āgata*: à coté de *sugata* 'qui est bien allé, qui a bien marché,' *tathāgata* 'qui a marché ainsi.'

Mais pourquoi 'ainsi, de la sorte'? Cette façon de dire peut paraître bizarre; elle n'est point isolée.

Je rappelle *tādṛś* qui, soit sous la forme *tādi*, en pâli, soit sous les formes *tādin, tāyin*, dans le sanscrit bouddhique (cf. *Mahāvastu*, iii, p. 543), est devenu une épithète, un équivalent de 'arhat.' Suivant Childers (s. verb.), le mot aurait d'abord désigné les disciples du Buddha comme 'semblables à lui'; il aurait par la suite pris l'acception plus générale et l'affectation technique dans laquelle il est familier à la littérature. Mais, outre que l'épithète est aussi fréquemment, ou plus fréquemment, appliquée au Buddha lui-même qu'à ses fidèles, cette assimilation des disciples au maître me paraît peu compatible avec le penchant ordinaire du bouddhisme; il s'attache à mettre le Buddha hors de pair parmi tous les êtres, bien plutôt qu'à lui assimiler ses apôtres même les plus vénérés.

Reportons-nous, au contraire, aux vv. 94 et 95 du Dhammapada que Childers a lui-même cités,—et il serait

aisé de signaler d'autres parallèles :—on voit là combien *tādi*, résumant un développement antérieur (*yassindriyāni samatham gatāni*, etc.), a pu aisément, du sens étymologique, passer à ce sens indirect et dérivé de 'parfait.' Aucun terrain n'était plus favorable à de pareilles transitions que ce style bouddhique où les formules stéréotypées sont d'un usage si fréquent que des raccourcis y devaient plus qu'ailleurs devenir nécessaires.

Nulle figure ne tient dans la terminologie du bouddhisme une place plus importante que cette notion de la 'voie' (*mārga*), qui mène soit à l'illumination parfaite, soit au nirvāṇa : l'une des quatre vérités l'affirme ; les descriptions mystiques ou légendaires en sont un thème habituel de développement ; des images secondaires, le 'départ' pour la bodhi, les 'yānas' qui conduisent à la délivrance, s'empruntent en grand nombre à cet ordre d'idées. Aussi l'expression 'sugata' pour désigner le Buddha n'a-t-elle jamais ni éveillé d'étonnement ni suscité de controverse. 'Tathāgata' n'en est qu'une variante ; soudé d'abord aux descriptions typiques de cette voie de la Perfection, le terme s'est, avec l'habitude, détaché de ce prélude qui s'est trouvé sous-entendu ; il s'est fixé dans l'emploi absolu que nous connaissons.

D'après M. Chalmers, *tathāgata* aurait été d'abord appliqué, non au seul Buddha, mais à tout personnage que sa sainteté destine au nirvāṇa. Si ce sentiment est fondé, l'analogie entre les destinées de *tathāgata* et de *tādi* serait particulièrement étroite et décisive.

Cette analyse implique, en revanche, que le terme est propre au bouddhisme ou que celui-ci du moins l'a reçu d'une doctrine dont il serait solidaire. M. Chalmers constate en effet lui-même, au commencement de son article, que le mot n'a pas été retrouvé dans la littérature antérieure au bouddhisme. Si, donc, il finit par admettre qu'il aurait été familier aux penseurs antérieurs à Gautama, et emprunté par lui à leur terminologie, ce n'est qu'une impression personnelle ; de ce chef aucune objection de fait ne saurait, jusqu'à nouvel ordre, être opposée à mon hypothèse.

Je vous la livre, mon cher confrère, vaille que vaille. Elle aura au moins l'avantage de compléter et d'expliquer l'annotation du Mahāvastu à laquelle je me suis référé tout à l'heure.

ÉMILE SENART.

4. THE PIPRĀHWĀ STŪPA.

Naini Tal, August 16, 1898.

MY DEAR PROFESSOR RHYS DAVIDS,—I forward this list of the treasure from the Piprāhwā *Stūpa*, now presented by Mr. Peppé to the Indian Museum, in continuation of my article which appeared in the July number of this Journal. I understand that Mr. Peppé has retained a few duplicates. The Trustees of the Indian Museum have been asked to distribute some duplicate objects to the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, and to the British Museum.

I also send, packed in a wooden box, a plaster cast of the inscription on the Piprāhwā vase prepared and kindly presented to me by the Rev. P. C. Jinavarmavansa. This gentleman, who was known to the lay world as Prince Prisdang, cousin of the King of Siam, has been travelling for some months in India, and visiting the holy places of Buddhism.

I may add that the Government of India has offered the bone relics found in the Piprāhwā *Stūpa* to H.M. the King of Siam for distribution.—Yours sincerely,

V. A. SMITH,
Chief Secretary to Government N.W.P. and Oudh.

Stone coffer.

Crystal bowl 3¼ in. in diameter and 3½ in. high, with a hollow fish stuffed with gold ornaments for a handle.

Steatite vase 7½ in. high and 4¼ in. in diameter.

Steatite vase 6 in. high and 4 in. in diameter.

Steatite *lota*-shaped vessel, with well-fitting lid, 5½ in. high and 5½ in. in diameter.

Small steatite round box 3¾ in. in diameter and 1½ in. high.

Jewels, etc.

Purple amethyst	30	Deep stars	3
Transparent crystal	8	Pyramids	6
White cornelian	81	Topaz bugle beads	4
Pink amethyst	2	Cornelian bugle beads	67
Yellow topaz	2	Topaz beads	11
Metal	10	Topaz, green	2
White crystal	5	Crystal	2
Purple topaz	9	Blue pyramids	13
Yellow topaz	11	Small beads	100
Amethyst	2	Flat crystals	7
Small garnet	2	White pyramids	1
Cups, pink and white	2	Drops	2
Small amethyst	5	Red cornelian	6
Bluish crystal	4	Flat beads	4
Lapis lazuli	2	Long beads	13
Leaves, white cornelian, red tips	11	Ivory	1
Small coral cups	13	Bottle containing gold and silver leaf stars.	
White cornelian leaves, serrated	28	Box containing pieces of wood and portion of a silver vessel.	
Amethyst drops	2		
Amethyst leaves	3		
Stars, red garnet	20	Crystal beads	41
Topaz stars	3	Amethyst beads	5
Metal stars	9	Pyramids	8
White star	1	Crystal blocks	13
Crystal beads	28	Coral cups	2
Long beads	2	Peppercorns	3
Topaz and cornelian	8	Coral beads	14
Cornelian, long bugle	33	Rolls of gold leaf	46
Lotus seed-pods	8	Box containing some sort of salt.	
Pendant	1		

Ornaments mounted between glass.

1. Gold-leaf umbrella and small figure.
2. One gold-leaf piece, 1 solid gold, 1 coiled snake, 1 talc, 2 gold-leaf stars, 5 gold-leaf rolls, 1 gold trident, 1 gold flower, 4 gold beads, 8 tarnished flowers.
3. Seven gold-leaf stars, 1 silver ditto.
4. Fifteen pieces of gold and silver leaf, bright and tarnished with impression of cross on each.
5. One female figure on gold leaf, 1 elephant, 1 trident, 4 stars, 2 plain pieces leaf, 1 curious shaped.
6. Five round pieces gold leaf with lion, trident, and cross, 2 in silver, 2 silver with cross, 3 gold ditto.
7. Forty-one pearls of different sizes, 2 pieces of pearl.

8. Thirty-one large beads, pyramids, and drops.
9. Forty-seven smaller beads, etc.
10. Twenty-seven beads, leaves, etc.
11. Fifty-four pieces coral, etc.
12. Four serrated leaves, 7 amethyst, 6 cornelian, 2 green malachite, 4 inlaid stars, etc.
13. Twenty-four pieces: 1 bird cornelian, 1 in malachite, 5 tridents amethyst and crystal, 2 pieces blue stone, 1 serrated cup with stalk, 3 cornelian, 3 pronged, 1 mother of pearl, 3 stars, 1 amethyst, 3 leaves.
14. Forty stars: 7 inlaid or particoloured, 12 purple amethyst, 4 garnet, 6 yellow, 7 white, 4 dark metal.

5. The Common Tradition of Buddhism.

Since Professor H. Oldenberg's suggestive article "Ueber den Lalita-Vistara" (Berlin Congress, 1881), little[1] has been written as to the common tradition preserved to us in Sanskrit and the Pali literatures of Buddhism.

The subjoined note has suggested itself to me in the course of preparing fasc. 2 of my edition of the *Çikshā-samuccaya*. This, it may be remembered, is a work on Mahāyāna doctrine, compiled by Çāntideva in or about the eighth century, chiefly from much older Mahāyāna texts. The Sanskrit text of which the outline is now given is a quotation from the "Bhagavatī," a work often cited by Çāntideva, and one which I have no hesitation in identifying with one of the recensions of the Prajñāpāramitā,[2] and it so closely corresponds with the text of a passage in the Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna-sutta as to leave no doubt that the two have a common origin. Variants like *catvāri phalakāni kṛtvā* beside *cātummahāpathe*, which was Buddhaghosa's text,[3] show that the Mahāyanist did not adapt from the Pāli text as we have it. On the other hand, while he

[1] See, however, Feer, J.P.T.S., 1883, p. 81; Windisch, "Mara und Buddha," *passim*.

[2] Rāj. Mitra's text of the Aṣṭasahasrikā recension badly needs an index; could not the Buddhist Text Society of India or some similar society print one?

[3] Compare the translated extract in Warren, "Buddhism," p. 360 note, which I have verified from a good commentary-MS.

inserted little pieces of sectarian 'padding' as to *prajñā-pāramitā*, I believe it will be seen, when the full text, at present in the press, appears, that the Mahāyāna version has distinctly superior literary form in point of the absence of these vain repetitions that disfigure the Pāli. Çāntideva seemed at times to have a merciful sense of the value of those 'blessed words' *peyālam* and *pūrvavat*.

In the meanwhile the following outline of the parallel may suffice:—

Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna-sutta [Dīgha-n. 22 [1]], § 7, p. 27 (ed. Colombo, 1883), (tr. by Warren, "Buddhism," p. 360).	Çikshāsamuccaya, ch. xii, fol. 97*a fin.*
puna c'aparam, bhikkhave, bhikkhu imam eva kāyam yathā-thitaṃ yathāpaṇihitam dhātuso paccavekkhati. atthi imasmiṃ . . . vāyodhātu ti [v. infra]. *seyyathāpi bhikkhave dakkho goghātako vā goghātakantevāsī vā gāviṃ vadhitvā cātummahā-pathe bilaso paṭivibhajitvā nisinno.*	*Bhagavatyām apy uktam | punar aparaṃ Subhūte bodhi-satvo mahāsatvaḥ prajñāpāra-mitāyāṃ carann imam evaṃ kāyaṃ yathābhūtam prajānā-ti | tadyathāpi nāma Subhūte goghātako vā goghātakāntevāsī vā gāṃ hatvā tikṣṇena śastreṇa catvāri phalakāni kṛtvā prātya-vekṣate sthito 'thavā niṣaṇṇaḥ |*
assa evam eva kho, bhikkhave, bhikkhu imam eva kāyaṃ yathāthitam yathāpaṇihitam dhātuso paccavekkhati | atthi imasmiṃ kāye pathavīdhātu apodh°, tejodh°, vāyodhātu ti || [2] iti ajjhattaṃ vā kāye kāyā-nupassī viharati°.	*evam eva Subhūte bodhisattvaḥ prajñāpāramitāyāṃ imam eva kāyaṃ dhātuso yathābhūtam prajānāti | asty asmin kāye pṛthivīdhātur abdhātur api tejodh° vāyudhātur apīti | pe.*[2]*||*

[1] It is to be regretted that the Pāli Text Society's text of this *nikāya* has stuck fast, since 1889, at sutta 13. See, however, Majjh.-n., i, 57–9, and Trenckner, ibid., 532.

[2] It is this short refrain occurring at the end of each section of the Pāli (Warren, 356. 16, 360. 5, etc.) that is probably omitted here and below by the 'pe[yālam]' of the Sanskrit.

[Ibid., § 6, p. 19 = Warren, p. 359.]

puna c'aparam bhikkhave, bhikkhu . . . kāyam [here follow a list of thirty out of the thirty-two *ākāras*[1] (*atthi imasmim kaye kesā°*), introduced with the same words as those used below]. *seyyathāpi bhikkhave ubhatomukhā mūtolī purā nānāvihitassa dhaññassa . . .*

amī taṇḍulā ti | evam eva kho, bhikkhave, bhikkhu imam eva kāyam uddhvaṃ pādatalā . . .

. . nānappakārassa asucino paccavekkhati | atthi imasmiṃ kāye kesā [first thirty *ākāras* as before, ending] *muttan ti.*

punar apy āha | tadyathāpi nāma Subhūte karṣakasya mūtoḍī pūrṇā nānādhānyānāṃ . . .

amī taṇḍulā amī sarshapā iti | evam eva bodhis° māhās° prajñāpāramitāyām eva carann imam eva kāyam ūrdhvam pādatalād.

. . nānāprakāranyāśucer yathābhūtaṃ pratyavekṣate | santy asmin kāye keśā romāṇi nakhā yāvan mastakaṃ mastuluṅgam akṣigūthaṃ karṇagūtham[2] *iti | pe ||*

[Ibid., § 8.]

puna c'aparam, bh., bhikkhu seyyathāpi passeya sarīraṃ sīvathikāya chaḍḍitam ekāhamataṃ vā . .

punar aparam Subhūte bodhisatvaḥ śmaśānagataḥ paśyati nānārūpāṇi mṛtaśarīrāṇi śmaśāne 'paviddhāni śavaśayane ekāhamṛtāni vā . . .

[1] See Khuddaka-pāṭha, § 3, J.R.A.S., N.S., Vol. IV, pp. 311, 326.

[2] These last two *ākāras*, of which I have found mention in other Mahāyāna works, form an addition to the list of thirty-two. A similar list had been cited in the passage immediately preceding the present extract from another Mahāyāna-sūtra; and several similar citations occur in the Bodhicaryāvatāraṭīkā (ed. Poussin, pp. 295, 324–5).

vinīlakaṃ vipubbakajātam | *so imam evam kāyam upasaṃharati ayaṃ pi kho kāyo evaṃdhammo evam bhāvī etaṃ anatīto ti iti ajjhattam* ['refrain' as before].	*vinīlakāni vīpūyakāni vipaṭmakāni*[1] | *sa imam eva kāyam tatropasaṃharati* | *'ayam api kāya evaṃdharmā evaṃsvabhāvaḥ, etāṃ dharmatāṃ vyativṛtta' iti* |

[§ 9.]

punar c'aparam . . . sarīram . . . kākehi . . khajjamānāni°.	*punar aparaṃ . . . mṛtaśarīrāṇi . . . vikhāditāni°.*

The same details are gone through in both, except that the Sanskrit writer runs two[2] *sīvathikas*[3] ('cemeteries') into one and otherwise abridges. The extract from the "Bhagavatī" ends with the passage corresponding to the conclusion of the ninth *sīvathika*.

C. BENDALL.

6. "THE BUDDHIST PRAYING WHEEL."

In a book which lately appeared under the above title, and where the wheel and its symbolism is dealt with in other systems as well as in the Buddhist, I referred to the existence of wheels in the temples of Egypt. One authority for them is Plutarch, who in his "Life of Numa" touches upon the custom of turning round in adoration, and suggests the following explanation: "Perhaps this change of posture may have an enigmatical meaning, like the Egyptian wheels, admonishing us of the instability of everything human, and

[1] A doubtful form: cf. Mahāvyutp. § 52.

[2] Nos. 7 and 8 (§ 14, 15 of the Pāli edition).

[3] The Sanskrit equivalent of this is *śivapathikā*, a word not previously known to lexicons. The exact meaning seems to be the corner of a cemetery, where (as we still find in countries as far west as Brittany and the Canary Isles) old bones are thrown and left exposed. It may be of interest to record that Dr. Bühler's last communications to me were two postcards, written 29th and 31st March last (only a few days before his death). He shows by passages like Ep. Ind., i, 108, verse 3*a*, that Śiva, as 'chief of the goblins,' haunts burial-grounds. "The Pali *sīvathikā*" (he adds) "is in my opinion a contraction of **siravathikā*, which stands for *śivapathikā* with the softening of medial *pa*; cpr. *vyāvaṭa* for *vyāpṛta* . . . . and [for the contraction] Sanskrit *vānara* for *vanaukas*."

preparing us to acquiesce and rest satisfied with whatever turns and changes the Divine Being allots us." This is vague as to what the wheels were, or where they were placed, but a passage in Clement of Alexandria confirms the above and supplies at least one important detail. He is writing on the use of symbols by the Greeks, and says: "Also Dionysius Thrax, the grammarian, in his book 'Respecting the Exposition of the Symbolical Signification in Circles,' says expressly: 'Some signified actions not by words only, but also by symbols: by words, as in the case of what are called Delphic maxims, "Nothing in excess," "Know thyself," and the like; and by symbols, as the wheel that is turned in the temples of the gods, derived from the Egyptians.'" ("Miscellanies," V, viii.) This tells us that the wheels were in temples, and that the Greeks had adopted them from the Egyptians, but as no Egyptologist of repute has mentioned them—up to the present no representation or allusion to them has been found in the hieroglyphics—I felt doubtful, and hesitated to assume any certainty on the subject. Now I feel more confidence, which is based on a communication I have just received from Professor Flinders Petrie, and it seems to me to be so important that I send it for publication in the Journal of the R.A.S. The communication consists of two passages from the writings of Hero, or Heron, of Alexandria, who lived in the reigns of the Ptolemies Philadelphus and Eurgetes, in the middle of the third century B.C. The first is as follows: "Prop. 31. In the porticoes of Egyptian temples revolving wheels of bronze are placed for those who enter to turn round, from an opinion that bronze purifies." The other is: "Prop. 68. The construction of a shrine provided with a revolving wheel of bronze, termed a purifier, which worshippers are accustomed to turn round as they enter."

The first Prop. 31 is accompanied by a diagram of the wheel, which is thin, solid, and vertical.

In the second Prop. 68 the wheel is thin, and vertical, with six spokes.

With Hero's statements before us it may be taken as almost a certainty that wheels, which could be turned by the worshippers, existed in the temples of Egypt; and we may also adopt the words of Dionysius the Thracian that these wheels were adopted into the temples of the Greeks: these are fairly interesting facts, that I suspect will be new to most readers. Still, we have the question as to whether these wheels in Egyptian temples were of Egyptian origin, or imported from some other system. If the latter, from what system were they taken? The wheel was common to Brahmanism and Buddhism, and it may have been derived from India. Professor Flinders Petrie is inclined to this view of the case. In his explorations of last season he found a Ptolemaic gravestone with the ⊕ ☤ wheel and a trisula upon it, and, to use his own words, "no figures of the Egyptian gods." From these evidences he is inclined to think that some of the Buddhist missionaries, at the time of Asoka, must have found their way to the valley of the Nile. This conclusion would mean a great deal, and would require still more evidence before it could be assumed as a certainty. It may be pointed out that these wheels were at the entrances of the Egyptian temples; and that the wheel was the principal symbol on the top of the gates at the Sanchi and Bharhut stūpas. At p 116 of my book, there is an illustration of a small bronze wheel, with three spokes, from Japan, which bears a very striking resemblance to the Egyptian wheels as described by Hero. Miss Bird saw sixteen of these wheels in the gateway of a cemetery in Hakodate, which were turned by people as they entered. And that the custom is an ancient Buddhist one is shown by Miss Foley's (now Mrs. Rhys Davids) letter in our Journal for April, 1894, p. 389. She quotes from a Sanskrit Buddhist text a passage describing a wheel which had been placed in the grand entrance gateway of a temple in the early centuries of our era.

WILLIAM SIMPSON.

7. A Babylonian Tablet referring to the Sharing of Property.

A very fine tablet of the Contract class is that belonging to Sir Henry Peek, Bart., and published in the catalogue of his "Inscribed Babylonian Tablets," pt. iii. As, since I translated this text, the number of these documents has greatly increased, several improvements are possible in the rendering that I gave at the time, and I therefore repeat the transcription and translation of the text here.

Sir Henry Peek's Catalogue, No. 14.

Sharing of Property.

Šalšet gan eḳlu ugar D.P. Kudma-ba-ni D.S.	Three *gan*, a field of the territory of Kudma-banî,
ga-du-um išten gan eḳlu zîtti A-aḫ-ḫa-ti-šu-nu	with one *gan*, a field that is the share of Âḫḫati-šunu,
3. I-ta eḳil Amat-D.P. Samaś mârat Li-bi-it-Ištar	beside the field of Amat-Šamaš, daughter of Libit-Ištar,
u i-ta eḳil Bêl-šu-nu	and beside the field of Bêl-šunu;
saku-šu išten nâr Puratti	its first end the river Euphrates,
6. saku-šu šanê ki-ir-bi-tum	its second end the common ground.
šînipu šar ḫamšet zu bêt Sippar D.S.	Two-thirds of a *šar* 5 *zu* (by) the temple of Sippara,
išten bar šar bêt Kudma-ba-ni D.S.	1⅔ *šar* (by) the temple of Kudma-banî,
9. išten alpu išten D.P. mu-rum	one ox, one young bull,
išten abnu 'i-ku-še	one *'ikuše* stone,
mi-im-ma an-nu-u zîtti Ku-ub-bu-tu	whatever (there is), this (is) the share of Kubbutu,

12. ša it-ti D.P. Ibku-An-nu-ni-tum	which with Ibku-Annunitum,
D.P. Be-el-šu-nu D.P. Bêl-ba-ni	Bêl-šunu, Bêl-banî,
D.P. Il-šu-ba-ni D.P. Ri-mu-um	Il-šu-banî, Rêmum,
15. û D.P. Marduk-na-ṣi-ir aḫ-ḫi-šu	and Marduk-naṣir, his brothers,
i-zu-zu zi-zu ga-am-ru	they have divided. The division is complete—
Li-ib-ba-šu-nu ṭa-ab	they are satisfied,
18. Iš-tu pi-e a-di ḫuraṣi	from the word to the gold.
ana matima a-ḫu-um a-na a-ḫi-im	In future brother against brother
lâ iragamu.	shall not make a claim.
21. Nîš D.P. Šamaš, D.P. Aa, D.P. Marduk,	The spirit of Šamaš, Aa, Marduk,
û Sa-am-su-i-lu-na šarru it-mu-u	and Samsu-iluna the king they have invoked.

Maḫar Da-du-ša *mâr* A-ḫu-um	Before Dadu-ša, son of Aḫum;
24. maḫar Ṭa-ri-du-um ra-bi-a-nu-um	before Ṭaridum, the scribe;
maḫar Sin-i-din-nam *mâr* Ib-ku-Ša-la	before Sin-idinnam, son of Ibku-Šala;
maḫar A-na-tum *mâr* Sin-a-bu-šu	before Anatum, son of Sin-abu-šu;
27. maḫar D.P. Šamaš-na-ṣi-ir-ab-li	before Šamaš-naṣir-abli.

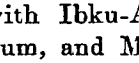
Iti Guda-si-sa utu u-ussu-kam	Month Iyyar, day 18th,
mu uš-sa uš-sa-a-bi	Year after that after
30. ra(?)-ra(?) ê El-lil-la	the . . . of the temple of Bel.

Free Rendering.

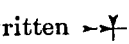
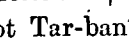
Three *gán*, a field in the territory of Kudma-banî, with one *gan*, a field that (was) the share of Âḫḫati-šunu, (situated) beside the field of Amat-Šanaš, daughter of Libit-Ištar, and beside the field of Bêl-šunu, its first end (being) the river Euphrates, (and) its second end the common. Two-thirds of a *šar* (and) 5 *zu* (of ground) (by) the temple of Sippara, 1½ *šar* (by) the temple of Kudma-banî, one ox, one young bull, one *'ikuše* stone—all this is the share of Kubbutu, which, along with Ibku-Annunitum, Bêl-šunu, Bêl-banî, Il-šu-banî, Rêmum, and Marduk-naṣir, they have divided. The division is complete—they are satisfied, from the word to the gold. They shall not at any future time bring claims against each other. They have sworn by Šamaš, Aa, Merodach, and Samsu-iluna the king.

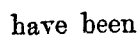
Before Dadu-ša, son of Aḫum; before Ṭaridum, the scribe; before Sin-idinnam, son of Ibku-Šala; before Anatum, son of Sin-abu-šu; and before Šamaš-naṣir-abli.

Month Iyyar, day 18th, second year after the (restoration?) of the temple of Bel.

Kudma-banî is written  . That this is the reading, and not Tar-banî, is implied by the gloss to given in W.A.I., III, pl. lxviii, l. 53*a*. The god Kudma seems to have been the messenger of a deity named Gusilim. In all probability Kudma-banî was a suburb of Sippara, so named after the owner of some ground there. Instead of Kudma, the reading Ḳutamma is also possible.

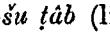
A-aḫ-ḫa-ti-šu-nu in line 2 is interesting, as it shows that the vowel is long. The inner tablet omits the initial *a*.

In line 6 the inner tablet has  , *kir-bi-tum*, for the  of the envelope.

In line 15 the inner tablet has , *Marduk-na-ṣir*, for the  , *Marduk-na-ṣi-ir* of the envelope.

The phrase *libba-šu ṭâb* (line 17) is omitted on the inner tablet.

Instead of "brother against brother" (line 19), the inner tablet has "man against man."

In the list of witnesses the variants are *rabianu* () for *rabianum*, for  (both pronounced Sin) in the names Sin-idinnam and Sin-abu-šu, and , *ṣir*, for , *ṣi-ir*, in Šamaš-naṣir.

In the last line the character , *ê* or *bêt*, 'house,' is omitted in the inner tablet.

The envelope is covered with the seal-impressions of the witnesses and contracting parties, only one of them—that of Dadu-ša—having the name of the owner. The subjects which they bear are interesting from a mythological point of view, two of them bearing, between the figures, an emblem in the form of a six-fingered hand, and another showing a deity holding two cups, the streams which flow from which are being caught by two little figures, each kneeling on one knee and holding cups to receive the sacred stream.

T. G. Pinches.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE MANTRAPĀṬHA, OR THE PRAYERBOOK OF THE ĀPASTAMBINS. Edited by M. WINTERNITZ. First Part. (*Anecdota Oxoniensia.* Aryan Series. Part VIII.) (Oxford, 1897.)

The ritualistic texts of India certainly belong to a species of literary compositions not likely to grant to their students an immediate reward in the form of literary enjoyment; but, dry and tough as these texts are, their value in elucidating a very important aspect of religious life in ancient India is not to be underrated. However, before any safe results, bearing on the history of religious development in India, on Indian chronology, or the knowledge of the different theological schools, can be derived from these sources, there is a large amount of preparatory work to be done, such as really philological editions, with indexes and cross-references, and proper critical apparatus.

Dr. Winternitz offers the Indianist in his admirable edition of the Mantrapāṭha of the Āpastambins a most valuable contribution in this direction, especially valuable as the present text forms an indispensable complement to the same scholar's excellent edition of the Āpastambīya Gṛhyasūtra, published in Vienna in 1887. This sūtra-text, like that of Gobhila, does not give the Mantras to be recited at the ceremonies described, but refers to a separate collection of Mantras, without which (as Dr. Winternitz says in his introduction to the present publication, p. xxxii), the sūtras are hardly intelligible. This collection, known as the

Mantrapāṭha (for other names, see Introd., p. ix sqq.), forms, as is well known to students of Indian ritualism, part of the Āpastamba-kalpasūtra, and immediately precedes praśna 27, which contains the Gṛhya ritual. In accordance with the statement of Cāuṇḍappā cārya, a commentator on the Āpastambasūtras, Dr. Winternitz takes the Mantrapāṭha to form praśnas 25 and 26 of the whole corpus, thus correcting the statement of Hofrath Bühler, S.B.E., vol. ii, p. xii (repeated by Professor Oldenberg, in his Introduction to the Gṛhyasūtras, S.B.E., vol. xxx, p. xxix, and, recently, by Professor Hillebrandt, in Bühler's "Encyclopaedia of Indo-Āryan Research," vol. iii, fasc. 2, p. 28), that only praśna 26 contained the Mantrapāṭha.

Of very great interest, and bearing on important points of Indian philology, is Dr. Winternitz' discussion in his Introduction, p. xxxi sqq., as to the relation of the Mantrapāṭha to the sūtra-text. Dr. Winternitz accepts the theory established for the nearly parallel case of the Mantrabrāhmaṇa, in its relation to Gobhila's Gṛhya-sūtra, by Professor Knauer, in the Introduction to his edition of this Gṛhya-text, and opposes the different view held by Professor Oldenberg (S.B.E., vol. xxx, p. 4 sqq., and, with reference to the Mantrapāṭha, p. 279), that the respective Mantra collections and the sūtra-texts were "composed together and on one common plan," that "the sūtras presuppose the existence of the Mantra-pāṭha, just as the latter text seems to presuppose the sūtras." According to Dr. Winternitz (p. xxxii) "the Gṛhyasūtra not only presupposes the Mantrapāṭha, but was framed after it." Even if we cannot lay much stress on the argument (p. xxxiii) that Āpastamba, when using the word *śeṣam* (Gṛhyasūtra, 8, 10), wanted to correct a current division of sections in the Mantrapāṭha, such as the now existing MSS. present, the editor cites so much evidence, both internal and external, that we must admit him to be fully justified in drawing the conclusion (p. xxxviii) that "Āpastamba is neither the author nor the compiler of the Mantrapāṭha, which must have existed

as an independent collection *before* the Gṛhyasūtra was composed."

It is not impossible, as Dr. Winternitz hints (p. xxxviii), that also other Gṛhyasūtras, besides that of Āpastamba and of Gobhila, were "based on similar prayerbooks, or Mantra collections," just as the Vedic Saṃhitās preceded the Śrautasūtras. In any case, such collections, as Dr. Winternitz points out (p. xxii), presuppose a Gṛhya *ritual*, whilst it must be very much doubted whether the *sūtras*, in that concise form we now find them, were composed at the time when the Mantra collections were compiled. And as to those Mantras which are quoted in Āpastamba's Gṛhyasūtra, but are not found in the Mantrapāṭha, they may be looked upon as later developments in the Gṛhya ritual, which had taken place after the establishment of the Mantra text.

Out of the 590 Mantras occurring in the Mantrapāṭha, the editor has traced 264 parallel verses from different Vedic Saṃhitās (and Brāhmaṇas). Very illustrative is the table (p. xli) showing the relation of the Mantrapāṭha to the Taittirīya books, the Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda Saṃhitās. Along with other evidences, this table clearly indicates that the Mantrapāṭha really belongs to the Taittirīya school, or, at any rate, stands in close connection with the same. Interesting is also the statement (p. xlii) that the Gṛhyasūtras of the Black Yajurveda have many more Mantras in common with the Mantrapāṭha than Gṛhyasūtras of the other Vedas. The parallel passages which the editor quotes in his critical notes to the text will be of the greatest use to students of the different Vedic schools, and they form a valuable contribution towards the long-felt desideratum of a Concordance of Vedic Mantras, such as Professor Bloomfield is announced to prepare.

But of a still greater value with regard to such a concordance, is the very accurate form in which Dr. Winternitz gives the text. The leading principle in his work is a very sound one. His task has been to edit the Mantras in the form he thinks them to have borne at the time when the Mantrapāṭha was compiled, and, consequently, he does not

enter upon, nay, even carefully avoids, cheap emendations, even when such would undoubtedly give a better sense or make an unintelligible Mantra quite easy to understand, while, on the other hand, of course, mere scribes' mistakes are to be corrected. It must be borne in mind that the Mantras, as Dr. Winternitz justly remarks, having been handed down through centuries, were no longer understood, and soon underwent a decay, which not even their sacred character could prevent, especially as they were not in charge of a learned priesthood, but constantly repeated by laymen in the performance of their religious duties. It is clear that an edition on such principles is far more difficult, and requires a much more developed philological acumen, than if the editor deemed himself at liberty to correct the text at his own discretion, and simply with a view to establish a reading giving the most satisfactory sense. Dr. Winternitz' well-trained mind and happy philological instinct have undoubtedly helped him in this task of no common delicacy. A detailed examination of the text would require much more time than the reviewer has at his command, and would besides, to judge from the whole tenour of the edition, only lead to a confirmation of the results at which Dr. Winternitz has arrived. The editor has (p. xv sqq.) devoted an extensive discussion to the more remarkable grammatical and other irregularities, where his careful method is displayed to its full advantage. In a great many instances the decision of various readings in the MSS. has been rendered easier through the lectio adopted by the commentator, Haradatta, as an irregularity which he points out and tries to explain certainly must hold a high authority. From the time when the Mantrapāṭha was compiled to the period when Haradatta prepared his commentary, alterations might of course have taken place in the text, and it may even be presumed that during the period preceding the compilation of the Mantrapāṭha in its present form the wording of the Mantras had been changed. It would, however, have been a hopeless task to make out the oldest form in which the Mantras appeared among the Āpastambins,

or, rather, the school to which Āpastamba confessed himself to belong; and Dr. Winternitz has in such doubtful cases wisely confined himself to establishing the reading of these formulas at the time of their commentator.

The care and accuracy bestowed on an edition based on those principles find an ample reward in the great services they render to further investigations in the domain of Indian philology. The irregularities in the text may sometimes be of a dialectical character and thus be of use for the study of Indian dialects, while such errors as are due to sheer ignorance form a valuable critical material for the right understanding of the relation between kindred texts of different schools. Such mistakes, moreover, corroborate the statement frequently made, that the theologians did not always understand the real import of a formula. This is proved by the fact that the connection between the Mantra and the ceremony it is intended to accompany is often a very loose one, or based on utterly superficial grounds, as a mere likeness in sound without a congruity in meaning (see, e.g., p. xxix in Dr. Winternitz' Introduction). It would, of course, be of great interest to investigate which Mantras really have a bearing on the corresponding ceremonies, and of what nature the connection between the ritualistic act and the sacred formulas generally is. It is to be hoped that Dr. Winternitz, whose authority in these matters is generally acknowledged, and of whose great capacity the present edition furnishes such ample proofs, will enter upon this subject in the second volume of his edition, which will contain an English translation of the Mantras as well as Haradatta's commentary on the present text.

In vol. i the editor gives two Appendices, the first being a Synopsis of the Mantrapāṭha and the Āpastambīya Gṛhya-sūtra, and the second containing parallel passages in the Vedic Saṃhitās. The volume concludes with an alphabetical Index of Mantras.

The editor of this text, as well as the Indology, is to be highly congratulated upon this very valuable contribution.

J. N. Reuter.

MANUSCRITS TURCS DE L'INSTITUT DES LANGUES ORIENTALES, décrits par W. D. SMIRNOW, Professeur de Turc à l'Université de St. Pétersbourg. (Saint-Pétersbourg, 1897.)

M. W. D. Smirnow, the accomplished Professor of Turkish at St. Petersburg, has published a detailed and interestingly written Catalogue of the Turkish and Turkí MSS. belonging to the Russian Institut des Langues Orientales. The collection of MSS. here described is not very extensive, consisting of only ninety-eight works, seventy-three of which are in Ottoman Turkish, the remainder being in one or other of the Central Asian dialects. Nor is there among the ninety-eight any work of unusual interest, either on account of age or rarity and importance.

One of the longest of Professor Smirnow's notices (No. 44) is devoted to a copy of the first volume of the Turkish versified translation of the Sháh-Náme, which was made for Qansu Ghawrí, the Memlúk ruler of Egypt, who was defeated and slain by the Ottoman Sultan Selím I in 922 (A.D. 1516). This translation, of which a complete copy is in the British Museum (Or. 1,126), and a manuscript of the first volume (the same portion as is in the Russian Institut) is in the collection of the writer of this note, is said by M. Smirnow to be the work of an unknown author, whom Oriental custom has compelled to efface himself under the modest anonymity of "this lowly bedesman" (بو کمتر داعی). As a matter of fact, this author, following the almost universal practice of Turkish poets, mentions his name in the prologue. It is Sherif, as the following couplet shows:—

شریفکٔ قنده اوله اول مقامی * که اوله دیلنده فردوسی کلامی

"Where has Sherif such standing
That Firdawsí's words should be upon his tongue?"

Again, in the epilogue we read:

شریف کم ترجمه اتدی کتابی * اقیین قیلمسون آنی عتابی

"Sherif, who has translated the book—
Let not the reader cavil at him."

In the preface, a few lines below the verse already quoted, the writer addresses himself as 'Seyyid.' These two facts —that his name (or pen-name) was Sherif, and that he was a Seyyid or descendant of the Prophet—are all that we know concerning the Turkish translator of the Sháh-Náme; so Professor Smirnow's description of him as an 'inconnu' is after all not very wide of the mark. Professor Smirnow is mistaken in thinking that the work (or rather that portion of it in the Institut) was finished in the year 952 (1545). As the first volume winds up with a prayer for the prosperity of Sultan Ghawrí, who was killed in 922 (1516), the date 952 is manifestly impossible. The true date of completion is given in the subscription to the British Museum MS.; it is 913 (1507). The date 952, which Professor Smirnow finds at the end of his copy, does not occur in the other MSS., and is possibly that of the transcription of the volume. As it is comparatively rare to meet with Turkish MSS. embellished with miniatures, it is worthy of note that all the three above-mentioned MSS. of this translation—the only copies known—either are so decorated or have been executed with a view to such decoration. In the St. Petersburg MS., while two miniatures alone have been painted in, spaces have been left blank for several others; the British Museum copy once contained seventy-four, but all have been cut out; in the third MS. there are thirty-three, all completely finished and highly elaborated.

Another volume of some interest is No. 52, the Nigáristán of Za'ífí. This is not a translation of the well-known Persian work with the same title, but an original poem composed by the author as a distraction from the sorrow occasioned by the loss of his six sons, who died of the

plague within the space of twenty-four days. Professor Smirnow is inclined to think this MS. unique; in any case the work is extremely rare, and hitherto practically unknown. The Ottoman biographers certainly speak of this Za'ífí (Pír Muhammed bin-Evrenos), to whom they attribute a Commentary on Sa'dí's Gulistán; but they make no mention of any work of his entitled Nigáristán. According to the author's own statement this poem was written in 959 (1552).

No. 61 is the Díwán of a mystic poet called Rúshení; this is possibly the mystic poet of that name mentioned by the biographer Latífí.

It is inexact to describe No. 62, the Dęfter-i 'Ashq, "Love's Register," of Fázil Bey, as an introduction to that author's other erotic poems. It is really a quite independent work, its subject being the story of the successive love affairs, real or fictitious, in which the poet was concerned. It was, however, for some reason never completed, only four adventurés out of a promised twenty-two being given.

In No. 69 there is among other things the rare and interesting treatise called Bulbulíye, in which the author Birrí, under the veil of an allegory, defends the Mevlevian dervishes against the attack made on them by the orthodox party in the second half of the seventeenth century.

The Catalogue under review contains, of course, many other items of interest, which Professor Smirnow's intimate acquaintance with Turkish literature has enabled him to describe in a manner which is always suggestive and instructive. In all points connected with the description of the MSS. it is a model of what a work of this class should be. We would congratulate the learned and industrious author, not only on his valuable and interesting volume, but on having had the good sense to write in French instead of Russian, and by so doing having immensely widened the scope of usefulness of his work.

VIE DE SULṬĀN ḤUSAIN BAIQARĀ. Traduit de Khwāndamīr par H. FERTÉ. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1898.)

This is a translation from the Ḥabību-s-siyar of Khwāndamīr, and represents the first part of that author's life of Sulṭān Ḥusain, the ruler of Herat from 1470–1506. Everything which will throw light on the history of Persia during that period deserves to be welcomed, and M. Ferté is entitled to much credit for the courage and success with which he has grappled with Khwāndamīr's magniloquence. But we fear there is not much in the book to attract the general reader. Sulṭān Ḥusain was no doubt a great personality and his Court at Herat was a very brilliant one, but his character does not seem to have been attractive. Shāh Rukh, one of his predecessors, seems to have been a much greater man, and it is perhaps a pity that M. Ferté did not select his life for a commencement. He states that he chose Sulṭān Ḥusain on account of some remarks by M. Defrémery, and because it was the life of which Khwāndamīr was best qualified to speak. An earlier Orientalist than Defrémery, M. Quatremère, had already drawn attention to that excellent chronicle the Ḥabību-s-siyar, which he translates by the words "L'Ami des biographies," and which he describes as in every respect "un recueil aussi important qu'instructif." In the same article (Notices et Extraits, xiv) M. Quatremère gives a translation of a great part of the life of Shāh Rukh from the Persian of 'Abdu-r-razzāq.

Sulṭān Ḥusain has had two biographers besides Khwāndamīr, and one of them, at least, gives a much more interesting description of the man than does Khwāndamīr. This is Bābar, who in his Memoirs devotes many pages to an account of Sulṭān Ḥusain and his Court. It does not appear that Bābar ever saw him, or at least he could only have done so when a child, but he knew all about him and was doubly connected with him, Sulṭān Ḥusain having successively married two of Bābar's paternal aunts, and Bābar's favourite wife Māham being a relative of Sulṭān Ḥusain. M. Ferté says that Bābar

always speaks of Sulṭān Ḥusain with respect and praise, and this though the latter had always been the indefatigable enemy of his grandfather and his family. But both these statements require qualification. Bābar's picture of Sulṭān Ḥusain is by no means altogether favourable or pleasing. He praises him for his noble descent (which resembled Bābar's own) and for his bravery, but he accuses him of drink and debauchery and says that the swift ruin of his descendants was the result of God's judgment upon him for his evil deeds. Neither could he be prejudiced against Sulṭān Ḥusain as the constant foe of his house. Not only was he, as we have seen, related to Sulṭān Ḥusain, but he must have looked with favour upon a man who, though he fought with his grandfather Abū Sa'īd, yet avenged his death by conquering and killing his executioner, Mīrzā Yādgār. The other biography of Sulṭān Ḥusain is by Daulat Shāh, and comes into his "Lives of the Poets" because Sulṭān Ḥusain was himself a poet and the author of a hagiology. (Rieu, Pers. Cat., i, 351.) It has been translated by Silvestre de Sacy. (Notices et Extraits, xiv, 262.)

M. Ferté does not appear to have consulted any MS. of the Ḥabīb, and his translation is made from the Bombay lithograph. Perhaps this may account for some mistakes. For instance, at p. 5, Badī'u-z-zamīn is described as having fled to Qandahār, but two B.M. MSS. give Qanduz as the name of the place. In a note to p. 2 we are told that there is a pun on the word *tīr*, which signifies both Mars and an arrow. But *Tīr* is the planet Mercury, not Mars, and I cannot see that any pun is intended. In note 5 to p. 5, instead of "torch of the sovereign family," the translation should be "torch of the family of Tīmūr" (Ṣāḥibqirānī). At p. 30 we have the translation "The cry of 'Be on guard' mounted up from the bastions to the governor of the 5th Castle," and we are told in a note that this refers to Mars. But in the MSS. the word is "from," not "to," the fifth (or five), and surely all that is meant is that the cry of "Be on the alert" went up from all

the five fortified gates of Herat. At p. 61 we have the word *shabah* left untranslated, and it is stated in a note that the word شبه is not to be found in Tūrkī dictionaries. The same word occurs in the Akbar-nāma (Bib. Ind., ed. i, 136, three lines from foot), and there also it refers to a shower of arrows. In the text it is written شبیه, but the list of errata corrects it, unnecessarily perhaps, to شبه. The word seems to be Persian and to be onomatopoetic for the whizzing of arrows. Perhaps شپ is the correct form, but Richardson gives both *shapāshāp* and *shīb*. Platts, in his Hindūstānī Dictionary, connects it with the Sanskrit root of the verb 'to throw.'[1] At p. 25 we have a note about Rādkān or Radegān. M. Ferté says he has not been able to find it in any map. He cannot have looked at many. He will find it in E. Reclus's map of Persia at the end of vol. ix of his Geography, and also in the map to Curzon's Persia. It lies N.N.W. of Mashhad, and was referred to by Mr. Ney Elias in his contribution to the R.A.S. Journal about Shaibānī's inscription.

In his preface M. Ferté speaks of Khwāndamīr having accompanied Muḥ. Zamān Mīrzā to India, and having shared his fortunes to the end. But though Khwāndamīr may have visited India along with Muḥ. Zamān he certainly was not with him till the end of the prince's life. For Khwāndamīr died near Māndū in 941 (1534), and Muḥ. Zamān Mīrzā lived till 946 (1539), being drowned in the Ganges after the rout of Chausa. It also appears from Khwāndamīr's account of Sulṭān Ḥusain's descendants that Muḥ. Zamān joined Bābar many years before the latter invaded India.

It is to be hoped that M. Ferté will go on with his translation, and that he will give us more notes, especially historical ones. It is a fault—many will think it a merit—that French scholars give few notes. For instance, Pavet de Courteille is most sparing of notes in his translation of Bābar's Memoirs. Perhaps when M. Ferté gives more notes, he will explain who was the Pāyanda Sulṭān Begam

[1] See also Vullers, ii, 40, s.v. شپ and شپاشاپ.

who helped her nephew Yādgār to the throne of Herat. Surely she was a different person from Sultān Husain's wife, but we do not know whose wife or daughter she was.

H. Beveridge.

Ideals of the East. By Herbert Baynes. 8vo. (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1898.)

In "Ideals of the East" Mr. Baynes aims at presenting Eastern religious thought to the philosopher of the West in such a guise that he "may not be too conscious that the sublime ideas to which he is introduced are the outcome of a thinker wholly unlike himself, both in language and in mind." He brings to his task keen sympathy with the subject, and a reading so wide that probably few scholars would be prepared to give an adequate criticism of the whole book.

The ideals of the East are classified as the ethical, the metaphysical, the theosophical, and the religious. This classification involves some cross-division, as the Noble Eightfold Path falls under the first, and the Buddhist Confession of Faith, on the ground that it implies worship, under the last. Mr. Baynes' method is to give an account of the author of each system, or the book in which it is set forth; and then, because, as he says, "the diction of the idealist is essentially poetic," there follows a metrical rendering of salient points in the doctrine. The book does not therefore treat exhaustively of any philosophic or religious system, either in itself or in reference to other systems, but takes from each that which can be expressed in the language and forms of the West, and which is akin to European transcendentalism. This is in some respects misleading, as language and metre sometimes suggest associations which do not belong to the originals: but many of the renderings are graceful, and the passages chosen are in themselves beautiful, and appeal to the

common religious sense of humanity. If the book attracts those who would be repelled by Eastern modes of exposition, and leads them to further study, it will do a good work.

C. M. R.

ASSYRIAN DEEDS AND DOCUMENTS recording the transfer of property, including the so-called private contracts, legal decisions, and proclamations preserved in the Kouyunjik Collections of the British Museum, chiefly of the Seventh Century B.C. Copied, collated, arranged, abstracted, annotated, and indexed by the Rev. C. H. W. JOHNS, M.A. Vol. I: Cuneiform Texts. (Cambridge: Deighton Bell & Co., 1898.)

It is something that rejoices the heart to see a book of this kind produced in England, by a native of the country; and credit is not only due to the author for his painstaking compilation of a *corpus* of a comparatively uninteresting section of Assyrian literature, but the Dukes of Devonshire and Portland are also to be congratulated on the munificence that they have displayed in paying the heavy expenses that this publication must have involved. May they find many imitators, and also not themselves relax in such a good work!

As the title indicates, the texts here published are mainly of the nature of contracts. Beginning with the loan-tablets, which are generally very simple documents, the compiler goes on to publish texts of a more complicated nature—the sale and exchange of slaves, houses, plantations, fields, estates, and even, apparently, cities. Others are grants of estates by the Assyrian kings on account of services rendered, legal decisions, documents of the nature of deeds of gift, etc., etc.

Unlike the Babylonian documents of the same kind, the Assyrian contracts vary but little as to their form, so that they are not, unfortunately, by any means so instructive as those of the southern country. In spite of this defect, however, they are sufficiently interesting to justify the

present work, which is an exceedingly useful and valuable one to all students of Assyrian.

Notwithstanding that throughout these documents special legal forms peculiar to the Assyrian scribes are found, a certain number of peculiarities are met with which strike the student. The chief of these are, that the forms used seem to be exceedingly ancient, that a few of them are identical with forms used by the Babylonians two thousand years before Christ or earlier, and that many of the names of the witnesses are of the same nature as those of Babylonian documents of the same early date. It has, of course, been fully recognized that Assyrian civilization had its origin in Babylonia, so that there is nothing surprising in the likenesses that exist between certain of the legal forms used and the names; the noteworthy thing is that these forms and names seem to be rare or wanting, at the time the Assyrian documents were written, in Babylonia, the land where they had their origin.

The following, which is a translation of the first tablet in the book, will serve as a sample of a large number of these texts:—

"Sixteen shekels of silver from Kiṣir-Aššur to Abdi-Samsi. He has taken it in possession. On the 1st day of the month Tammuz he shall repay the silver; if he repay it not, to its fourth part it shall increase. Month Nisan, day 11th, eponymy of Bel-ludâri.

"Before Girittu; before Nargî; before Arad-Banîtum."

From this and other texts it would appear that in Assyria the interest on money lent amounted, as a rule, to no less than 25 per cent. This part of the world must, at the time to which these tablets belong, have been the paradise of the moneylender. In Babylonia interest was at the rate of about 20 per cent.

Among the sales of slaves we meet with the following interesting text:—

"Seal of Nabû-riḫtam-uṣur, son of Amurdiše, the Ḫasite, (acting) through Âred-Ištar, of the city of the *kitu*;

"Seal of Ṭebêtâa, his son;

"Seal of Ṣilim-Addi, his son:

"(These are) the masters of the girl sold.

"Niḫtêšarau has bought Bêltu-ḫaṣina, daughter of Nabû-riḫtam-uṣur, for 16 shekels of silver, for Ṣiḫâ, her son. She has taken her as his wife. She is the wife of Ṣiḫâ. The complete money has been paid. Whoever afterwards, at a future time, shall rise up, (and) shall make a claim, whether Nabû-riḫtam-uṣur, or his sons, or his grandsons, or his brothers, or his nephews, or his representative, or anyone of his, who shall seek to proceed at law against Niḫtêšarau, her sons, (or) her grandsons, shall pay 10 shekels of silver. In his process he shall not have the word (?).

"Before Saḫpimâu, the president (?); before Bêl-šum-iddina, son of Ilu-danani; before Isid-Bêlti, son of Atî, the *kitu*; altogether three next of kin (?), who (guarantee) the woman against the possession, the hand, the profit, the interest of Karmeu-nišû, next (of kin).[1]

"Before Amurdiše; before Banîtum; before Ârad-Nanâa; before Buṭum-ḫêše; before Ḫašba- . . . ; before Bêl-sarra (?)- . . . ; before E- . . . ; before Ḫal- . . . ; before Abdi- . . . ; before Abdi- . . . ; before Ululâa; before Nûr-Šamaš; before Puṭu-Paiti; before Ate'u; before Nabû-nadin-âḫê, the scribe.

"Month Elul, day 1st, eponymy of Ašur-mâta-tariṣ."

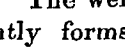
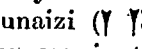
The many unusual expressions in these tablets often make the translation very difficult, and the renderings of certain of the phrases in the text given above must be regarded as doubtful. Nevertheless, the rendering, as a whole, is trustworthy. On one important point more light is needed, namely, the question of the true status of the woman 'sold.' In order to make it read well, I have rendered [cuneiform] *sinništu*, and [cuneiform] *sinnišūti*, as if they stood for *aššatu* and *âššūti* respectively; 'woman,' which is the real meaning of *sinništu*, not giving any adequate sense in English. It

[1] The word in the original is *urkiu*, plural *urkiuti*. It means literally (when applied to a person) "he who comes after," hence the meaning here suggested.

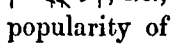
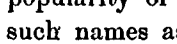
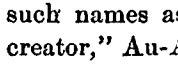
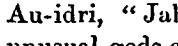
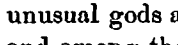
may be that the girl was sold to Niḫtêšarau for her son, as his concubine, though the wording of the context, and the mention of the kindred of the girl, seem rather to be against this view, especially as the use of certain legal terms and phrases may have differed in Assyria and Babylonia. On the other hand, the fact that she is represented as having more than one 'master' (the word *bêlu* is here to be transcribed as plural, in spite of the absence of the plural sign) would seem to imply that the girl was rather the natural daughter of Nabû-riḫtam-uṣur than his legal daughter.

The author draws attention, in his preface, to the interesting nature of his No. 321, which is a composition for manslaughter or murder, in which the person who caused the death of the man was to give a slave-girl as compensation. If he did not give this girl, then, to all appearance, he was himself to be put to death on the grave of the man that had been slain (*šumma sinništa lâ idin, ina êli qaburi ša Samaku iduku-šu*, "If he do not give the woman, they shall kill him upon the grave of Samaku"). Such, at least, seems to be the purport of this very interesting and unique text.

Certain of the contracts referring to reaping will be found to confirm what I said in my paper in the J.R.A.S. for July, 1897 (p. 592), concerning the likeness of the tablet translated on pp. 590–592 to Assyrian rather than to Babylonian forms of expression. The common phrase *ṣibtu bennu ana išten me ûmê* reminds one of the similar Babylonian expression *ana ûmi šalši tep'itum, ana ârḫi išten bennu*. Notwithstanding what is known of these words, the exact signification is still very doubtful. In all probability they refer to the interest retained or renounced, by the seller, in the slave sold.

As is to be expected, there is a rich harvest to be reaped in the names of the contracting parties and the witnesses to these documents. The well-known Hebrew word for 'lord,' Adonai, apparently forms part of the interesting name Adunaiz or Adunaizi ( or ), which appears, in tablet No. 31, under the form of

, i.e., the character for 'lord' followed by *iz*. The popularity of the god Ya'u (=Jah) is also testified to by such names as Ya'ila, "Jah is God," Au-bani, "Jah is my creator," Au-Aa, "Jah is Aa," Milkaya, "counsel of Jah," Au-idri, "Jah is my glory (?)," etc., etc. The names of unusual gods also occur compounded with the names of men, and among these may be noted Si' in such names as Si'ṭuri, Si'banik (?), Si'nûri; Zubi (?) in Zubi-ṣidqi; Našḫu[1] in Našḫu[2]-aali; Šuriḫa in Šuriḫa-Aa, "Šuriḫa is Aa," and others. To sort out the nationalities of these various names is an interesting and instructive exercise.

Now and then, too, one comes across new or unusual meanings of Akkadian ideographs. The group  and its variant  , Zarutî, show that the character could be read *zaru* as well as *zêru*. The name  , *La-tu-ba-ša-a-ni-ilu*,[3] which has the variant , shows that the character is here to be read *tubaša*, aorist pu'ul of the root *bâšu*, 'to be ashamed,' a meaning probably given to it on account of its meaning also 'dog,' that animal being held as a shameless and unclean thing by most nations of the East. Another interesting variant occurs in a name in No. 307, translated above. In two places it is written  , Nabu-ri-iḫ-tam-uṣur,[4] but in line 9 we have  , indicating for the meaning of *riḫtu*, 'remainder.'

The texts referring to the two wives of Esarhaddon, and the tablets granting rewards to the generals of the Assyrian army, apparently on account of services rendered, will probably be read with interest. In the second volume, which will contain translations and a glossary, a list of additions and corrections will be given by the author.

[1] My copy has Našri.
[2] Or Našri-aali.
[3] "Make me not ashamed, O God."
[4] This name means "Nebo, protect the rest." The god seems to be called upon to protect those of the family who survived some illness or catastrophe.

Zimmern's article in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, entitled "Ueber Rhythmus im Babylonischen," is very interesting, treating, as it does, not only of the poetry of the Babylonians and Assyrians, but also of the length and accent in the language itself. Spellings like *be-li-i-ka*, *šul-ma-ni-i-ka*, he remarks (following Bezold), introduce the accentuation *bêlika*, *šulmaníka*. *Banú* for *banau*, *ibnû* for *ibniu*, *arkû* for *arkiu*, show accentuation of the last syllable in consequence of the contraction of two syllables.

Instances of accentuation of the last syllable are exhibited in the aorist and the imperative: *ikšúd*, *takšúd*, *ibní*, etc., *kušúd*, *biní*, etc. So also in the construct case *šamáš*, *qirîb*, *uzún*, *gimrát*, *pulḫát*, *šubát*, *kašád*, *kuššúd*, etc., etc. On the other hand, the accentuation of such words and forms as *ukaššid*, *ušakšid*, *kuššid*, *mukaššid*, *kuššud*, *išakan*, etc., is doubtful: was it on the ultimate or the penultimate?

Such a form as *na-ṣi-e-ir* (= *naṣêr*) seems to imply that in the permansive or participle of the kal the accent was on the last syllable, and there are ways of writing the present or future tense that imply the same thing. Definite evidence of this is furnished by the niphal form *im-maḫ-ḫa-a-aṣ*, and there is every probability that the indication which these spellings convey are correct. Nevertheless, there is always the possibility that accent often depended on intonation, arising from emphasis or the shade of meaning intended to be conveyed. Further additions to our already extensive material will doubtless determine many questions of this kind.

"König Tukulti bêl niši" und die "kutäische Schöpfungslegende." This is an article by Zimmern upon a very interesting text published by Father Scheil, and regarded by him as referring to an unknown king named Tukulti-bêl-niši (an explanation that he afterwards withdrew), and other inscriptions published by Winckler, S. A. Smith, and Bezold in the Museum Catalogue. After a comparison of the tablet published by Scheil with the British Museum tablet K. 5,418a, Professor Zimmern gives in his paper

a transcription and translation of the text, as revealed in the copies of tablets that he has been able to use, and he comes to the conclusion that it gives an account, or part of the account, of the Cuthean legend of the Creation. The text begins with a reference to a king and a ruler who was lord of the Anunnaki, and afterwards speaks of a barbarous people who drank foul water, and did not drink pure water, whose understanding was warped, who were accustomed to overpower, capture, and kill. They were people with the bodies of bats, and men with faces of ravens. They had been created by the great gods, and suckled by the deep (*tiamatu*). These strange people seem to have owned allegiance to seven kings, all brothers, sons of a father named Ilu-banini (?) and a mother named Melili. The seven brothers are named, the first being called Me-mangab and the second Medudu. The names of the others are mutilated or lost. The narrator, who seems to have been a great king, and who speaks in his own person, made sacrifices, and inquired of the gods, who commanded him to go forth against these fierce and terrible people. The first year of the expedition he sent out 120,000 warriors, but not one of them came back alive. The second year he tried again, and sent out 90,000 more, with the same result. The third year he sent out 60,700 (?), but these too all perished. In his despair and anguish of heart he reproached himself on account of the misfortune that he had brought upon his land in sending forth to their death so many of his people, and he decided that he would now go forth to meet the foe himself. The record here becomes mutilated, but one may guess that he was successful, especially as he states that he has had a tablet made and a memorial inscribed for the ruler who should come after him, which document he had left in the temple of Ê-meslam in Cuthah, in the sanctuary of the god Nergal.

"Look upon this memorial-stone,
Listen to the words of this memorial-stone,

Despair not, yield not,
Fear not, tremble not.
May thy foundation be firm,
Mayest thou be faithful to thy wife;
Strengthen thy walls,
Fill thy ditches with water,
Into thy receptacles cause thou thy grain, thy silver, thy possessions, thy goods,
thy weapons (?), and thy furniture to enter."

The remainder of the text (five mutilated lines) is in the same strain of good advice, to be prepared against the coming foe, and the text probably ended in a promise of success, provided these recommendations were carried out with prayer, offering, and sacrifice to the gods.

The word which I have above translated as 'bat' is *iṣṣur ḫarrê*, literally 'bird of the caves,' and this seems to be the best rendering of the expression. If this translation be correct, it would show that in the Babylonian legends there existed something similar to the Harpies of Greek mythology.

M. Alfred Boissier, in the *Revue sémitique* edited by M. Halévy, gives some interesting notes upon certain inscriptions from Babylonia and Assyria, accompanied by translations. The first refers to a cylinder-seal published by M. Menant in his book, "Les Pierres Gravées de la Haute Asie," vol. i, pl. iii, No. 1. This object was discovered by Layard, and the design apparently represents a chieftain with followers, captives, and spoils of war. The author's contention that the inscription accompanying this scene is not one of Bur-Sin's (as has been stated) seems to be well founded. The other texts treated of are prayers of the Babylonian king Šamaš-šum-ukîn, brother of Aššur-banî-âpli, and a letter in which this ruler is mentioned. This last, which refers to a person thought to be possessed of an evil spirit, gives the author occasion to quote certain texts of interest referring to this subject,

and in the exorcism in one of them there is a reference to the little sanctuary that the Babylonians and Assyrians seem to have set apart in their dwellings to the god of the house, like the Latin penates.

T. G. PINCHES.

THE SOUL OF A PEOPLE. By H. FIELDING. 8vo; pp. 363. (London: Bentleys, 1898.)

This is a noteworthy book. The author not only disclaims any scholarship, he boasts of being indebted to no one, except Bigandet; and even to him only in the passages quoted as to the life of the Buddha. Himself an official, he points out the conventionality and ignorance of officials who only learn "the outside, that curiously varied outside which is so deceptive"; and though he had books sent to him from England, and studied them, he finds himself unable to trust them. "Their knowledge has been taken from the records of the dead past, mine is from the actualities of the living present." But his book is most valuable as one more proof of the patent fact that the past is not dead at all, but very much alive every hour of every day in the life of every people, and in the life of that people he so sympathetically describes.

"A love of books comes only to him," says the author (p. 126), "who is shut always from the world by ill-health, by poverty, by circumstance." But those familiar with well-known works on Buddhism will recognize, in many passing expressions, and in the general tone of the present volume, how much its writer has been indebted to books he loves so little; and how much, also, his conclusions tend to confirm and amplify the best and most important of the teachings they convey.

Of the Buddha, Mr. Fielding thinks (p. 26), "whatever he was, he was no philosopher . . . . His was not an appeal to our reason, to our power of putting two and two together and making them *five*." But it is surely precisely the rôle of reason to show us that two and two do not make five; and however frequently Western

philosophies have degenerated into empty lógomachies, however wrong the conclusions they may have reached, yet philosophy cannot be accurately described as a power of seeing things wrongly. And this logomachy about the meaning of the word 'philosophy' is lost sight of afterwards when the author attempts—and very successfully, too—to set out the Buddhist philosophy, the Buddhist view of life. Chapters iii and iv and all the closing chapters, xxi–xxv, are full of suggestive remarks on this subject. And they go far to explain what has seem to some Western minds a hopeless puzzle—the fact that a philosophy so independent of the baits that catch the vulgar should nevertheless have gained so great an influence over so large a number of men.

The intermediate chapters give a very interesting account of the views and practices of Burmese Buddhists on government, crime, and punishment; happiness, prayer, festivals, women, divorce, drink, manners, and kindness to animals. All this is written with much sound judgment, and with that accurate insight which is born of sympathy. And the Buddhist position throughout, though often so strange to Western minds that it is difficult to understand, is set forth in a simple and direct style that adds greatly to the charm of the book.

Such qualities, it is needless to add, are precisely those which distinguish good work from bad in those attempts which scholars make to explain the origin and growth of a religious movement, or the history of a people. The dry-as-dust scholar, who is keen about petty details, but "cannot see the wood for the trees," is simply a parallel to the official who, immersed in petty details, sees only the outside of things. And the right moral to draw is not at all that books are useless, and scholarship contemptible; but that in all attempts to explain the previously unknown, the successful seeker after truth must utilize the labours of his predecessors with such intellectual grasp and openness of mind as will enable him to penetrate, beyond the evanescent phenomena, back to the real causes that underlie them.

This book, too—like all good books—would have been impossible without its forerunners. But we can, nevertheless, congratulate the author on having produced the best account yet available to us of the real inner feelings of one of the many races subject to the English Government. He has done for Burma what Lafcardio Hearn has so excellently done for Japan.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

HANDBOOK FOR TRAVELLERS IN INDIA, BURMA, AND CEYLON. 3rd edition. 8vo; pp. 462. (London: Murray, 1898.)

It is desirable in calling the attention of our readers to the new edition of this well-known and admirable handbook to take the opportunity of suggesting some additions and alterations for a subsequent issue. In describing the places mentioned, the historical events that have happened there (the knowledge of which enhances so much the pleasure of a visit to them) are, as regards all modern history, and especially as regards the events of the Mutiny, very clearly dealt with. But so far as concerns what may justly be called the real history of India—that is, the history of the Indians themselves, apart from that of the Muhammadan and English invaders—very little is said. In other words, we have full information about the events in which the English took part, and a good deal of information about the history of buildings put up by the Moslems, but scarcely any at all, and that not always accurate or up to date, about the history or meaning of the monuments erected, from 300 B.C. to 1200 A.D., by the native-born Indians themselves. There is an interesting chapter, among the Introduction Essays, on the Mutiny, illustrated with an excellent map. There are also essays on the Muhammadans, Hindus, Buddhists, Sikhs, and Parsees. That on the Hindus is meagre and thin; the important facts of the general history of India, before the Moslems came, are omitted; and the space is occupied with a selection of remarks about Hindu beliefs and festivals which are not very happily chosen.

The essay on the Buddhists ignores the result of the researches of the last twenty years, and though it occupies little more than a page contains several statements which would be more accurate if otherwise expressed, and not a few absolute errors. The Jains have no essay devoted to them, though their remarkable temples and monuments would naturally make a traveller in India desirous to know something of them. They are confounded, on p. lvi, with the Buddhists, their especial foes; and it is said "their figures of Buddha are naked," which is very much as if one were to say of Roman Catholics that their figures of Luther are painted.

We are fully aware that all such historical matter is quite subsidiary to the main object of such a guidebook, and that the alterations necessary to meet any reasonable demands in this direction would scarcely require alteration in more than a score of pages in the work. But this question is precisely the one point in the volume on which such a Journal as ours should express an opinion. And it is a pleasure to be able to add that the archaeological paragraphs constantly occurring in the work, and the plans and sections of the various monuments of interest, are mostly excellently done, and worthy of the high repute which Murray's Handbook so deservedly enjoys.

THE AKBARNĀMA OF ABU-L-FAZL, translated from the Persian by H. BEVERIDGE, I.C.S. (retired). Vol. I, Fasc. 1. (Calcutta: Bibliotheca Indica, 1897.)

Ever since the Calcutta edition of the *Akbarnāmah* has been completed, it has been hoped that the onerous office of making its contents more accessible to the European public by a translation into English would be accepted by some competent scholar. At length this undertaking, which few of us would have cared to enter upon, is likely to be brought to a happy completion by the energy of Mr. Beveridge. All scholars interested in Indian history

will owe a heavy debt of gratitude to him for having devoted his leisure to such an arduous and, in many ways, so irksome a task.

The ninety-six pages of this first instalment carry us only to page 31 of the Persian text, comprising the Introduction (1–33); Chapter I, on the signs and symbols preceding Akbar's birth (34–49); Chapter II, on the birth of Akbar (50–68); Chapter III, Akbar's horoscope according to the Greek method (69–84); Chapter IV, the same according to Indian astrology (85–95); Chapter V, another horoscope by Fatḥullah of Shīrāz (96).

In this first part of his translation Mr. Beveridge has had, in addition to the obscurity inseparable from Abu-l-fazl's style, overcharged with far-fetched allusion and cloudy metaphor, to wrestle with a subject far removed from present-day knowledge, namely, that of astrology and the casting of horoscopes. In all except the first eleven pages of the (Persian) text, he has received no aid whatever from previous workers. Lieut. Chalmers, whose manuscript translation belonging to our Society has been placed at Mr. Beveridge's disposal, after giving a version of the Introduction, passes over the whole of the crabbed astrological lore, and does not resume until the more plain-sailing narrative portion of the history has been reached.

To pronounce a definitive verdict on Mr. Beveridge's translation, so far as published, would demand a wide acquaintance with Persian literature and a great command of Mahomedan science, above all in the highly technical branch of astrology, a knowledge to which I can make no pretence. Before making such an attempt it would be necessary for me to devote to the study of the text and of the subsidiary authorities quoted in Mr. Beveridge's notes an amount of time and thought equal to that expended by the translator himself. As this is impossible, I must content myself by saying that the copious notes with which every page is furnished bear ample testimony to the unstinted labour bestowed by Mr. Beveridge upon his task. Even if not technically perfect (an almost

unattainable ideal), his rendering must, I consider, be pronounced an excellent piece of work, and one likely to take a high place in the class of literature to which it belongs.

When about to commence the translation of works on Indian history, one of the first questions to engage our attention is, whether we shall try to retain something of the style and literary effect of the original, or, discarding the form, content ourselves with transferring the mere substance of the author's story. Mr. Beveridge has elected for the first of these courses; and in so doing I think he chose rightly. For, after all, much as the European reader may be repelled by the over-elaboration of his ornate periods, Abu-l-faẓl is still in Oriental eyes a classic writer and a model of all that is excellent. On this ground alone, the form of what he wrote must be treated with some deference, even in what we look upon as its defects, and a translator should aim at rendering something of its gorgeous rhetoric, in spite of the overloaded effect thereby produced. Mr. Beveridge must have often found the search for appropriate adjectives and satisfying synonyms a weariness to the flesh; and it is marvellous to see how well the stately march of the sentences has been maintained, and Abu-l-faẓl's copious use of every artifice in rhetoric has been grappled with; while the version, considered as English prose, remains to a wonderful degree clear, impressive, and distinguished.

For the common herd of Indian writers of history, those with whom I am best acquainted, I should advise a different treatment. To translate them at length would be a mere waste of time. Many of them are mere imitators of Abu-l-Faẓl, and as is usual with that tribe, they exaggerate all the worst defects and overlook the real merits of their model. With their stilted tautology is blended none of the weighty thought and vast reading which are never altogether absent from the mightiest sweep of Abu-l-Faẓl's far-soaring flight. For, however arduous a task it may be to unriddle it, there is always some real thought or

meaning wrapped up in Abu-l-Faẓl's most tortuous sentence. But with his followers and imitators sound takes the place of sense, and two words are invariably used when one would suffice. A literal reproduction of such bombastic stuff would be, as Dogberry would say, "most tolerable and not to be endur'd."

WM. IRVINE.

INSCRIPTIONS MANDAÏTES DES COUPES DE KHOUBAIR, texte, traduction, et commentaire philologique, avec quatre appendices et un glossaire, par H. POGNON, Consul de France à Alep. Première partie. pp. 103 and 31 facsimiles. (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1898.)

The inscriptions published by M. Pognon were discovered at Khoubair, a place on the right bank of the lower Euphrates, and were found on some terra-cotta bowls. These bowls are not hollow, but apparently solid to the brim, and it is on the flat surfaces of these that the inscriptions appear. They were placed in the ground either upside down or face to face with their flat parts touching each other. If the bowls were found only in these positions there is much in favour of M. Pognon's theory that they were used to imprison evil spirits, as the inscriptions contain nothing but incantations to exorcise the demons and break their spell.

In the introduction to the book M. Pognon gives an abstract from a work by Theodor b. Khūri, a Nestorian, who wrote on the origin of the Mandaic sect. The account given by him of the creation of the world, although tallying on the whole with that given in the *Ginzā*, is more detailed, and seems to be taken from some Mandaic work now unknown. In order to show that, according to Mandaic belief, the end of the world is to be preceded by a false Messiah, M. Pognon quotes a passage from the *Ginzā* which refers to the extension of Arab rule, and in which the phrase occurs, "Until the brick of the foundation shall bear witness for him (the false Messias)." M. Pognon

rightly considers this a remarkable sentence, and it is interesting to perceive that it is an application of a passage in the Talmud (Ta'anīth, fol. 11ro: cf. Hagīgā, fol. 16ro) as follows: "Haply man shall say, who will bear witness for me? The stones and beams of man's house shall bear witness for him, since it is written: *For the stone shall cry out of the wall*, etc." (Hab., ii, 11). A connection between the two passages is beyond doubt, but M. Pognon's translation *avec la fondation* (מן אשיתא) is not quite correct. He is otherwise inclined to place confidence in Theodor's information as to the person of the founder of Mandaism, but the question requires still deeper investigation before any definite result can be arrived at. As we see from the passage in the Talmud, other factors have to be reckoned with.

M. Pognon's collection comprises thirty-one inscriptions, of which he gives the Mandaic text, a French translation, and explanatory notes. The sameness prevailing in most of them deprives many inscriptions of their importance, yet the author was right not to omit any from his publication. They are written in spiral lines, beginning from the centre. Some of them are incantations for the healing of sick persons. M. Pognon is undoubtedly correct in his supposition that the occurrence of the Arab name *Yazīd* points to the period after the conquest of the Irāq by the Arabs. In an appendix he treats of the proper names, which furnish ample material for mythological as well as linguistic research. The facsimiles of the inscriptions are very well done. The outsides of a number of the bowls show crude drawings of figures with uplifted arms, to all appearance representing the persons on whose behalf the incantation is made.

The nature of Mandaic orthography makes conjecture difficult. The author, who has done good work in the same field before, has been very happy in his corrections, although there are some words which are not quite explained. It seems that on p. 7, l. 12 from the bottom, instead of דקרא should be read דברא (also in Petermann's edition of the *Ginzā*, p. 242, l. 2). The get-up of the book is worthy

of the place in which it was printed. It will no doubt form a strong inducement to take up the not very widely spread study of Mandaic lore, and scholars will look forward to the appearance of the Supplements to the volume and the glossary in particular with great expectations.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

BOUDDHISME : ÉTUDES ET MATÉRIAUX. [LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN. 4to; pp. 417. (London: Luzac & Co., 1898.) *Extrait du tome* LV *des Mémoires couronnés et Mémoires des savants étrangers, publiés par l'Académie royale des sciences, des lettres, et des beaux-arts de Belgique*, 1898.]

This work consists of three parts—(1) an essay on the history of Buddhism, (2) an essay on tantric literature, together with the text of a tantric work, the *Ādikarmapradīpa*, and an analysis of its contents, and (3) an edition of the commentary on the ninth chapter of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*.

The Sanskrit works here published for the first time are of considerable importance for the history of Northern Buddhism, and M. Poussin as editor deserves our thanks for what is evidently a careful and trustworthy piece of work. The few remarks here possible will be directed rather to the two essays—(1) on the history of Buddhism generally, and (2) on that particular phrase of the *mahāyāna* commonly called tantric.

The theses which M. Poussin undertakes to maintain are sufficiently startling. He protests against the view very generally accepted that the Pāli scriptures are the best extant representatives of Buddhism in an early form, and contends that the Northern scriptures preserve the traces of a far older state of things. He also lays stress on the importance for the comprehension of early Buddhism of a study of the tantras—works which have been universally regarded as not only extremely late in point of date, but also as embodying ideas of an essentially non-Buddhistic character, due entirely to foreign importation. The discussion

of these propositions raises a number of questions on which great diversity of opinion exists among the best qualified students of Buddhism. It must suffice here to take one or two main points only, and to view them in the light of evidence, the validity of which will in most cases be equally admitted by M. Poussin himself.

In the first place, Why are we no longer to regard the Pāli scriptures as pourtraying an early form of Buddhism? M. Poussin says:—

> (p. 30.) "Le canon pāli fut écrit, nous dit-on, sous le règne de Vaṭṭagāmani, aux environs du commencement de notre ère."
>
> (p. 3.) "La formation des Écritures et la vie du Maître d'après des documents, qui datent du 1er ou du 4e siècle de notre ère, c'est une entreprise illusoire."
>
> (p. 32.) "On a cru trouver, dans les titres d'ouvrages sacrés, cités par un édit et recommandés à l'attention des fidèles, la preuve de l'existence à cette époque reculée, des Écritures canoniques singhalaises. M. Senart déclare cette conclusion inadmissible, et, sans nul doute, avec raison . . . . Mais . . . . ce fait demeure incontestable que les bouddhistes du 3e siècle avant notre ère possédaient des livres écrits, ou sus par cœur, entourés d'une vénération particulière et qu'on tenait pour révélés, ... ils contenaient en germe les Écritures depuis canoniques."
>
> (Id., *note.*) "Les inscriptions ne prouvent pas l'antiquité du canon de langue palie, mais elles démontrent l'ancienneté des Écritures (Sūtras et Vinayas)."

Leaving aside all discussion of the date here assigned to the formation of the Southern canon—a date which will certainly not be universally accepted—we may notice that M. Poussin admits (1) that works which formed the basis of subsequent canonical books actually existed in the third

century B.C.—how much earlier we know not, simply because we happen to have no earlier inscriptions; and (2) that at that period these works were regarded with a peculiar veneration and held to be revealed.

The manifest deductions from these admissions are (1) that the Southern Buddhist scriptures, even if modern in form—a point by no means proved—may certainly be ancient in substance; and (2) that works, which in the middle of the third century B.C. were regarded as inspired, must have existed for some very considerable time previously in order to gain this repute. Scriptures, other than the actual words of the Master or the accounts of his immediate disciples, are not accepted as inspired without the sanction which is only given by age and the approval of generations. There is, therefore, nothing inherently absurd about the date—*circa* 380 B.C.—usually assigned to the earliest Southern Buddhist scriptures *in their original form.* So much will be admitted. The question is: What reasons have we for holding that the Pāli scriptures, as we have them, are untrustworthy representatives of these originals?

This is M. Poussin's main point. Referring to the general belief in the authenticity of the Southern canon, he says (p. 4): "Cette pieuse hypothèse ne tient pas contre les faits." Now what are these "facts"? Apparently they are chiefly two: (1) *The philosophical cast of Buddhism, as represented in the Pāli books necessarily presupposes the pre-existence of an earlier, simpler, more popular form.* (2) *Evidence derived from the inscriptions of Aśoka and the Bharhut sculptures.*

Let us examine these separately. (1) M. Poussin says:—

> (p. 35.) "L'édifice ingénieux des Singhalais repose en dernière analyse sur une série de conceptions d'un caractère scolastique, lesquelles supposent d'autres idées plus simples; l'examen de ces conceptions entraîne une conclusion importante: l'antiquité des idées mahāyānistes, conclusion qui sera confirmée par l'étude des sources du nord."

Now whether this is a fact, or whether this is assumption pure and simple, depends entirely on the evidence. What evidence is there to prove that Buddhism was, in its origin, a "popular" religion? It is much to be desired that M. Poussin had thought fit to give us an orderly statement of the steps by which his examination of these "scholastic conceptions" has led him to this important conclusion. He has nowhere done so, and we search in vain through his large quarto to discover the path for ourselves. He really seems to argue that "such is the case, because it must be so"—an application of the argument from necessity, which is certainly not in place here. It may be confidently affirmed in direct opposition to M. Poussin's view that what we do know of Buddhism during the period for which we have documentary evidence, and that what we can infer from the analogy of other Indian religions, alike tend to the opposite conclusion, viz., that the "philosophical" form is early and the "popular" form late. Can anyone deny that the whole history of Buddhism has been marked by an ever-increasing power of adapting itself to its surroundings and of assimilating popular ideas? Does anyone suppose that the popular phases of Brāhmaṇism are not immensely later than the philosophical? Is it not, indeed, sometimes possible to trace the transition from one to the other—for instance, from the *yoga* of the earliest Upanishads to the *yoga* of the sectarian Upanishads? There is no reason whatever for supposing that Buddhism was an exception to the general rule. Its object was the same as that of other Indian religions of the period—the attainment of freedom from the never-ending round of mundane existences; and the means by which this object was to be attained was the same—the knowledge of the Truth. There can be little doubt about the intimate connection which exists between the doctrines of Buddhism as represented in the Pāli scriptures and the doctrines of the earliest Upanishads; and even in terminology there is a striking resemblance between this form of Buddhism and the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa. What valid reason can be given for supposing that the

teaching of the Buddha was not primarily addressed, like that of the rishis of the earliest Upanishads and of the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa, to the thoughtful and intelligent few, and only extended later to the poor, unenlightened, unreasoning masses? With regard to the popular contamination of Buddhism, no one will dispute the truth of a statement of M. Senart, which is quoted, curiously enough, by M. Poussin (p. 44) in favour of his own view, but which in reality clinches the argument against him in merciless fashion :—

> "Il a de tout temps existé dans l'Inde, au-dessous du niveau brahmanique, une couche profonde d'idées, de croyances, et de traditions . . . . qui, au prix de bien des retouches, ont conquis finalement leur place dans le cadre officiel de la constitution religieuse."

Precisely, these popular ideas "ont conquis finalement leur place." Like the thorns in the parable of the Sower, they have sprung up and choked the pure uncontaminated Word. This is the story of Indian—and other—religions.

(2) With much that M. Poussin says in regard to the evidence of the inscriptions of Aśoka and the Bharhut sculptures probably everyone will agree; but it is difficult to see how this bears on his argument that the Pāli scriptures are untrustworthy representatives of an early form of Buddhism. The inscriptions of Aśoka certainly show the existence of a number of Buddhist sects at that period. But has anyone ever seriously denied this? These sects in the Southern Church no doubt go back to a very early period; but they probably, for the most part, acknowledged the same scriptures. Like the sects of Protestantism at the present day, they chiefly differed as to their interpretation of these scriptures. The sculptures of Bharhut no doubt illustrate stories which are nowhere to be found in the Jātakas; but there is no reason why the Buddhists

of a particular locality should not have embodied in the decoration of their stūpas a host of local legends and traditions. One does not attach too much importance to the subjects depicted in the stained-glass windows and the monkish carvings of our ancient cathedrals as evidence of the doctrines and practices of contemporary Christianity!

M. Poussin's second essay on tantrism is a minute investigation of a very unpleasant subject. He is constantly pointing out the importance of such an investigation for the proper comprehension of early Buddhism; but, when one seeks in his essay for any adequate reasons for this belief, there are none, absolutely none, to be found. He admits that many books of the Northern canon are free from all traces of these doctrines; and he quotes (p. 76, note 2) the opinion of Professor Kern that tantrism can scarcely have flourished before 700 A.D., as it is unknown to the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims. These are certainly very cogent reasons for the prevailing belief. What has M. Poussin to say to the contrary? The only vestige of an argument which he adduces is based on a passage quoted (p. 76, note 2) from Tāranātha (*floruit circa* 1608 A.D.); and as M. Poussin will not admit the evidence of the Pāli scriptures for events which, according to his view, preceded them by some five centuries, so he will surely not attach too much importance to this statement of Tāranātha, which refers to a condition of affairs existing some sixteen centuries before his time. What, then, does Tāranātha's statement amount to? He says that the tantric doctrines and practices are coeval with the *mahāyāna*, but that they were originally kept with great secrecy. If this proves anything, it tends to show that these ideas were secretly and gradually introduced into Buddhism, and it would incline us to regard the whole *mahāyāna* as comparatively late.

It has been necessary to deal at length with M. Poussin's main propositions, and to set forth some of the reasons

which would seem to stand in the way of their general acceptance. It only remains to express admiration for the very wide and varied learning which this book shows, and for the brilliance with which it is written. Unfortunately the brilliance is too often of that kind which seems to delight in raising imposing superstructures on very inadequate foundations.

E. J. RAPSON.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(July, August, September, 1898.)

I. Contents of Foreign Oriental Journals.

I. Journal Asiatique. Série ix, Tome xi, No. 2.

Féer (L.). Kokālika.

Courant (M.). Stèle chinoise du royaume de Ko-kou-rye.

Parisot (M.). Le dialecte de Ma'lula.

Série ix, Tome xi, No. 3.

Chavannes (E.). Voyageurs chinois chez les Khitan et les Joutchen.

Parisot (M.). Le dialecte de Ma'lula.

II. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Band lii, Heft 2.

Mann (O.). Quellenstudien zur Geschichte des Ahmed Sāh Durrānī.

Spiegel (F.). Die alten Religionen in Erān.

Huart (Cl.). Le téri au temps de Timour.

Bacher (W.). Das jüdisch-buchārische Gedicht Chudāidād.

Vloten (G. van). Zur Abbasidengeschichte.

Mahler (E.). Der Schaltcyklus der Babylonier.

Böhtlingk (O.). Miscellen.

Foy (Willy). Avesta.

Aufrecht (Th.). Bemerkungen zu Böhtlingks Indischen Sprüchen.

Böhtlingk (O.). Nachträgliches zu RV. 10. 95. 8.

Oppert (J.). Der Kalender der alten Perser.

Thomas (J. W.). The Indian Game of Chess.

Aufrecht (Th.). Über einen eigentümlichen Gebrauch von च.

Francke (H.). Die Respektssprache im Ladaker tibetischen Dialekt.

Brockelmann (C.). Nochmals Landauer.

Laufer (B.). Fünf indische Fabeln.

Radloff (W.). Zum Kudatku Bilik.

II. Obituary Notices.

Theodor Schultze.

We regret to have to announce the death, at the age of 74, of Ober-presidialrath Theodor Schultze, the translator of the Dhammapada into German and the author of "Vedânta und Buddhismus." Formerly in the Danish service, he entered the German service after the war, and rose to a high position in Berlin. Always interested in philosophical thought and in ethical progress, he was a diligent student of so much of Indian speculation as is accessible in translations; and looked forward to the influence of the Vedanta, and especially of Buddhism, in Europe as a most hopeful sign of ethical life and as full of promise for ethical progress in the future. The book in which he gives the reasons for his faith is full of value for the Indianist, and deserves to be much more widely known, as containing many acute interpretations and many suggestive comparisons with European writers (Schopenhauer especially, but also with Christian writers on Ethics). The deceased scholar, at the time of his death, had just finished a translation into German of Locke's Essay, and this is now in the press.

Dr. E. B. Landis.

By the death of Dr. Landis, at Chemulpo, Corea, we have lost a member in the prime of life and just when he was beginning to give us the results of years of hard work, and to be known as an authority on the languages of and matters connected with Corea.

Eli Barr Landis was born in Lancaster, Pa., America, and was educated at the University of Pennsylvania, where he took his degree in medicine. After being some time Assistant Physician at the lunatic asylum of Lancaster, he moved to Philadelphia, and soon after that, feeling anxious to devote himself to missionary work, he joined the mission of the Church of England in Corea as a medical missionary, engaging in 1890 to serve there for five years. From the day of his landing till his death he gave himself up to his medical work and to studying the Chinese and Corean languages and the people of the country, their history, customs, beliefs, and lines of thought; realizing, what is too often not thought of, that the first step in missionary work is to get to understand all about the people whom one wishes to influence. With this in view he lived in a small native house as a Corean, without any European surroundings save his books. Having a remarkable talent for languages, a keen delight in all sorts of antiquarian research, and a simple pleasant manner with the people, he succeeded in becoming proficient in the Corean vernacular, a good Chinese scholar, and a trusted friend of the natives, so that he acquired a large stock of information about the country, especially in the way of history, folklore, and demonology. Bishop Corfe writes: "The industry with which he attacked Chinese literature and Corean colloquial, the kindliness of his manner to Coreans, enabled him to be the most remarkable as he was the most hardworking, versatile, and successful member of the mission staff. His income never exceeded £90, which was all I could give him, and with which he was always

quite content, managing (I know not how) to save money from it to support a Corean lad, whom he adopted as his son, and to buy himself books which always illustrated his love of antiquarian learning. He was much attracted to Corean folklore, and wrote papers thereon. His knowledge of Chinese script promised to be phenomenal; I never knew a man who in so short a time managed to acquire so many characters." Another witness of his life says "he loved the people, and they are not easy to love, and he acquired a knowledge of the people such as had been rarely, if ever, equalled by anyone in Corea."

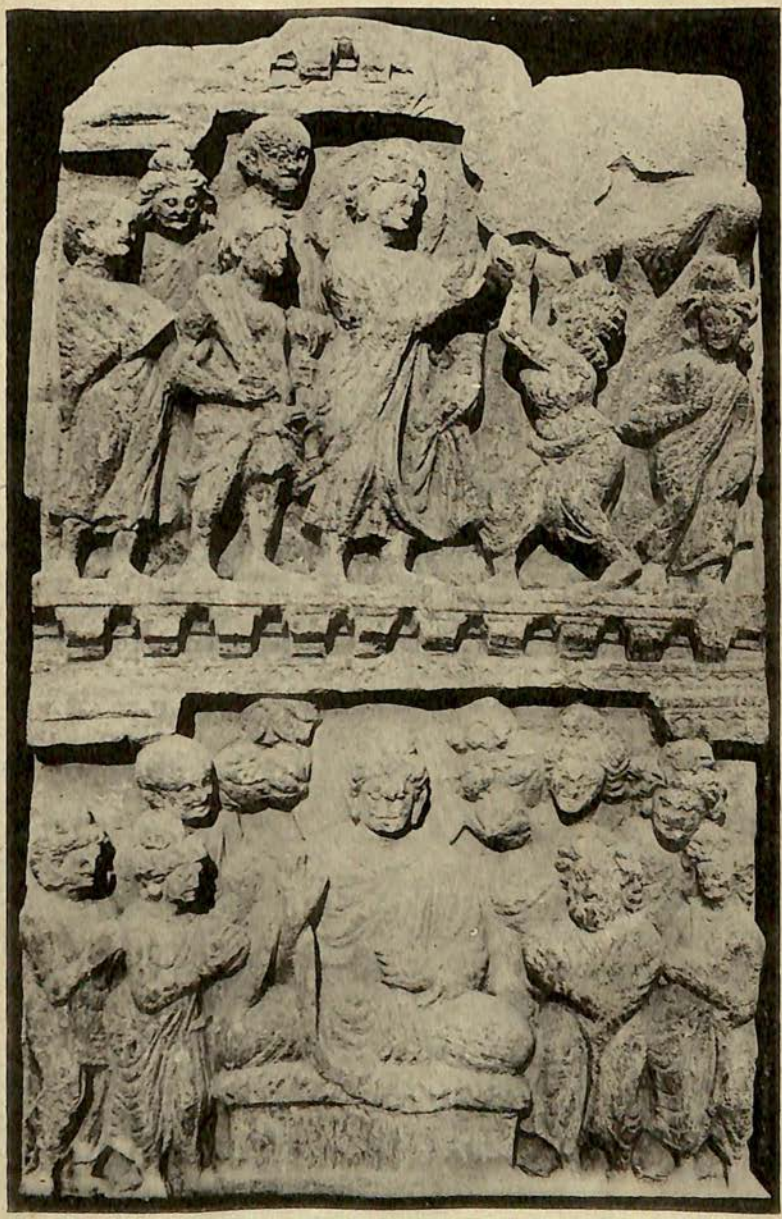
Shortly before his death Dr. Landis sent to the Royal Asiatic Society a valuable communication, "Biographical Notes of Ancient Corea," containing notices of the Rulers of Corea from B.C. 2365 to A.D. 925, i.e., the Sin La, the Ko Kou Rye, the Paik Chyei, and the Ka Rak Kouk Dynasties. Unfortunately room could not be found for the paper at the present time in the Journal, but it is one which well shows the author's great diligence and scholarship. This is not the place to speak of Dr. Landis' work as a medical man or missionary, but it may be mentioned that the services he rendered to the sick and wounded during the Chino-Japan War were conspicuous, and were recognized by the Governments of both nations, and the Emperor of China conferred on him the Order of the Double Dragon.

O. C.

III. Notes and News.

Malakhand Carvings.—The two plates on the adjoining page have been prepared from photographs (kindly lent by the Hon. Mrs. Hope) of two of the carvings exhibited to the Society at the meeting of Tuesday, Nov. 9, 1897, as reported in the Journal for the current year, p. 211.

CARVINGS FROM MALAKAND.



CARVINGS FROM MALAKAND.

INDIAN INSTITUTE, OXFORD. — Dr. Lüders, Assistant Librarian at the Indian Institute, has received the appointment of Privat-docent at the University of Göttingen.

INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY.—Mr. Thomas, of Trinity College, Cambridge, co-translator with Professor Cowell of Baṇa's Harṣa Carita (published in our Oriental Translation Fund Series), has been appointed Sub-Librarian to the India Office, on the retirement of Mr. Wade.

MRS. BODE, the editor of the text of the Sāsanavaṃsa, and author of the article on "Women Leaders of the Buddhist Reformation" in the Journal for 1893, pp. 517 and 763, has received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Berne.

BRITISH MUSEUM.—Mr. Bendall, Professor of Sanskrit at the University College, London, has retired from his appointment in the Department of Oriental printed books and MSS. in the British Museum, which he has held for the last sixteen years. He will now devote himself to the publication of Buddhist Sanskrit Texts.

THE HODGSON DRAWINGS AT PARIS.—In the *Mémoires présentés à l'Académie des Inscriptions* (1er ser., tome xi) M. A. Foucher has published a "Catalogue des Peintures Népâlaises et Tibétaines de la Collection B.-H. Hodgson à la Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France." It is rather surprising to find no allusion in this paper to the prior one by M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire in the *Journal des Savants* for 1863 (Fév., pp. 96–112; Mars, pp. 175–189). M. Foucher says, in a parenthesis (p. 6), that, according to a note found in the case, the collection of paintings was sent to the Institute in 1866; and, in a footnote, with reference to Sir W. W. Hunter's statement that it was in 1858, and in support of the later date, he adds that the manuscript notes explanatory of the drawings were found in a separate case from that containing the paintings. But M. Barthélemy St.-Hilaire's account refers to the whole collection, paintings, drawings, and copies by Râjmânsinh, with the explanatory legends in Sanskrit by the Bandya Amṛita-nanda; and if they were all in the Institute in 1862, they could not have

been presented only in 1866. An examination of the donation record of the Institute would at once have fixed the exact date.

About twenty years ago I examined, with much interest, this Hodgson collection, and was strongly impressed with the opinion, previously expressed by M. Barthélemy St.-Hilaire,[1] that as very important illustrations of Buddhist iconography, authoritatively explained, these pictures should be published in full. No description or catalogue can supply this desideratum. And now, when good reproductions can be published so cheaply, there should be no serious difficulty in the way of making them available to students.

J. BURGESS.

THE COPTIC VERSION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, with Introduction, Critical Apparatus, and English Translation. (Oxford: Clarendon Press.)—This elaborate edition of the Memphitic Gospels has received a warm welcome from scholars interested in Coptic and in the criticism of the New Testament. The personality of the editor is familiar to Orientalists, and why he should have concealed it in his work is a puzzle; it is certain that his reason cannot be the desire to evade responsibility; and the trouble which he took to obtain the best guidance for the various parts of his work, his painstaking collations of MSS., and his faithful rendering make it exceedingly unlikely that any judgment passed on his execution of his design will be other than sympathetic. Surely the Arabic name Mankarius (p. xcvii) stands not for the Latin Mercurius, but for the Greek Macarius?

ALAṄKĀRA LITERATURE.—In Part II of "*Notes on Alaṅkāra Literature*" (Udbhaṭa's text), please make the following corrections:—

I, 5. Instead of "prathamaiḥ paryupāsitaḥ" read "pramathaiḥ," etc.

7. For "shṭavargeṇa" read "ṭavargeṇa."

G. A. J.

See also *Journ. of Indian Art and Industry*, July, 1898.

THE VIZIANAGRAM SANSKRIT SERIES, under the superintendence of ARTHUR VENIS, M.A. Oxon, Principal of Sanskrit College, Benares.

This excellent Series owed its existence to the enthusiasm and liberality of the Mahārājā of Vijayanagara, and the first volume appeared in 1890, the year in which, under the same distinguished patronage, the issue was commenced of the second edition of the *Rig-Veda-Saṁhitā* edited by Professor F. Max Müller. And now, while still in its infancy, the Publishers, Messrs. E. J. Lazarus & Co., Benares, write that, in consequence of the lamented death of the Mahārājā, the Series has come to an end. Will not some other of our enlightened Indian Princes come forward and assume the financial responsibility hitherto so nobly borne by one of themselves? In these days it is useless to look for help from the Government of India in work of this kind; and perhaps, after all, it is more in accordance with the fitness of things that India's ancient literature should be preserved from extinction by the efforts of her own sons. The splendid attempt in this direction made by the late Mahādeo Chimnājī Āpṭe, of Bombay, and the large sums expended by him on the undertaking, are still fresh in our memories. The following works, all complete, have been brought out in the Series under notice:—

Appayadīkshita's *Siddhāntaleśa*, with extracts from the Śrīkṛshṇālaṁkāra of Acyutakṛshṇānandatīrtha.

The *Pañcapādikā* of Padmapāda.

The *Pañcapādikāvivaraṇa* of Prakāśātman, with extracts from the Tattvadīpana and Bhāvaprakāśikā.

The *Bhāshya* of Praśastapāda, with Śrīdhara's Nyāyakandalī.

The *Vivaraṇapramеyasaṅgraha* of Vidyāraṇya.

The *Saptapadārthī* of Śivāditya, with the commentary Mitabhāshiṇī.

The *Nyāyamañjarī* of Jayantabhaṭṭa.

The *Nyāyasūtras*, with Vātsyāyana's Bhāshya, and extracts from the Nyāyavārtika and Tātparyaṭīkā.

The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira, with the commentary of Bhaṭṭotpala.
The *Vedāntakalpataru* of Amalānanda.
The *Vedāntakalpataruparimala* of Appayadīkshita.
The *Nyāyavārtikatātparyaṭīkā* of Vācaspati Miśra.
The *Spandapradīpikā* of Ūtpalācārya.

G. A. JACOB.

TO THE MEMBERS
OF
The Royal Asiatic Society.

It will be in your recollection that last year the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society established a Jubilee Gold Medal, to be awarded every third year, as an encouragement to Oriental learning amongst English-speaking people throughout the world; and that to meet the expense contributions were invited from Members of the Society.

A beautiful design was prepared, and dies engraved, by Mr. Pinches; the first Medal was awarded, on the report of a Committee of Selection, to Professor Cowell, and was presented to him by Lord Reay at a Special General Meeting of the Society, the proceedings of which will be found reported in our Journal for July.

The expenses already incurred have amounted to £60. The first list of subscriptions came to £100, leaving a balance in hand of £40. It is estimated that the cost of providing a Medal will amount to upwards of £24, and as it is to be given every third year the annual expenditure will be about £8. A capital sum of £300 will therefore be required, that is to say, £260 in excess of the balance in hand.

It seems highly desirable that the expense incurred in founding the Medal should be met from a permanent fund, and it is thought that for this object the Members of the Society may be disposed to contribute, either by donations or by subscriptions, for a term of years. Any contributions will be gratefully acknowledged by the Secretary, and published in the Society's Journal.

A. N. WOLLASTON,
Chairman of Committee.

July, 1898.

FIRST LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

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